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# Introduction

*Niall H.D. Geraghty and Adriana Laura Massidda*

This book is an interdisciplinary exploration of the different ways in which marginal urban spaces have become privileged locations for creativity in Latin America. At the most basic level creativity can be defined as the ability to produce the new. In this way, the essays within the collection engage with new art forms, political organisations and subjectivities emerging from *within* a range of Latin American urban spaces which can, in different ways, be regarded as peripheral or marginal. In addition, the essays the volume contains seek to understand the ways in which artists, architects and urban planners from *outside* such spaces have sought to harness this creativity in their own representations of, and interventions in, marginal locations. In line with the work of Henri Lefebvre, then, within the collection space is understood not only as the setting where creative processes unfold, but also as a dynamic part of those very processes, as well as its continuously changing outcome.<sup>1</sup> We do not intend to imply, however, that creativity is the only process at work within marginalised urban spaces, nor that such spaces represent some kind of romanticised ideal of the creative potential within Latin American cities: we are well aware that cities throughout the region, and their inhabitants, face continuous and extremely urgent problems. On the contrary, the book explores the intersection of problems and complexities that lead to, or arise from, the production of the new, with a focus on the ways in which this production reveals, manifests and challenges existing tensions in Latin American space, culture and society.

If we opened by suggesting that ‘creativity’ is the production of the new, perhaps we can unproblematically venture that ‘marginality’ is first and foremost a description of a relation. Given the term’s negative connotations, it could also be suggested that ‘marginality’ defines a relationship of power. Borrowing from Foucault, then, it could be proposed that marginality names a process that ‘compares, differentiates, hierarchises, homogenises, excludes’ and ‘normalises’ by measuring individuals against an artificial standard.<sup>2</sup> This

1 See H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. D. Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).

2 M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. by A. Sheridan (London: Penguin, 1991), pp. 182–3 (original emphasis).

definition certainly seems to fit with the numerous characteristics of marginality that emerge throughout the present volume. While the term is challenged and reworked over the course of the book, the authors consistently use 'marginality' to describe a condition whereby an individual or a group is placed outside decision-making structures; where their relative income hinders their access to elementary goods, spaces and opportunities (which is to say, access to their basic rights); and where it implies that some cultural, psychical or bodily trait is deemed to be of lesser value than the 'norm'. Nonetheless, there is a twofold danger in adopting this approach to marginality. First, it ascribes the power to define the characteristics of the 'marginal' to the dominant group. And second, it invariably leads to a linear and dialogic understanding of the term which reinforces a centre-periphery model where the 'marginal' becomes the Other for the 'normal'. As we shall later see, this definition is also insufficient to account for the complexity of the multiple 'marginalities' contained in the volume and the creativity that we insist they represent. Nonetheless, it does provide a practical entry point through which we can reconsider the contested historical use of the term 'marginality' within the Latin American context.

By invoking Foucault in order to define marginality, we are proposing that the term both denominates an act of grouping, and simultaneously defines the power relations within that group. Within the context of Latin American urban studies, recent work by Felipe Hernández and other post-colonial thinkers has deployed a similar conception in order to propose that marginality can be linked to the persistence of colonial legacies in cities, cultures and societal structures throughout the region. This is a vision we share, given that the essays in the collection undoubtedly argue that the distribution over what is visible and sayable in Latin American spaces is not accidental but closely linked to Spanish, Portuguese and Creole legacies of domination.<sup>3</sup> While such marginal urban areas are most frequently associated with poor informal settlements such as the 'villas miseria' in Argentina, the 'favelas' in Brazil, and the 'pueblos jóvenes' in Peru (among several others), we do not, however, agree with the frequent assumption that urban forms of marginality are synonymous with informal housing. Instead, we recognise that neither the economic condition of such settlements, nor their geographical location, can entirely account for their present status. As the essays in the collection make clear, such spaces arise from a complex web of relations incorporating political, racial, cultural, geographic, economic, and numerous other dimensions. Moreover, while all of the chapters in some way spatialise the concepts of both marginality and creativity, this need

3 F. Hernández, 'Locating marginality in Latin American cities', in F. Hernández and A. Becerra (eds.), *Marginal Urbanisms: Informal and Formal Development in Cities of Latin America* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), pp. 3–49. See also E. Lander (ed.), *La colonialidad del saber: eurocentrismo y ciencias sociales* (Buenos Aires: Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, 2000); and S. Castro-Gómez and R. Grosfoguel (eds.), *El giro decolonial: reflexiones para una diversidad epistémica más allá del capitalismo global* (Bogotá: Siglo del Hombre, 2007).

not take the form of bounded territories at the periphery of the city. Indeed, several chapters argue that 'marginality' can be a path, a trajectory or a vector within the formal city space. This is simply to say that, while it may be that all informal spaces are marginal, it does not follow that all marginal spaces are informal.

Discussions of urban marginality and informal housing in Latin America continue to attract increasing academic and public attention. Indeed, it has become something of a truism to assert that the world is rapidly urbanising in contexts of urban poverty which place communities at a distinct disadvantage, if not at risk.<sup>4</sup> While the highest rates of urban growth are currently found in Asia and Africa, Latin America experienced this process most acutely during the second half of the 20th century, and it is still an important factor driving the development of cities in the region. Correspondingly, issues of informal urbanisation, housing shortages, the lack of basic services, and the segregation and stigmatisation of the poor, feature as some of the most pressing concerns in contemporary urban studies, and they rank high in the agenda of international organisations, professional associations, think tanks and NGOs.<sup>5</sup> In the field of architecture, for example, this renewed interest is reflected in the fact that Alejandro Aravena, an architect who focusses on participatory design in marginalised areas, was both awarded the 2016 Pritzker Prize and invited to curate the 2016 Venice Architecture Biennale, respectively the most important international prize and exhibition within the profession. Despite this sustained and growing interest, however, the very complexity of the topic ensures that there are still many important issues to be explored.

Given this context, this book emerges as an attempt to start bridging two important gaps that we identify in the existing scholarly literature concerning urban marginality. First, while there is a widespread recognition of the interdisciplinary nature of contemporary urban problems, cross-disciplinary studies remain particularly scarce. This is to say that scholarship produced within the social sciences, urban planning or architecture does not enter into dialogue as often as would be desired. Moreover, this scholarship rarely (if ever) engages with analysis from cultural studies. For these reasons, and in an attempt to account for the complexity and multifaceted nature of urban

4 See UN Habitat, *Planning Sustainable Cities: Policy Directions. Global Report on Human Settlements 2009* (London: United Nations Human Settlements Programme/Earthscan, 2009), p. 4; United Nations, *World Urbanization Prospects: The 2014 Revision. Highlights* (New York: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2014), p. 1; also note the overwhelming success of M. Davis, *Planet of Slums* (London: Verso, 2006).

5 To provide only a few examples published within the last five years, see C. McFarlane and M. Waibel (eds.), *Urban Informalities: Reflections on the Formal and Informal* (London: Ashgate, 2012); B. Fischer, B. McCann and J. Auyero (eds.), *Cities from Scratch: Poverty and Informality in Urban Latin America* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2014); in addition there was a wide range of publications produced following the celebration of the UN Habitat III conference in 2016. See, for example, the April 2016 issue of the journal *Environment and Urbanization*, 28 (1).

marginality, the essays in this collection are drawn from a wide spectrum of academic fields, ranging from cultural and urban studies to architecture and sociology. The collection is designed to promote dialogue between disciplines and contains contributions that discuss urban planning, engage in visual and textual analysis, and study popular protest movements and community projects in marginal areas. Ultimately the book begins discussion of how these different conceptions of marginal spaces work together in order to contribute to the imagined and material reality of the wider city.

The second gap we identify in existing studies of urban marginality is already implied in our comments thus far, and in the very title of the volume: an exploration of the creative potential of marginal urban spaces. It appears that, over the course of the 20th century, two competing conceptions of the urban margins have emerged in the existing literature. On the one hand, the margins have frequently been viewed as spaces of deprivation, of violence, and of dangerous alterity. On the other hand, however, and particularly since the 1970s, they have been considered spaces of opportunity, of creativity and of popular empowerment. This dichotomy is readily identified in the arts. For example, early attempts to represent marginal spaces artistically, such as Luis Buñuel's (sur)realist film *Los olvidados* (1950) and Lucas Demare's melodramatic *Detrás de un largo muro* (1958), frequently depicted them as deprived, dangerous and in desperate need of intervention. Similarly, Leónidas Lamborghini denounced the painful realities of life in the Argentine 'villas miseria' in his poem 'Villas' (from *Partitas*, 1972). In contrast, Hélio Oiticica produced his *Parangolés* with the Mangueira Samba School in Brazil, and brought the vibrancy of *favela* architecture into the art gallery with works such *Tropicalia* (1967). Similarly, Bernardo Verbitsky's novel *Villa Miseria también es América* (1957) views the Argentine shantytown 'as a site of positive values, particularly collective, socialist work'.<sup>6</sup>

Such a neat dichotomous division is easily challenged, however, and several other artistic works sought a more balanced appraisal of marginal areas, celebrating certain aspects while denouncing others. Thus, Antonio Berni sought to capture the 'villas' in a playful manner in his *Juanito Laguna* series (1960s–1970s) while simultaneously highlighting the degradation of their environment. For his part, José María Arguedas documented the potential loss of cultural values as Andean peoples migrated to the port city of Chimbote in his final (incomplete) novel, *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* (1971). This text vividly depicts the violent lives of fishermen and prostitutes in the city's bars and brothels. However, as the title and the style of the novel make clear, the text equally demonstrates that the urban margins are an inherently hybrid space through which alternative belief systems and cultures can penetrate the

6 J. Scorer, *City in Common: Culture and Community in Buenos Aires* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2016), p. 175.

contemporary metropolis.<sup>7</sup> Despite these counter-examples, however, within the academic literature the dualistic division previously described has remained stubbornly persistent. Moreover, due to the urgency of many of the problems that the inhabitants of marginal spaces face, much scholarly literature and public discourse has focused on their unmet material and symbolic needs. Consequently, the creative dimension of marginal spaces has remained somewhat under-examined and, when considered, frequently romanticised. Thus, while conscious of the problems and needs still faced by those living in disadvantaged conditions in Latin America, the essays in the volume collectively reassess dominant theoretical notions of 'marginality' in the region and argue that, in contemporary society, marginality consistently (though not unproblematically) allows for and leads to the production of the new.

### On the nature of marginality

Marginal urban spaces in Latin America have drawn considerable artistic, political and scholarly attention particularly since the mid 20th century, when the unprecedented growth of cities led to the massive expansion of informal housing constructed on occupied land. Nonetheless, and as previously articulated, recent research suggests that marginality in Latin American urban space *pre-dates* the 20th century, as it also *exceeds* (yet includes) housing informality.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, it is possible to argue that Latin American cities have always included marginal spaces (due, for example, to the segregation of indigenous groups) and certain authors have recently proposed that such processes are inherently linked to the modern constitution of Latin America as a conceptual entity, and to the very process of modernisation at the global level.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, as the essays in the collection make particularly clear, the issue of urban marginality continues to be linked to class, political, racial, sexual, corporeal and other differences, as it is necessarily implied in the exercise of power. For example, Lucy McMahon draws on the work of authors such as Frantz Fanon and Boaventura de Sousa Santos, and integrates their work with theoretical

- 7 As Mario Vargas Llosa notes, the novel's title makes reference to mythological beings from the pre-colonial period and Arguedas seeks to resituate the myth in an entirely different context some 2,500 years later (*La utopía arcaica: José María Arguedas y las ficciones del indigenismo* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1996), p. 297). Martin Lienhard also argues that the novel is an attempt to provide a description of *all* of Peru utilising the marginalised voice of the Andean people ('La "andinización" del vanguardismo urbano', in José María Arguedas, *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo. Edición crítica coordinada por Eve-Marie Fell* (Madrid: ALLCA XX, 1990), pp. 321–32, at p. 322). See also M. Lienhard, *Cultura popular y forma novelesca: zorros y danzantes en la última novela de Arguedas* (Lima: Tarea/Latinoamericana Editores, 1981).
- 8 B. Fischer, 'A century in the present tense: crisis, politics and the intellectual history of Brazil's informal cities', in *Cities from Scratch*, pp. 9–67; Hernández, 'Locating marginality'.
- 9 W. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011); Hernández, 'Locating marginality'.

discussions of social mobilisation in order to show the ways in which ethnicity, gender and labour are intertwined, and how this leads to the emergence of different qualities, degrees, and strategic uses of marginalisation in political and social movements in Brazil. Moreover, pre-colonial space is continuously shown to merge into the Latin American land- and cityscape, as can be seen through Lucy O'Sullivan's analysis of pre-modern and modern ruins. Similarly, Simone Kalkman demonstrates the persistence of the stigmatisation and segregation of favela residents in spaces of colonial origin, while Niall H.D. Geraghty and Adriana Laura Massidda analyse the intersection of spatial, bodily and psychic marginalisation and the role of counter-hegemonic religious and spiritual practices which come to serve as alternative symbols of power. Nonetheless, despite our initial definition of the term and the common features perceived by the authors contained in this book, we cannot assume that there is a critical consensus with regards to the term 'marginality'. Indeed, the concept contains a long and significant history, and our use of the term is deliberately provocative and immediately situates the volume within important contemporary debates in urban studies.

The term 'urban marginality' in Latin American scholarship has remained excessively linked to a particular school of thought that gained momentum in the 1950s through the studies of such authors as Gino Germani, Matos Mar and Andrew Pearse, who, in turn, followed in the steps of Robert Park, Robert Redfield and Oscar Lewis from the Chicago School of Sociology.<sup>10</sup> Confronted with the aforementioned growth in Latin American cities and the concurrent expansion of informal housing constructed on occupied land, these authors regarded informal settlements as a problem of social marginalisation, a vestige of a rural past which would gradually fade away as industrialisation took root and modernisation spread throughout the region.<sup>11</sup> Implicit in this approach was the identification of the city with modernity, and the countryside or the village with tradition. This optimistic view of Latin American industrialisation has variously been referred to as 'developmentalism', 'modernisation theory' or 'marginality theory'. Nonetheless, within the arts, such positive views of modernisation were frequently contested. For example, David Kohon's short film *Buenos Aires* (1958) denounced the contrast between the modernising city centre and the precarity of the constructions in Argentine *villas*, as he also sought to highlight that these were the very settlements where the workers

10 A. Gorelik, 'La aldea en la ciudad. Ecos urbanos de un debate antropológico', *Revista del Museo de Antropología*, 1 (2008): 73–96; L. Benmergui, 'The transnationalization of the "housing problem": social sciences and developmentalism in postwar Argentina', in E. Murphy and N. Hourani (eds.), *The Housing Question: Tensions, Continuities and Contingencies in the Modern City* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 35–55.

11 See, amongst others, P.M. Hauser (ed.), *Urbanization in Latin America: Proceedings of the Seminar on Urbanization Problems in Latin America (Santiago de Chile, 1959)* (New York: International Documents Service, 1961); J. Matos Mar, *Las barriadas de Lima, 1957* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1977).

who fueled modernisation efforts were forced to live. In subsequent years new arguments questioning the validity of modernisation theory came to the fore. As with many academic debates, in the 1970s the developmentalist paradigm came to be heavily questioned by what would become known as dependency theory. During this period, economists such as Fernando Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, Marxist philosophers such as Enrique Dussel, and even theologians such as Gustavo Gutiérrez, argued persuasively that the poverty experienced in countries such as those found in Latin America was not a vestige of a pre-industrial past that would soon fade away as the region industrialised. Rather, they contended that this poverty was the unavoidable effect of a wider, international, economic, political, and ultimately, structural problem.<sup>12</sup> Thus, they argued, those countries whose economies were dependent on industrialised world powers would never be able to attain a state of full industrialisation as modernisation theory proclaimed, precisely due to the fact that they must compete in the international market as dictated by the global capitalist system.

Dependency theory had a tremendous impact in the field of urban studies. Manuel Castells was central to its propagation in books such as *La question urbaine* (1972) and his edited volume *Imperialismo y urbanización en América Latina* (1973), which included contributions from authors such as Aníbal Quijano and Paul Singer.<sup>13</sup> In the same year, Marta Schteingart edited a volume, *Urbanización y dependencia en América Latina* (1973) which adopted a similar perspective.<sup>14</sup> For these authors, the exploitation of the working class and the imbalance of development between countries were unavoidable within capitalism, and marginalised urban spaces (as the materialisation of capitalist inequalities in urban space) were thus an essential component of Latin American cities. Indeed, these researchers emphasised that shantytown residents were members of a working class essential for the reproduction of the city (as proposed in Kohon's *Buenos Aires*). That is to say that residents' labour was necessary to sustain that same Latin American industrialisation celebrated by Germani and those working within the framework of modernisation theory.

Concurrent with these developments (and particularly from the 1970s onwards), writers and researchers began to pay increasing attention to the social, political and economic networks that 'marginal' residents created among themselves and within Latin American cities at large. Scholarship in this trend ultimately came to question the very idea of 'marginality' itself. Such ideas

12 F.H. Cardoso and E. Faletto, *Dependencia y desarrollo en América Latina* (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 1971); E. Dussel, *América Latina: dependencia y liberación* (Buenos Aires: Fernando García Cambeiro, 1973). See also R. Packenham, *The Dependency Movement: Scholarship and Politics in Development Studies* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), pp. 7–16 and 190–1.

13 M. Castells, *La question urbaine* (Paris: F. Maspero, 1972); M. Castells (ed.), *Imperialismo y urbanización en América Latina* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1973).

14 M. Schteingart (ed.), *Urbanización y dependencia en América Latina* (Buenos Aires: SIAP/ Nueva Visión, 1973).

were condensed and described in books such as Janice Perlman's well-known *The Myth of Marginality* (1976).<sup>15</sup> These persuasive critiques ultimately led to the concept of 'marginality' falling out of favour in urban studies for several decades. More recently, however, the term has experienced something of a revival resulting in fresh debates as to its relevance.

In the early 2000s, researchers such as Loïc Wacquant started to analyse what he denominates 'advanced urban marginality' in the United States: a set of forms of material and symbolic exclusion and socio-spatial relegation, caused by late 20th-century neoliberalism.<sup>16</sup> This return to 'marginality', however, has not gone unchallenged. For example, Teresa Caldeira has argued that the (re) use of the term cannot but hark back to mid 20th-century, developmentalist, conceptions of the city.<sup>17</sup> In Caldeira's view, Wacquant's theoretical framework resembles traditional marginality theory not only in the use of the term but in the idea that those living at the urban margins constitute a 'redundant mass' for the labour market. Caldeira's critique, however, is not unproblematic. While it is true that both theories relate spatial and social marginalisation, Wacquant points to repeated stigmatisation and extreme levels of unemployment, while marginality theory focused mainly on the lack of social integration among those recently arrived to the metropolis. Marginality theory did not necessarily conceptualise these residents as redundant labour, but rather as migrants from a rural culture who remained marginalised in urban contexts precisely because they retained their traditional culture.<sup>18</sup> Wacquant instead argues that contemporary marginality is linked to the high levels of unemployment and precarity that stemmed from 1990s neoliberalism, and he makes no mention of rural/urban dichotomies (a model which would not, in fact, apply to the US ghetto of the 1990s).

In a somewhat different vein, Perlman points to the numerous families able to move out of the favelas that she studies as a counter-example to Wacquant's emphasis on socio-spatial seclusion.<sup>19</sup> She also refutes Wacquant's take on

15 J. Perlman, *The Myth of Marginality: Urban Poverty and Politics in Rio de Janeiro* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), pp. 251–7. See also L. Adler de Lomnitz, *Networks and Marginality: Life in a Mexican Shantytown* (New York: Academic Press, 1977); A. Ziccardi, *Políticas de vivienda y movimientos urbanos: el caso de Buenos Aires (1963–1973)* (Buenos Aires: Centro de Estudios Urbanos y Regionales, 1977); L. do Prado Valladares, *A invenção da favela. Do mito de origem a favela.com* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fgv, 2005), pp. 128–30; and Fischer, 'A century in the present tense'.

16 L. Wacquant, *Urban Outcasts: A Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality* (Cambridge: Polity, 2008).

17 T. Caldeira, 'Marginality, again?', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 33 (3) (2009): 848–53.

18 Hauser (ed.), *Urbanization in Latin America*; see also Benmergui, 'The transnationalization of the "housing problem"', especially pp. 42–50.

19 J. Perlman, *Favela: Four Decades of Living on the Edge in Rio de Janeiro* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 158–60.

urban marginality by highlighting that favela residents have not been 'forcibly relegated'. However, as Hernández has noted, it should be borne in mind that Wacquant is elaborating his theory in order to account for US ghettos, while Perlman focuses on Brazilian favelas.<sup>20</sup> Neither of the two cases should be considered paradigmatic, nor should theories produced from either specific study be expected to be universally applicable. Thus, the fact that social and spatial mobility in US ghettos has become particularly difficult cannot be contested by a consideration of such mobility in Brazilian favelas: both observations simply apply to different contexts, as they analyse different spatio-cultural dynamics. Similarly, the fact that 'favelados' may not be secluded does not necessarily invalidate 'marginality' as an analytical tool in relation to US ghettos or other contexts. For example, while engaging in this discussion, Hernández points to the unquestionable emergence of marginal spaces within Colombia and Mexico where victims of drug, guerrilla or paramilitary violence have been concretely displaced.

In addition to Caldeira's and Perlman's concerns, and as previously intimated, there could potentially be one further reason to distrust a term such as 'marginality': it could be seen as perpetuating the centre-periphery model and thus inscribing the object of study in a necessarily dependent position. By extension, this could potentially undermine any claims to the term's importance or relevance as it could imply that 'marginal' issues are fundamentally of secondary importance to those related to the centre.<sup>21</sup> Contrary to these views, however, the essays contained in this volume will demonstrate that the transformations, tensions and cultures of the urban margins stand at the core of many dynamics which affect and alter the city.

Why then, if mid 20th-century theories of 'marginality' have been so fiercely and rightly questioned, and if there are grounds to distrust the concept, do we choose to embrace it again? The short answer is that we are reclaiming the term. As articulated at the beginning of this introduction, in the first instance we do not understand marginality as backwardness, nor as the negation of modernity but, on the contrary, we propose that it is a process through which spaces and groups remain (or become) excluded from decision-making, cultural recognition or economic opportunities by those sectors that concentrate power. This is to say that we contend that marginality is a necessary part of processes which are inherently modern. Moreover, many of the essays contained in the volume question the 'centre-margins' model itself and argue that urban spaces can be marginal or marginalised regardless of their geographical location, apparent wealth or, indeed, degree of legal informality. It is for this reason that

20 Hernández, 'Locating marginality', p. xvii.

21 N. Awan, J. Till and T. Schneider make this argument, for example, in relation to the concept of the 'alternative', in *Spatial Agency: Other Ways of Doing Architecture* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013), pp. 26–7.

the conception of urban marginality deployed in the volume goes beyond, yet incorporates, the idea of urban 'informality'.

As several of the essays in the collection attest, there are many cases in contemporary Latin America which exist in an ambiguous, unclassifiable position between formal and informal positions (see, for example, Cristian Silva's discussion of the 'interstitial spaces' of contemporary Santiago). Therefore, an over-reliance on the concept of informality may conceal, rather than illuminate, the complexities of their qualities. By utilising the concept of 'marginality', however, the authors in the volume are able to address the relegated place that marginal spaces and individuals occupy in relation to predominant cultural, social and political structures, rather than exclusively discussing those under an irregular juridical condition ('in-formality' in its legal or planning sense). Indeed, this decision also allows the contributors to discuss other forms of *social* marginality even within the 'formal' city, thus challenging (if not overcoming) the centre-periphery model. Our concurrent focus on creativity, however, ensures that the conception of marginality that emerges from the book transcends our original Foucauldian definition of the term and denominates a far more dynamic process, as we shall later see. For these reasons we ultimately propose that a focus on marginality does not seek to turn the clock back, but addresses problems that are incredibly urgent at the present moment, and points to the future.

## **Creativity, capitalism and the paradoxes of participation**

The concept of marginality as articulated above condenses two fundamental problems which the essays in the collection consistently examine: the changing role of the state in relation to urban problems in 20th-century Latin America, and the coterminous and complementary developments in the nature of capitalism within the region. To provide something of a crude overview of the historical developments in relation to these interlinked problems, the predominance of modernization theory in the academic literature of the 1950s and 1960s also witnessed the highpoint for state intervention in Latin America and its embrace of architectural modernism. As Latin American states later moved away from protectionist policies, models of import-substitution and the nationalisation of key industries, however, they instead instigated a gradual liberalisation of the market which, in turn, affected urban policies. This is to say that economic developments precipitated corresponding shifts in urban policy as the focus on large-scale state intervention was steadily replaced by market-based solutions based on the role of individual. This latter approach is arguably epitomised by the work of Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto. As in the present volume, de Soto views marginal spaces as rich in creative potential. However, for de Soto, this creativity consists of the individual's aptitude for *entrepreneurship*, and he advocates land titling and other forms of legal formalisation as a means

of allowing inhabitants of informal areas to access ‘credit’ as a panacea for all the problems encountered in peripheral urban spaces.<sup>22</sup> In this manner, de Soto’s work unapologetically adopts a neoliberal outlook: the state’s function is reduced to little more than providing a legal framework which will allow the market to function. Moreover, it is the efforts of the *individual* that shall liberate them from poverty once they have access to capital. For these and other reasons (for example, the fact that de Soto overlooks the limited nature of the markets that marginal entrepreneurs can access, that access to credit is not only determined by title holding or the fact that land-titling itself can lead to large-scale land appropriation by third parties), de Soto’s work has been subject to particularly strong critique.<sup>23</sup>

Over the course of the present volume, the broad movement from state intervention to individual and market-based policies is subjected to rigorous critical analysis. Indeed, the question of the role of the state (and its relationship with its marginalised citizens) is continuously explored. As described above, the 1950s–60s was the era of active state intervention on a massive scale in Latin America: it witnessed extensive infrastructural projects, the construction of modernist housing complexes, and grand urban plans which sought to rationalise the entire city space and incorporate all its inhabitants’ activities into an ordered and functional schema.<sup>24</sup> And it is precisely these types of projects which Lucy O’Sullivan explores within the Mexican context in Chapter 1. By analysing Juan Rulfo’s photographs of the construction of a modern housing development designed by Mario Pani, O’Sullivan examines the ‘interstitial’ spaces and ‘the elusiveness of their inhabitants’ (O’Sullivan, p. 50) that stood as a persistent remainder, beyond the reach of large-scale redevelopment plans. Thus, O’Sullivan explores the failure of such modernisation plans to achieve their proposed totality, and she also introduces the subjects who gradually emerge over the course of the book and become active agents in other time-periods and different political and social contexts.

This emergence of a new political constituency in Latin America (and the concurrent rise of dependency theory) leads us to another crucial discussion for

22 See H. de Soto, E. Ghersi and M. Ghibellini, *El otro sendero: la revolución informal* (Bogotá: Editorial Oveja Negra, 1987), and H. de Soto, *The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else* (London: Bantam, 2000).

23 See A. Gilbert, ‘De Soto’s *The Mystery of Capital*: reflections on the book’s public impact’, *International Development Planning Review*, 34 (2012): v–xviii; P. Wieland and T. Thornton, ‘Escuchando ladrar a los perros: Hernando de Soto y su receta para la Amazonía’, *Derecho PUCP: Revista de la Facultad de Derecho*, 0 (70) (2013): 325–44; and J. Michiel Otto, ‘Rule of law promotion, land tenure and poverty alleviation: questioning the assumptions of Hernando de Soto’, *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law*, 1 (2009): 173–94.

24 V. Fraser, *Building the New World: Studies in the Modern Architecture of Latin America, 1930–1960* (London: Verso, 2000); J.-F. Lejeune (ed.), *Cruelty and Utopia: Cities and Landscapes of Latin America* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2005); L. Carranza and F.L. Lara, *Modern Architecture in Latin America: Art, Technology, and Utopia* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2014).

the present volume, which focused on self-construction and the creativity of the urban poor, and was centred on the figure and work of John F.C. Turner. Building on a set of principles based on the idea of self-help which had been promoted by multilateral international organisations (mainly the Organization of American States) a decade earlier, Turner opened a new line of discussion which celebrated self-built and bottom-up urbanisation in Peruvian *barriadas* as effective responses to the housing needs of the urban poor.<sup>25</sup> As he argued, self-construction put control back in the hands of users, and it represented a process which led not only to personal fulfilment but also to dwellings better tailored to the users' needs. While Turner set out to redefine the role of the state in its urban interventions, it is no surprise that, following the neoliberal turn of the 1980s and 1990s, scholarship in urban studies witnessed a resurgence of interest in his work and a new-found enthusiasm for 'participation' in urban design and planning. In the present moment, it appears that different state programmes promote different degrees (and methods) of involving the individual or the community which arguably reflect the different economic programmes advocated by distinct governments. Nonetheless, the idea of participation remains at the core of these debates.

Turner's writings represented a turning point regarding the incorporation of users' participation in the decision-making process and the construction of their own housing within the architectural imagination and planning common sense. Not only this, but his ideas were also readily adopted by international agencies. Turner's position, however, led to significant controversy. From a Marxist position, authors such as Emilio Pradilla and Rod Burgess argued that self-built housing was not a materialisation of users' control nor a liberating process, but rather an extreme manifestation of labour over-exploitation which relied on (and invaded) the free time of the urban poor.<sup>26</sup> These authors were also frustrated with Turner's lack of attention to the commodification processes evident in self-built housing and the use of urban land.<sup>27</sup> However, due to Turner's clarity of expression and the suitability of his approach to both the late Cold War and the early neoliberal contexts, his celebration of self-help construction reached international standing. The 1976 United Nations Habitat conference held in Vancouver, in particular, marked the moment at which the idea of self-construction gained the prominent role it still enjoys

25 *Dwelling Resources in South America*, special issue, *Architectural Design*, 8, ed. J.F.C. Turner (1963); J.F.C. Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments* (London: Marion Boyars, 1976).

26 E. Pradilla, 'Autoconstrucción, explotación de la fuerza de trabajo y políticas de Estado en América Latina', in E. Pradilla (ed.), *Ensayos sobre el problema de la vivienda en América Latina* (Xochimilco: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 1982).

27 R. Burgess, 'Petty commodity housing or dweller control? A critique of John Turner's views on housing policy', *World Development*, 6 (1978): 1105–33.

for multilateral agencies such as the World Bank.<sup>28</sup> In fact, the World Bank's interest in promoting private property amongst the working classes as a strategy to curb the spread of communism in the context of the Cold War meant that it enthusiastically embraced Turner's ideas. This is despite the fact that Turner's analysis was originally derived from a romanticised communitarian ideal, and was not intended to promote the private sphere. In addition, his arguments spread rapidly in the field of architecture due to the way in which his position inscribed itself within a wider critique of mainstream modernist architecture.<sup>29</sup>

It is interesting, in this context, to revisit the debates surrounding Aravena's recent awards, as they cut to the centre of contemporary critiques of participation. As Daniel Kozak has convincingly argued, the celebration of Aravena's work and, indeed, discussions of its merits, reflect the continuity of controversies surrounding self-built housing. Simultaneously, they also reveal a certain fracture in the ways in which issues such as housing shortages are conceptualised in different global contexts.<sup>30</sup> For example, Aravena's role as curator for the 2016 Biennale received high praise in architectural criticism written in the English language as it 'set a theme of social responsibility ... devising schemes of affordable, expandable housing working on a local level' leading to the conclusion that the Biennale became 'the anti-starchitect, anti-corporate, bottom-up show'.<sup>31</sup> The choice of Aravena as curator, furthermore, implied not only that the 'temperature of world architecture'<sup>32</sup> was shifting towards social responsibility, but that the Biennale also took issues such as participation and creativity into account: 'The lady who has climbed the ladder [in reference to the Biennale's cover photo and leitmotif] sees signs of creativity and hope, and she sees them in the here-and-now' declared Paolo Baratta, Venice Biennale president.<sup>33</sup>

It is, in fact, difficult to find critical discussion of Aravena's work written in the English language, the main exception arguably being 'Half Happy Architecture' (2016) by Camillo Boano and Francisco Vergara Perucich.<sup>34</sup> Nonetheless, it is important to note that, even during the Biennale itself, the exhibition was subject to pointed criticism: anonymous graffiti appeared

28 D. Kozak, 'John F.C. Turner y el debate sobre la participación popular en la producción de hábitat en América Latina en la cultura arquitectónico-urbanística, 1961–1976', *Urbana: Revista do Centro Interdisciplinar de Estudos sobre a Cidade* 8 (3) (2016): 49–68, at p. 51.

29 A.L. Massidda, 'Grassroots agency: participation and conflict in Buenos Aires shantytowns seen through the Pilot Plan for Villa 7 (1971–75)', *AMPS: Architecture\_MPS (Architecture, Media, Politics, Society)*, 12 (4) (2017): 1–20

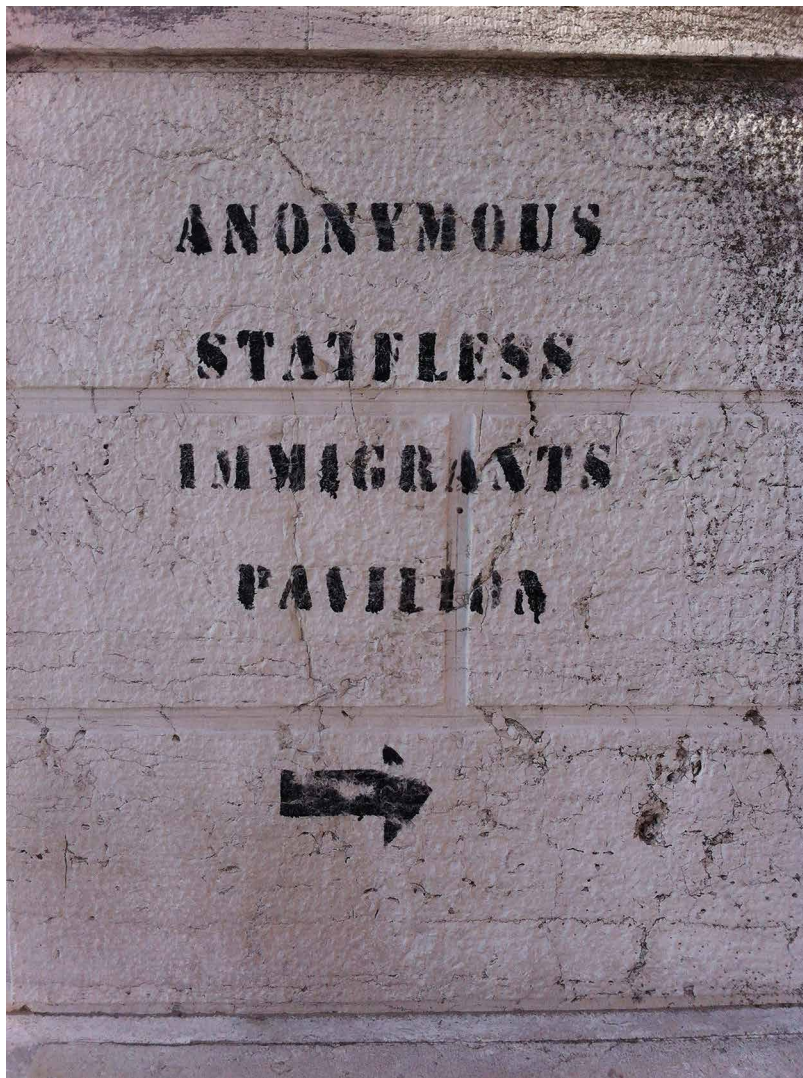
30 Kozak, 'John F.C. Turner'.

31 H. Pearman, 'Not half bad', *RibaJ* (July 2016), 62–6, at p. 62.

32 Ibid.

33 P. Baratta, 'Front', *Biennale Architettura Guide. The BAG 2016.15 Mostra internazionale di architettura*, p. 9.

34 C. Boano and F. Vergara Perucich, 'Half happy architecture', *Viceversa*, 4 (2016): 58–81.



*Figure 0.1. Anonymous graffiti on a bridge on the approach to the exhibition grounds for the Venice Architecture Biennale 2016. Source: Niall H.D. Geraghty and Adriana Laura Massidda.*

on several bridges on the approach to the main exhibition grounds claiming these spaces as the 'Anonymous Stateless Immigrants Pavilion' (see figure 0.1). Despite the organisers' attempts to create a more inclusive and participatory agenda for the festival, these markers (much like Rulfo's photos of Mexico's grand modernisation plans of the 1950s) served not only to inscribe those that remained excluded, outside and marginalised from the numerous projects presented at the Biennale within the city space, but they also became a reminder of a context where refugees and illegal immigrants remain continuously stigmatised and harassed. The graffiti forced attendees to recognise that the margins are continually moving, yet ever present, and thus that 'participation' may also prove to be an illusory utopia. And it is in a similar way that Aravena's work has been criticised in Spanish language publications.

Many writers in the Spanish-speaking world have questioned Aravena's lack of reference to Latin America's long history of participatory and bottom-up architecture; have expressed their scepticism towards the structural change that Aravena's approach can (and aspires to) actually make; and have once again pointed to the fact that participation initiatives 'hace[n] responsable al desamparado de su propio desamparo'<sup>35</sup> [make the vulnerable responsible for their own vulnerability]. In the present volume, too, Paul Merchant engages with the discussion surrounding Aravena's practice through his contrast of the filmic works *Mitómana* (José Luis Sepúlveda and Carolina Adiazola, 2009) and *74m²* (Paola Castillo, 2011), the latter film being a documentary about the construction of one of Aravena's housing complexes. Merchant's analysis ties Aravena's work to the very issues we have been discussing thus far. For him, Aravena's architecture stands as testament to the state's withdrawal from housing provision. Moreover, Merchant utilises this argument to discuss the social role of private power and entrepreneurialism in present-day Chile more generally. In a similar vein, Simone Kalkman explores the limitations of participatory art initiatives within the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, and their implications for artists, curators and the general public, exploring how these initiatives contribute to, or contest, broader processes which produce inequality and stigmatisation in the city. Thus Kalkman questions the very state policies implemented in order to promote participation and provide 'recognition and visibility to non-dominant and/or marginalised groups' (Kalkman, p. 188). It is at this point that something of a divide separates certain essays within the collection.

In her contribution, Anabella Roitman analyses creative solutions to contemporary planning problems in Buenos Aires in order to address widespread social inequalities in the city. This is to say that Roitman views

35 F. Barros, 'La desigualdad es elemental. Conjeturas ideológicas para una crítica a Quinta Monroy', *ARKRIT* (28 Nov. 2015); see also J.M. Echarte, 'Impostura social', *n+1* (13 Jan. 2016); and F. Massad, 'Alejandro Aravena, Premio Pritzker 2016' (13 Jan. 2016), <http://abcblogs.abc.es/fredy-massad/2016/01/15/alejandro-aravena-premio-pritzker-2016/#.Vpl2MQI0VyE.facebook> (accessed 25 Apr. 2017).

politics *from the perspective of the state*, yet critically analyses the scope and the effectiveness of their action. Implicit in Roitman's analysis is the suggestion that further creativity should be used in the rearrangement of actors and their responsibilities in order to produce solutions best able to address the needs of historically marginalised residents and *integrate them into the city*. In a similar way, Orlando Deavila Pertuz examines the ways in which marginalised residents in late 20th-century Cartagena organised themselves and engaged with traditional institutions of state and supra-state power (such as trade unions and the Alliance for Progress-funded Peace Corps) in order to effectuate specific works to improve their neighbourhoods. Deavila Pertuz suggests that residents were nonetheless able to maintain 'subversive' (Deavila Pertuz, p. 125) ideological and political positions which these programmes were intended to dilute. Thus he essentially argues that marginalised citizens in Cartagena *made strategic use of state institutions* while retaining beliefs which ran contrary to official state ideology. In contrast, Lucy McMahon proposes that in contemporary Brazil, state employees (in this case teachers) have at times *made strategic use of marginal (and illegal) protest tactics and social movements* in order to have their legitimate demands addressed. Across the collection, therefore, interactions between marginalised citizens and the state are analysed, revealing that separation from the state and incorporation within the state have both been utilised to meet immediate needs.

The studies of cultural products and programmes, however, add a further degree of complication to the picture. For example, Merchant draws on Paolo Virno's 'theorisation of post-Fordist labour and the multitude' (Merchant, p. 87) in order to demonstrate that, in contemporary neoliberal Chile, 'the sphere of life traditionally seen as not related to work, that of socialisation and the emotions, becomes subsumed into processes of production' (Merchant, p. 89). Similarly, Kalkman references the emergence of what can be denominated *favela-chic* (Kalkman, p. 186) as an essential element in the 'branding' of Rio de Janeiro. Thus processes of othering and fetishisation are shown to be essential for the extraction of new forms of 'capital' from the urban margins. In his examination of 'advanced urban marginality', Wacquant borrows Richard Sennett's earlier conception of the 'urban condom' in order to argue that new forms of urban segregation serve 'as both labor pool and prophylactic container of contaminating bodies'.<sup>36</sup> The work of Merchant and Kalkman also forces the reader to question whether contemporary programmes aimed at participation and inclusion fulfil their aims, or whether they merely allow for the extraction of cultural capital from the informal city, and the safe penetration of a dangerous, deviant and seductive 'other' into the wider cultural milieu. While it may thus appear that it is almost impossible to escape from the control and exploitation

36 L. Wacquant, 'Designing urban seclusion in the 21st century', *Perspecta: The Yale Architectural Journal*, 43 (2010): 165–78, at p.166. See also R. Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization* (London: Faber and Faber, 1994), pp. 236–7.

of both the state and contemporary capitalism, Geraghty and Massidda analyse Luis Ortega's *Dromómanos* (2012) in order to argue that it depicts a form of thought beyond that which can be conceptualised by the state, and which also breaks free from the strictures of capitalist commodification.

## The becoming-marginal of knowledge production

The important differences in the ways in which users' participation has been interpreted within scholarly literature written in Spanish and English raise further concerns regarding the centre-periphery model. From the Spanish and Portuguese conquest of the Americas to the present day, Europe has often been regarded (not only by Europeans but also by Latin Americans themselves) as the centre with respect to which Latin America is a periphery.<sup>37</sup> Given that the present volume examines the Latin American urban margins, it is particularly pertinent to address this very issue. In his examination of African academia, Paulin Hountondji has discussed what he denominates the 'extraversion' of African Studies. According to this view, African researchers have often targeted their work to a western readership (its extent not being defined) rather than producing it for their fellow Africans. Hountondji argues that such work thus perpetuates the exoticisation of culture, and nurtures and advances external scholarly agendas rather than those indigenous to the continent.<sup>38</sup> While the situation in Latin America is arguably different – the region has a well-established (though mainly créole) intellectual tradition which has long been aware of, and has sought to challenge and resist, cultural domination – it is nonetheless revealing to observe the patterns that regulate the circulation of works, theories, ideas and endeavours within it. In this sense, it would appear that in Latin America as elsewhere, current global academic structures dictate that theory is predominantly elaborated in the north, while data is produced in the south. This situation would undoubtedly imply an act of intellectual subordination and an unequal distribution of labour in the international process of knowledge creation.<sup>39</sup>

Other views disagree, pointing to the intellectual specificity of research within Latin America. Interpreting the work of Walter Mignolo, Bill Ashcroft has read Latin American intellectuals' resistance to post-colonial studies as a rejection of what they considered as yet another wave of North Atlantic domination. However, this very resistance also reflected, for Ashcroft and Mignolo, Latin America's long tradition of questioning theoretical work

37 Lander (ed.), *La colonialidad del saber*.

38 P. Hountondji, 'Knowledge of Africa, knowledge by Africans: two perspectives on African studies', *RCCS Annual Review*, 1 (2009): 121–31.

39 J. Roth, 'Entangled inequalities as intersectionalities: towards an epistemic sensibilization', Working Paper No. 43, *desiguALdades.net*, 2013, available at [www.desiguALdades.net/Resources/Working\\_Paper/43\\_WP\\_Roth\\_Online.pdf](http://www.desiguALdades.net/Resources/Working_Paper/43_WP_Roth_Online.pdf) (accessed 25 Apr. 2017), especially pp. 3–4 and 11–14.

coming from the north. Thus, if we are to understand 'post-coloniality' as the critique of colonial legacies, power structures and discourses, rather than the by-product of the development of post-structuralism in Europe, it can be considered to have emerged in the work of Latin American intellectuals decades before post-structuralism emerged in Europe.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, other critics, such as Adrián Gorelik, have recently highlighted the fact that the scholarly field of 'Latin American studies' itself only exists outside Latin America, and that within the sub-continent researchers work by field in a context of intrinsically loose disciplinary boundaries where (perhaps unintended) interdisciplinarity has been the norm rather than the exception.<sup>41</sup>

We have tried to reflect this inherent interdisciplinarity in the present volume by bringing together authors from diverse backgrounds. Not only do they come from different disciplines, but they have also been educated in, and/or work from, Latin America, Europe and the United States. Moreover, two further trends readily identifiable in the volume question the assumption that theory is elaborated in the north. In the first instance, the essays in the volume make clear that marginal spaces within Latin America are best viewed as a privileged site for theoretical praxis. Rather than providing data, then, the cases examined within the volume reveal the ways in which theory is *actually* practised and embodied or, more accurately, *how theory is produced through action*. Given that several of the authors engage with European theory in their analysis, the difference may appear somewhat subtle. However, in line with the objectives of the collection as a whole, the key point is that the production of theoretical knowledge is displaced and shown to emerge directly from the urban margins in Latin America themselves.

In the second instance, it is important to note that theoreticians and philosophers within the European and Anglo-American academies are increasingly aware of the disparities of power involved in the very act of producing theory. In turn, there is an emerging strand of critical production which seeks to overturn this power dynamic. Indeed, as in the present volume, many of these theorists now contend that it is in marginal and relegated sites that the production of the new actually takes place. To provide just a few examples, Alain Badiou's set-theory-derived ontology argues that within any given 'situation', the new can only emerge from that part which cannot be named and accounted for within it. It is this unnameable remainder, implied in the creation of any given set, which becomes the exclusive grounds for the

40 B. Ashcroft, *On Post-Colonial Futures: Transformations of Colonial Culture* (London: Continuum, 2001), pp. 23–6.

41 A. Gorelik, 'De cerca y de lejos: paradojas del latinoamericanismo', keynote at the 50th Anniversary Symposium of the Centre of Latin American Studies, University of Cambridge, 1 Oct. 2016.

emergence of the new through his radical account of the 'truth-procedure'.<sup>42</sup> In a remarkably similar manner Jacques Rancière has proposed that every society executes a 'distribution of the sensible' which ultimately dictates all that is see-able, knowable, and permissible within that society.<sup>43</sup> As in Badiou's analysis, Rancière goes on to argue that politics can only truly take place when those '*sans-part*' enact 'some kind of visible or vocal rupture that asserts their presence and discredits, even momentarily, the legitimacy of a "police order", and the social divisions within it', as Lucy McMahon explains in the present volume (McMahon, p. 138). This is to say that, for Rancière, political and social change only take place when those who have been marginalised (or made invisible) enter a struggle to make themselves visible; indeed, for Rancière the contest for the aesthetic and political participation of those *sans-part* (without part) is the very definition of 'politics'.

Finally, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari have described their own radical process of 'becoming-minor'. Within this analysis, Deleuze and Guattari first recognise that society is structured through a series of hierarchical binary oppositions such as man/woman, adult/child, human/animal (or, we would propose for the present volume, centre/periphery), and that 'becoming-minor' entails the metamorphic transition from the dominant to the minor position. Within Deleuze and Guattari's understanding of the world, such a transgressive movement disrupts and disturbs the power relations which maintain the original hierarchy and thus allow for the production of the new.<sup>44</sup> In each of these theoretical advances, then, creativity is inherently linked to difference, but decoupled from hierarchisation. And the essays within the present collection consistently adopt a similar perspective in their attempts to valorise and analyse the production of new art forms, political organisations and subjectivities emerging from within marginal spaces in Latin America.

Within these theoretical trends there has also been a concurrent progression away from the analysis of discrete and distinct entities to a persistent focus on those areas inbetween objects and bodies, on dynamic processes of becoming over stable being, and on movement over fixity. This development is perhaps

42 See A. Badiou, *Ethics: An Essay on the Understanding of Evil*, trans. by Peter Hallward (London and New York: Verso, 2001), *Theoretical Writings* (London and New York: Continuum, 2004), *Being and Event*, trans. by Oliver Feltham (London: Continuum, 2005). For an introduction to, and explanation of, Badiou's theory of the truth-procedure, see G. Riera, 'Introduction. Alain Badiou: the event of thinking', in G. Riera (ed.), *Alain Badiou: Philosophy and its Conditions* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2005), pp. 1–19.

43 J. Rancière, *Dissensus: On Politics and Aesthetics* (London: Continuum, 2009); J. Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics: The Distribution of the Sensible*, trans. by G. Rockhill (London and New York: Continuum, 2006).

44 See G. Deleuze and F. Guattari, *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*, trans. by D. Polan (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), and G. Deleuze and F. Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. by B. Massumi (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), pp. 232–309.

most clearly grasped in Deleuze and Guattari's celebrated attempt to overcome the 'arborescent schema' of knowledge classification and production, and to replace it with the 'rhizome' which 'has no beginning or end' as 'it is always in the middle, between things, interbeing, *intermezzo*'.<sup>45</sup> While recent research in urban studies has focussed on the division, segregation and separation implicit in neoliberal policies which ensure that the city becomes fragmented and fractured,<sup>46</sup> it is rather this positive conception of the 'inbetween' which can be seen to emerge from the urban margins and contest this neoliberal division in the present volume. For example, Cristian Silva analyses those 'interstitial spaces' viewed as a wasteful remainder, caught between (and left behind by) legal and planning regimes. Lucy O'Sullivan employs precisely the same term to name those marginal spaces excluded from Mexico City's grand modernisation plans. Similarly, Anabella Roitman highlights the case of Comuna 8 in Buenos Aires and notes that it, too, falls between the administration of three different municipal and state bodies and is simultaneously subject to a series of overlapping policies, such that this marginal area also becomes a bureaucratic interstice.

In addition to his focus on interstitial space, Silva also proposes that 'urban sprawl is a continuous process of urban transformation which functions more like a verb than a noun' (Silva, p. 58); and Merchant, too, adopts Turner's assertion that 'housing is a verb'<sup>47</sup> and contends that the filmic work *Mitómana* (2009) 'presents itself as process, rather than finished product' (Merchant, p. 90). Furthermore, Merchant frequently notes the movement which occurs in the films he analyses, and this is also reflected in Kalkman's analysis of the exhibition 'Travessias', which forces participants to move through the city and visit peripheral spaces normally excluded from their conceptions of Rio de Janeiro, as it is found again in Geraghty and Massidda's analysis of the urban nomads of Buenos Aires in both *La multitud* and *Dromómanos*. How, then, should this focus on movement, wandering, displacement and the inbetween be accounted for? Perhaps an answer can be found in O'Sullivan's account of the disciplining of bodies instituted through modernist architecture. Following Foucault, O'Sullivan essentially proposes that these grand plans sought to create 'disciplinary enclosures' modelled on the logic of the factory whereby the individuals within them would be subjected to routine exercise and programming so that they become 'mechanized according to the general norms

45 Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, p. 25. The first chapter of the volume articulates their conception of the rhizome (and its difference from the arborescent schema) at length. See pp. 1–25.

46 For a summary of these writings, centred on Latin America and globally, see Scorer, *City in Common*, pp. 20–4 and D. Kozak, 'Urban fragmentation in Buenos Aires: the case of Abasto' (unpublished Oxford Brookes University PhD thesis, 2008).

47 J.F.C. Turner, 'Housing as a verb', in J.F.C. Turner and R.Fichter (eds.), *Freedom to Build: Dweller Control of the Housing Process* (New York and London: Collier Macmillan, 1972), pp. 151–2.

of an industrial society'.<sup>48</sup> Given that, as articulated above, these large-scale modernist plans were abandoned and replaced with small-scale participatory projects with the establishment of (neo)liberal economic policies within the region, perhaps the focus on movement and the inbetween reflects Deleuze's description of the neoliberal 'control society', which 'no longer operates by confining people but through continuous control' modelled on the fluctuations of the financial market.<sup>49</sup> It is arguably with this type of seemingly all-pervasive and inescapable control in mind that Merchant advocates the creation of 'formless politics' (Merchant, pp. 100–1), McMahon of 'unruly politics' (McMahon, p. 138), and that Geraghty and Massidda describe a powerful new form of what can only be described as 'anti-politics' enacted and created by the marginalised residents of Buenos Aires.

If we have suggested that, on the side of power, the essays in the collection attest to a shift from Foucauldian to Deleuzian relations, we can now subject our original definition of 'marginality' to a similar reappraisal. Previously, we suggested that 'marginality' refers to a relationship of power in a dialogical arrangement. This would appear to be reflected in Deleuze and Guattari's conception of 'becoming-minor' as it is also reflected in the work of Rancière and Badiou when their theories are applied to any given case study. Nonetheless, we have consistently stressed that marginality emerges from a complex network of interconnected processes, and that the essays in the collection echo Deleuze and Guattari's multiplicitous conception of the rhizome. Similarly, Badiou's maxim that 'the set of all sets does not exist' necessarily invokes a multiplicity,<sup>50</sup> as he inverts Foucault's process of 'normalisation', redefines the dualistic other as the uncountable yet persistent remainder, and ascribes a fundamentally creative role to that which is excluded. So, too, the present collection describes a shifting, unstable and mutable marginality which (re-)emerges and (re-)creates itself as a necessary part of any act of grouping. Moreover, as in the work of Badiou, this seemingly unwanted remainder consistently becomes the very motor of creativity. We opened this introduction by invoking Lefebvre's dynamic definition of space, and we close by proposing a similar tripartite definition of the marginal: it implies an act of grouping, defines the mutable power relations within that group, and names the persistent remainder situated outside the group, which becomes the motor for creativity. This is to say that marginality, like space, is the setting for a process, a dynamic part of that process, and its continually mutating outcome. While it may appear that such a mutable concept is inherently vague, we would instead suggest that, borrowing

48 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 242.

49 G. Deleuze, 'Control and becoming' and 'Postscript on control societies', in *Negotiations, 1972–1990*, trans. by M. Joughin (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), pp. 169–76, at pp. 174 and 177–82 respectively.

50 A. Badiou, *Briefings on Existence: A Short Treatise on Transitory Ontology*, trans. by N. Madarasz (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006.), p. 7.

another term derived from set theory, marginality is necessarily underpinned by an essentially ‘fuzzy logic’.<sup>51</sup>

## Sections and chapters

In order to facilitate dialogue between the contributors to the book, the essays within the collection are not organised by discipline, but are brought together within three broad conceptual categories, which constitute the book’s three sections: ‘Where are the margins?’, ‘The struggle for the streets’, and ‘Marginal art as spatial praxis’. The first section opens with Lucy O’Sullivan’s analysis of Juan Rulfo’s photographic examination of the modernisation of Mexico City’s transport system in the mid 1950s. The piece questions the vision of a rational, organised city promoted by modernization theory and thus functions as an excellent historical introduction to the later essays. As the present collection constitutes a re-examination of the notion of creativity in the urban margins, O’Sullivan’s essay provides a vivid depiction of the historical developments alluded to throughout this introduction. Moreover, the essay valorises the ‘interstitial spaces’ found in the ‘cracks and crevices of the built environment’ (O’Sullivan, p. 31–2) and thus leads to the second essay in this section: Cristian Silva’s examination of the ‘interstitial landscape’ of present-day Santiago de Chile. From the perspective of contemporary urban planning, Silva also proposes a re-evaluation of the ‘interstitial spaces’ found within the urban sprawl, arguing that they contain significant unfulfilled potential which could provide an opportunity for further community development. The section closes with Paul Merchant’s analysis of the Chilean film *Mitómana*, which comes to question the very notions of ‘urban marginality’ and ‘creativity’ themselves. Merchant’s essay also provides a new perspective from which to consider the multitude ‘often invoked in relation to radical politics in Latin America’ (Merchant, p. 86) which is, in a certain sense, the focus of the book’s second section.

‘The struggle for the streets’ again opens with a historically-focussed essay. In his contribution, Orlando Deavila Pertuz examines the interactions between state-led developmentalist programmes and community-organised initiatives in the urban margins of 1960s Cartagena. Deavila Pertuz’s essay thus also allows the reader to historically contextualise the contemporary social protest movements, and reformed conceptions of urban planning, which are examined in the subsequent chapters. In the section’s second chapter Lucy McMahon both highlights the potential for radical political change found in Brazil’s urban margins, and describes the ways in which degrees of marginality can be (and have been) adopted at various times in Brazilian history in order to achieve positive

51 P. Cintula, C.G. Fermüller and C. Noguera, ‘Fuzzy logic’, in E.N. Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (2017), available at <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2017/entries/logic-fuzzy/>.

results from radical social movements. In the following chapter, Anabella Roitman assesses the effectiveness of attempts to reorganise the administrative districts for urban planning in Buenos Aires. Focussing on the case study of Comuna 8, a traditionally marginalised area, Roitman questions whether these reformed notions of urban planning can account for the heterogeneity of the area and lead to efficient, effective and inclusive outcomes.

The final section contained in the collection, 'Marginal art as spatial praxis', explores the important role played by various cultural initiatives and forms of artistic production in stimulating debate, discussion and the continual reappraisal of notions of urban marginality. The section's first essay, written by Simone Kalkman, investigates the ways in which the boundaries of the divided city of Rio de Janeiro are continuously crossed through the exhibition of artworks related to the *favelas*. Nonetheless, Kalkman also argues that these cultural exchanges across formal-informal barriers frequently reproduce stereotypical images of those living in marginal areas. In the book's final essay, Niall H.D. Geraghty and Adriana Laura Massidda provide a new framework for reconsidering the dynamics explored in the previous chapters. Through a critical analysis of the Argentine films *La multitud* (Martín Oesterheld 2012) and *Dromómanos* (Luis Ortega 2012) Geraghty and Massidda reconceptualise issues of urban marginality through Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's conception of 'desiring-production'. Not only does the focus on desire provide a new method of examining relations between formal and informal spaces within the wider city, but it also broadens the discussion and allows for the consideration of other forms of 'marginality' beyond an exclusive focus on urban poverty. In this essay, 'marginalities' such as drug addiction, mental illness and disability are shown to have a spatial dimension which contributes to the continual reconfiguration of the urban landscape.

A volume of this nature can never hope fully to account for the broad range of dynamics encountered within the urban margins in a region as vast and diverse as Latin America. Nor do we believe that the models and analytical tools utilised in the book should be considered universal and final. Nonetheless, we do maintain an unyielding faith in the creative potential of the urban margins in Latin America. It is for this reason we hope that, by offering a few precise analytical interventions, the present collection will produce debate, discussion and dialogue that can spread out and provide conceptual frameworks that will in turn be developed and challenged with reference to other areas and case studies.

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