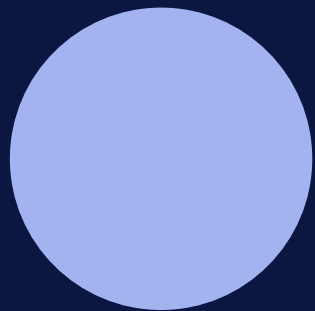


# // Beyond exclusionary inclusion: rethinking marginality (Territorial interrelations)



# Summary



# 1.1 The research problem

- **Growing (policy oriented) research** on the consequences of the extraordinary changes in the economy and society brought about by the restructuring of capitalism
- ... but **quite traditional research** (in particular policy oriented) **on the effects generated upon territory and urban space by these processes.**
- Much of the debate highlights the **need to explore the interrelated nature of contemporary world**, studying the interdependence and relationships between places...
- ...but we are still strongly related to consolidated binary forms of spatial representation and urban vs territorial policies: **peripheries, cleavages, divides, delays, “fracture territoriales”** ...

# 1.2 Relevance for policy design

- **Traditional spatial imaginaries inform and feed urban and territorial policies**, still based upon **simplified indicators, target territories, area based policies**, where the local (scale) is seen as the most significant ingredient on which policies should be based, in order to address a problem, rather than as a problem of its own.
- On the contrary, if we consider the interrelated nature of contemporary world, **policy design should now more than ever address the construction of related-nature solutions**, well beyond not only traditional administrative boundaries, but even beyond XX century forms of extended cooperation (vertical or horizontal cooperation, Behar, 2015).
- **The transcalar nature of economic-social and spatial change** deserves new approaches to the understanding and design of the contemporary urban question.

# 1.3 Aims- Structure

- To contribute to the:
  - **conceptualization of the interrelated nature of societal challenges**
  - **inspiring a new generation of "urban/territorial" policies.**

In this perspective:

- the paper highlights the **limits of the current traditional spatial imaginaries and policies**
- it proposes an approach to mapping **“marginality” within an interrelated perspective, as a dynamic condition, with some strategic consequences in the policy design field.**



# 2

***An interrelated and transcalar reading of the spatial nature of processes and effects of socio-economic restructuring***



# 2.1 Rethinking the role of cities and agglomerations in contemporary capitalism

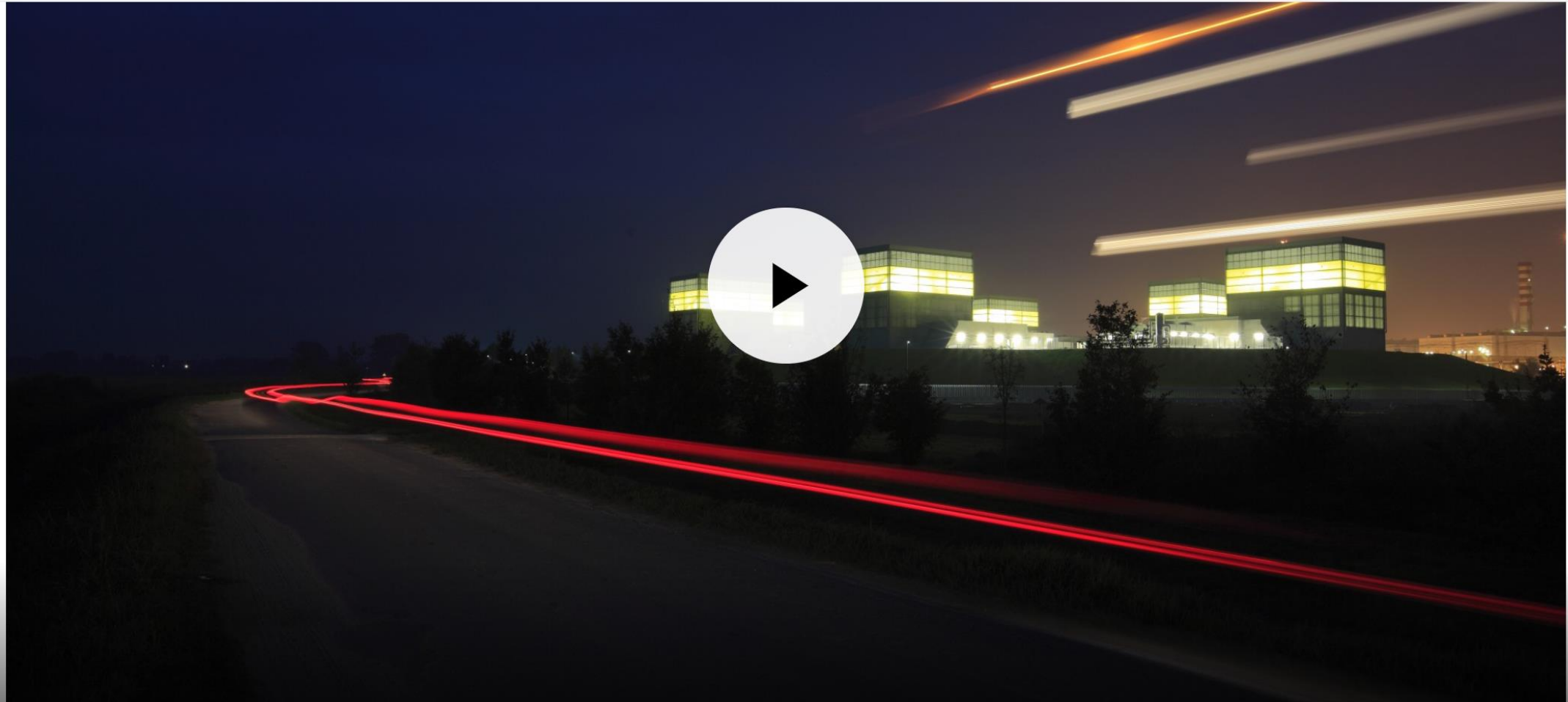
- **Cities and urban agglomerations in the Fordist-Keynesian phase of capitalist development** have been the subject of careful thought throughout the 20th century, with significant implications in normative and political terms on national/international levels.
- But for some time now, signs of **new forms and processes of economic development that involve contexts not traditionally at the center of the urban scene** have been emerging.
- They regard **territories that do not necessarily refer to the traditional urban/development coupling** (Scott & Storper, 2015).
- Thence **the need for new transcalar and relational viewpoints** that can take into account contemporary urban phenomena by **overcoming the more traditional urban or metropolitan models** (Roy and Ong, 2011).







- Several authors propose to **move the spatial focus of economic restructuring processes away from the agglomerations an central urban areas**, to think about how these processes are spreading **outside-inside the concentrated urban** fabrics in unprecedented ways, restructuring the consolidated centre-periphery relationship.
- They are, in fact, **taking place within new material and immaterial circuits**, which escape traditional urban geographies.
- New forms of labor, organizations of commercial exchanges, spaces/forms of production and cultural/recreational uses, new networks/flows of production, consumption, exchanges of information, energy, raw materials and food **escape both consolidated administrative boundaries and the many attempts to rebuild them on the base of forms of vertical-horizontal cooperation** (metropolitan areas or authorities, intermunicipal cooperation, consortia, etc.)



## 2.2 Hints from urban studies

- Scholars are focusing their research on **those processes of urbanization that contradict or stress the traditional “urban” paradigm and urban - economic development nexus.**
- **Brenner** and "critical urban theory": the urban no longer appears to be a distinctive condition but rather a **generalized process unfolding on a global scale.** It involves distant and different places in cross-scale relationships, all participating to different degrees in the organization of global space/economy/society and producing new profiles of social differentiation and inequity (Brenner, 2017).
- Soja et al. maintain that today's era might be defined as one of **regional urbanization** (Soja, 2015): large **urban regions are substituting cities on the international economic scene,** accompanied by new dimensions of the urban question (Balducci, Fedeli, Curci, 2017b).
- Other authors focus their attention on the emergence of in-between regions (Nussli and Schmidt, 2016; Sieverts 2013) or society (Bonomi, De Rita, 2015), in places once referred to as **“peripheral” or “suburban”** where today some of the most important socio-economic-spatial innovations are taking place, even in the absence of specific recognition (Keil, 2017).

## News

# I migranti come opportunità di crescita: ecco come funziona il modello Riace

Trasformare il fenomeno migratorio in una risorsa per la comunità. La scommessa del sindaco Mimmo Lucano arrestato per favoreggiamento dell'immigrazione clandestina





- **Merely an extension of the sphere of analysis?** Rather, a substantive step forward in understanding and studying the means and consequences of a kind of economic development that is **consistently restructuring places and producing – just to mention a traditional (urban) policy issue - new profiles of marginality/centrality** that hardly can match with the consolidated identification of the XX century (Soja, 2011; Brenner, 2017).
- Need to focus back upon the relations between processes of urbanization and the restructuring of capitalism in order **to understand both the ways that differential and unequal urban development comes about, along with its consequences:** new socio-political-economic assemblages that produce new forms and patterns of inequity, together with new forms of power and conflict.

■

3

***Remapping marginality:  
beyond exclusionary  
inclusion***



# Re-Mapping marginality: state of the art

- Mapping **peripherality and marginality**, has become harder than expected, so much so that institutions, looking for simple criteria in order to address complex societal challenges, seem **to be striving to catch the very nature of processes** and to adopt simplified strategy to distribute resources and tools.
- Notwithstanding some recent attempts to innovate this field (EU State of the EU Cities report, 2017; Espon, 2017), **marginality remains a spatial metaphor** indicating something on an edge with respect to a center in geographic, social, economic and symbolic space, the identification of which triggers the social construction of stigma.

- On the contrary, marginality, as postcolonial studies affirm, **can and must be considered a phenomenon that does not have merely simple spatial or geographic connotations**. It should be addressed as a **universal phenomenon that unfolds in space in different ways** (Mehretu et al, (2000).
- In this respect, couples like peripheral/central, exclusion/inclusion, global/local, city/country or proximity/distance are to **be re-conceptualized not as dichotomies**, rather as cohabiting conditions producing a **fractal geography rather than a geographies of fractures** and cleavages (Behar, 2015)
- Need for questioning a **policy-making style that still seems to be arbitrarily creating territories of marginality (and exclusion) to conceive projects for inclusion (exclusionary inclusion)**, often referring to a two-sided logic (development/underdevelopment, centrality/marginality).



- Moreover this approach relies upon an idea of action based on the concept of exception that moves from being an "emergency governance technique" to its generalized deployment, becoming a "**durable government practice**"(Agamben, 2003, pg.16-17), without being able to construct coherent, effective and enduring strategies.
- **Actually spatial imaginaries like periphery, marginality, inform and feed many national urban and territorial policies**, which are still based on:
  - (1) simplified indicators
  - In order to identify (2) target territories - the territorial geographies of problems –
  - and design (3) area based policies,
  - where the local (scale) is seen as the most significant ingredient on which policies should be based, in order to address a local problem, rather than as a problem of its own.

i.e. *politique de la ville*, France Strategie

- Conceptualisations like **Waquant's "advanced marginality"** (2007) or **Merhetu et al. (2000) typologies of marginality**, can help restructuring the way in which we measure and map these dynamics
- On the one hand the work of scholars like Simone (2017) or Waquant (2008, 2017) on the world's cities of the south might be particularly useful for a detailed critique of those approaches, with feedbacks also into the spheres of models of urban and regional policy.
- On the other, Mehretu et al. (2000) works hypothesis is based on the idea that **marginality is a: "complex condition of disadvantage which individuals and communities experience as a result of vulnerabilities that may arise from unfavourable environmental, cultural, social, political and economic factors"**.
- **"contingent and systemic marginality, and the two derivative variants: collateral and leveraged marginality"**

- In particular, discussing the different structural implications of marginality, the authors suggest that the prevalence of contingent or systemic marginality “*depends on the intersection of three structural dualities in a country’s socioeconomic system which are: (1) **competitive vs. controlled market mechanism, (2) endogenous vs. exogenous market dependency, and (3) neutral vs. vested regulatory state (Painter, 1995)***”.
- In the conclusion, the authors highlight the **relevance of spatial scale of inquiry** (varying from *megascales* to *in situ* marginality), suggesting that the **scale issue is crucial when considering marginality**, as well as that the spatial dimension of marginality must be read at the intersection of scales, producing unusual and unexpected geographies of co-presence

- Leimgruber later suggested that it is:

*“**difficult to identify a clear demarcation between non-marginal and marginal** and make his case using the distinction between town and countryside, showing how this distinction is most of the time blurred” (...).*

*“situations of marginality or of marginalisation – the process which contributes to augment the level of marginality – are **entangled in a maze of systems.***

*The only way to grasp a better understanding of how this marginality is created, and how the **power relations** have changed to bear this result, is to use a multilevel or multisystem approach”*

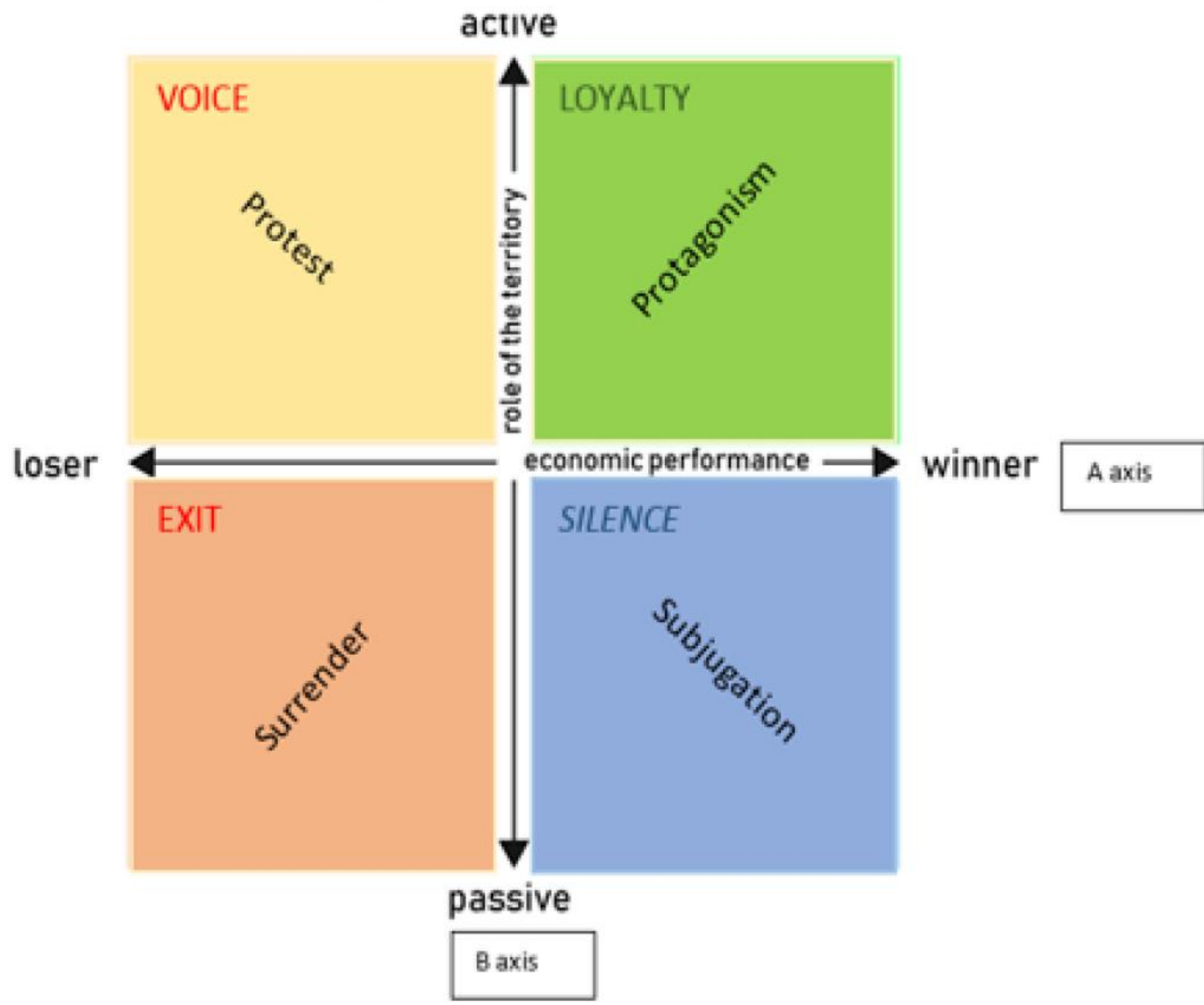


# Re-Mapping marginality: a proposal

- Moving from these approaches, in a recent research project based on qualitative approaches, we proposed to start **from Hirschman's exit-voice-loyalty model** formulated in the 1970s to study not only power relationships, but more widely the **new nexus space-society-economy**.
- The original model observes and interprets the ways in which businesses make (and confirm or not) their location decisions, seeking places that satisfy conditions for their success;
- But **what happens to territories**, intended as the close interrelationship between space, society and institutions, with respect to the behavior of businesses and the economy? How do they react to processes of economic reorganization? (How) Do they observe, endure, reactivate, re-organize?
- Can the **exit-voice-loyalty model deployed in a territorial perspective** be useful for understanding processes of the reconfiguration of the relationship among economy, space and society? Thus remapping marginality...?

- We elaborated a diagram that ideally locates:
  - along the **A axis** the trajectories of apparent success and failure in terms of the economic performance, allowing to identify winner /loser territories, based on simple and complex socio-economic performances indicators.
- **along a B axis** the ability of territories ( space/society) to play an active or passive role (active/passive territories) in intercepting the processes of restructuring of the global capitalism.

Marginalities or centrality can be read **as a complex condition in which economic restructuring takes places locally as the result of a lack of capacity to react and take advantage from a global local relationship dynamic.**



- This conceptual scheme seeks **to read “process” rather than “state”**, identifying trajectories of stability (decline and passivity, development and protagonism) but also of change.
- This could be done in particular, testing the hypothesis of Storper (2013), according to which, exploring the region as a unit of analysis with Hirschman model, it is suggested the relevance of formal and informal institutions in influencing specialization and human capital production, with particular attention on spatial habits.
- Thus showing **how exit, voice, loyalty model should be framed within form of multiple rationalities, in relation to socio-cultural and context variables** (Opp, 2017).
- Marginality becomes, on the base of this scheme, only relatively detectable in relation to a status ( distance from resources, lack of accessibility and opportunities, material poverty...), but more in relation **to the capacity of a place/society to interact with translocal economic processes.**

- In addition to that, the deployment of this analytical model could help **fostering understanding of the complex relationship between concentrated and extended forms of urbanization according to Brenner's thesis**, which refers in a certain sense to subjugation/protagonism relationships among the different forms of the urban.
- It can also help identifying **marginality out of traditional geographies**: in this sense, the unit of analysis should be defined on the idea that the boundaries and dimensions of the cases cannot be pre-defined and univocal. On the contrary, the possibility of referring to territories or social-spatial forms without pre-defined scales is crucial.
- It aims at contributing to creating a new generation of urban/territorial policies that can profoundly renew the logic of public action to support development.





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# Thank you

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