

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

URBAN INEQUALITIES: ETHNOGRAPHIC INSIGHTS

International Urban Symposium–IUS; Commission on Urban Anthropology (CUA); University of the Peloponnese, Corinth

Department of Social and Educational Policy of the University of the Peloponnese, Corinth, Greece,
20-22 June 2019

OUTLINE

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This conference promotes an urgently needed in-depth understanding of entrenched forms of social and economic inequality that have come to the fore, and in many cases have become exacerbated, as a direct consequence of urbanization without (or with weak) growth. Urban sustainability and a transparent, responsible and efficient governance are the obvious casualties. Unemployment, informal employment, homelessness, intolerance, conflict, suicide, crime and citizens' loss of trust in the democratic process are among the disastrous consequences. This Conference brings together a strong field of ethnographically-committed international scholars to address comparatively this cogent problematic in Western and non-Western settings in the context of the global economic crisis and the expanding gap between a privileged few and the rest of the population that mar contemporary society, jeopardising democratic life as they foster social and economic forms of inequality and conflict.

Huge, mostly uncontrolled, migration from poorer countries and from rural areas to cities adds to the problem, as newcomers experience exploitation, little or no improvement in their lives and often modern forms of slavery. Large internal and international migration flows in conjunction with weak policy, double standards in the treatment of individuals and groups and inefficient or slanted governance have engendered new challenges to urban life.

This conference is organized by the International Urban Symposium in collaboration with the IUAES Commission on Urban Anthropology and the University of the Peloponnese and is endorsed by City, University of London.

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KEYNOTE ADDRESSES

Urban Heritage, Inequalities and the Retrenchment of the Public Cultural Sphere

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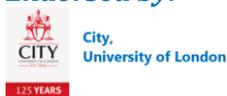
This talk will explore the effects on the public cultural sphere of the retrenchment of local government-funded cultural provision, with a particular focus on heritage. In many urban areas across the developed world, currently experiencing deepening urban inequalities and austerity measures under neoliberalism, cultural policy is mobilising appeals to local agency, participation and ‘active communities’. These establish a legitimate narrative for the state’s withdrawal from cultural provision and the closing down, or offloading onto third and private-sector actors, of local heritage, museum, library and gallery resources. Once devolved downwards from local government onto civil society groups, efforts to maintain local representation of diverse local heritages easily lose capacity and sustainability. Local museums in particular are closing or under threat of closure in many urban areas. Heritage can therefore lose its foothold in the local civic realm along with its potential role in sustaining and strengthening local cultural identities. It can, however, also provide a cause for ground-level collective identifications and anti-closure mobilisations that use a discourse of heritage ‘assets’ to resist the impoverishment of the local cultural sphere. This paper will explore these tendencies and struggles with reference to exemplars drawn from my own and others’ work, and discuss how ethnography can play an important role in bringing these to light.

Crisis, Disorder and Management: Smart Cities and Contemporary Urban Inequality

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Scholars of contemporary urbanity have arrived at something of a consensus regarding smart cities. Existing projects aimed at realizing this dubious form of ‘urban intelligence’ have been extensively critiqued for their top-down, repressive visions and policies. Even so, policy makers remain heavily invested in such technological fixes, which they regard as a panacea for ameliorating rampant inequality, displacement, dispossession and anomie. Complicating the task of policy makers, however, is the fact that smart cities end up excluding in the name of inclusion. Urban planners conclude that disadvantaged groups are incapable or unworthy of inclusion, and subject them to frighteningly anti-democratic, exclusionary practices that deny underserved groups any meaningful form of citizenship and in effect purge them from urban life. This paper takes up the question of how policy makers exclude in the name of inclusion. It also explores how smart-city advocates mobilize a powerful mix of symbols, fears, desires and ambivalences in soliciting support for their projects of exclusion/inclusion. Crisis figures prominently in this process. Indeed, smart-city advocates focus on the delineation of crises and forms of disorder that only smart strategies are said to be able to manage or mitigate. The paper offers concrete examples of how urban planners and policy makers draw upon the management of crisis and disorder to transform continually social and built environments so that inherited hierarchies may be preserved — even as these urban reformers represent their activities as doing the opposite. The paper does so by attending to specific ethnographic case studies from a variety of contexts, from India, Nepal, Pakistan, Peru, Somaliland and the United States. The paper concludes that smart-city strategies do not seek to solve problems of urban disorder and inequality. Rather, these strategies help exacerbate the very crises and forms of disorder they purport to ameliorate.

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ABSTRACTS FROM PAPERS

Smart for all? A View of Urban Futures from the Margins

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Bikaner, a town in North-Western India in the state of Rajasthan was a contestant in the Smart Cities Challenge that would name cities to receive grants from the National Smart City Mission. Although, Bikaner did not win in this contest, it is clear that all towns and cities have been influenced in their planning by the ideology and strategies of the 'Smart City', most significantly public-private partnership for development of the city. On the basis of interviews with administrators at different levels in Bikaner, I examine the vision for the transformation of this urban space. Furthermore, I draw on fieldwork in one of the most deprived neighbourhoods in the town, which comprises Dalits who continue to be discriminated on the basis of their caste, to ask how residents in the periphery view the development of the town in recent years and discuss the vision of the administrators. What do the Dalits men and women, who are exclusively responsible for cleaning the walled city, think about the recent urban changes and the plans for the town's further development? Methodologically, I argue that a view from the perspective of the most deprived in the city, will help us to understand whether power and inequality come to be reproduced through attempts at urban development, irrespective of whether the vision is labelled 'Smart'.

Memories of Exclusion: Producing Spaces of Belonging in Jangpura-Bhogal, Delhi

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Engaging the fraught relationship between nostalgic public memories of the neighbourhood of Jangpura-Bhogal in Delhi, India, and the lived experience of its contemporary realities, this paper explores the role of memory-making and nostalgia as a resource for urban belonging. Jangpura-Bhogal is the quintessential 'migrant neighbourhood' of Delhi: a highly diverse settlement in terms of class, caste, and religion that has witnessed continuous, and diverse, flows of migrants from its founding in the 1920s to the present moment of Afghan migrant settlements. The paper considers how, through the workings of 'nostalgic memory' for migrant pasts, the present experiences of migration and belonging are negotiated by residents. I show how the current moment of Afghani migrant arrival in Jangpura is juxtaposed as a negative 'time of turbulence' against the nostalgic memory of a 'peaceful heterogeneity' of a lost past. Refugees and migrants from a former generation claim belonging and identity as residents through contrastive projects of memory-work. They insist upon the significance of migration and heterogeneity in Jangpura-Bhogal, but this is rendered as a feature of a 'lost and different past', which is understood to be qualitatively different from the migration and refugee experiences of the present. The distinction between 'migration memories' and 'migration presents', and the social and political meaning of memory itself, becomes a resource for claims of urban belonging.

Unequal Citizens: Cairo Between the Gated and the Informal

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The conception of citizenship which accompanied the emergence of the nation-state, in essence, relates to 'a territorially bounded population with a specific set of rights and duties.' Such a conception of citizenship assumes

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that all the members of the nation have exactly the same set of rights and duties. This study analyses forms of inequality in Cairo, which is particularly far from this normative definition of citizenship. For that reason, I am keen on studying citizenship in practice, as a relation between citizens and state. I argue that state practices, represented in urban development, are constructing distinct communities based on spatial segregation and inequality which constitute different citizenships within the same society. These different conceptions of citizenship imply that the citizens of the same nation have distinct visions on their roles as citizens and the role of the state towards them. Consequently, the state-society relations are framed differently by both the citizens and the state, based on the citizens' discrete social, economic and political realities. Within this urban realm, the consequences of inequality are acute. I am specifically interested in answering the question of how do state-citizen relations differ from gated communities to informal areas? And what are the implications of these different conceptions of citizenship? For that purpose, fieldwork has been conducted in two selected neighbouring areas; Uptown Cairo, one of the most luxurious gated communities and Manshiyat Nāṣīr, the biggest informal area in the city.

A Fair Contest? Qualities and Inequalities in Boxing

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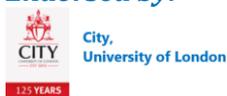
Drawing on interviews and ethnographic inquiry into professional boxing and boxing gyms this paper seeks to address the social, economic and cultural inequalities that define boxing in a city in the North of England. It identifies the empirical distinction between the potentially lucrative, business-oriented professional boxing and boxing as an amateur practise that promotes the pedagogies of instilling personal discipline and sportsmanship. For Marcel Mauss the logic of sport was to be found in its connections to the culture in which it is performed. Boxing and urban boxing gyms as arenas of inequalities mostly based around notions of masculinity embody complex aspects of social, economic and cultural inequality separating most boxers from significant parts of their audience, both within and without the sporting field. With its promise of riches and the admiration of both men and women, boxing has always attracted dreamers. French Canadian sociologist Wacquant suggests that the common perception of boxers is rugged, near-illiterate men raised in broken homes seeking to elevate themselves from gutter to fame. However, whilst successful boxers can earn status and respect in the new neighbourhood, their social class position does not change. It could be argued that whilst boxers gain a basic cultural capital that carries limited collateral outside the sanctuary of the gym, inside that same premise their mentors and elders implicitly and explicitly acknowledge the social inequalities of the outside world. Whilst the gym's social network provided routes into employment and therefore economic capital, the inside mythifies masculine will and determination as means to overcome disadvantage. Taking stock of these and other complexities around the Fight Game this paper addresses three specific questions; Is it the city *per se* that grows and nurtures those proficient with their fists? Or is it specific parts of that city? Is punching a way out of poor circumstances but into more complex arenas of unequal social standing?

'Where do we find money?': Urban Inequalities under Financialization in Mardin, Turkey

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Turkey has experienced rapid financialization since the beginning of the 2000s. Financialization refers not only to the increasing role of financial capital but also to financial tools like credit, credit cards and bank loans, which have become an inseparable part of the everyday life of ordinary citizens in Turkey. Financialization has changed many practices in society, has increased the existing inequalities and has created the new ones. The biggest inequality is between those who have access to these financial instruments and those who do not. The organization of daily life under the financialization process has increased these inequalities. Especially the urban poor have limited access to

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these financial services. And, among the urban poor, the women who do not have regular jobs have lesser access to these services. Based on ethnographic research done in 2018, this paper discusses the experiences of the urban poor, especially women, in Mardin under the financialization period that started in 2000. The discussion focuses on ten low-income women who live in a poor Mardin neighbourhood. Their access to financial services and their survival strategies are examined in the context of increasing financialization.

The Social Dimension of Modern City Museums

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Given the undeniable population mobility, linked primarily to the social phenomenon of global immigration and tourist mobility, modern cities are constantly under pressure to showcase their unique comparative advantage over other cities, achieve a quality everyday life, and gain a place high preference in the consciousness and choices of organizations, businesses, tourists and citizens. More specifically, participating actively in the global scene of urban development, innovation and competitiveness, the cities aspire to showcase the elements that will give them the name of a smart city, a creative city, a green city, a hybrid city, a viable city, a transnational city, digital etc. The culture or the cultural heritage is intended to be a high comparative advantage, and for their emergence it has developed a wide range of cultural institutions and organizations — such as museums. Museums and other cultural organizations aspire to be the pillars for the development of cultural tourism and, more generally, the ideal places for communication and connection between people. As cities across the world are primarily those facing immigration, religious expression, cultural diversity, discrimination, gender identity and equal treatment, several museums promise, or practice actions that promote the respect for diversity, promote the equality, accessibility and the prospect of social inclusion. The aforementioned social dimension of museums seems to contradict the rationale of developing cities as places that cultivate relations of power, inequality and exclusion. Through indicative museum practices in Greece and Europe, the paper will highlight the enhanced social role of the modern museum that proves to be able to promote social changes capable of building democratic and progressive societies.

Imagining Global Cities: State policies and the Marginalization of the Poor

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Global cities that compare with the best in the west is one key component of the ‘nationalism’ of the political elite of developing countries. To this end, the state-run machinery bulldozes both lifeways and structures that are presumed remnants of a shabby past. In this paper, with reference to the city of Delhi (India) that is both an ancient city and the modern capital of a post-colonial nation state, the process of dispossession of the marginal (low caste and poor) is analysed as directly related to the political aspirations of the ruling regimes and post-colonial ‘nationalist’ assertions. The borrowed model of development finds it difficult to accommodate the informal sectors of the economy that paradoxically serve the city and provide it with necessary resources and services that may, as in the case study discussed here, be of primordial nature. In the context of this ‘modernizing’ city, I discuss the location of a low caste service-providing community (washermen) in the social hierarchy and the usurpation of their physical space in the city even as their labour input remains vital to the functioning of the expanding economy. Their case reveals the fragility of the dream of the policy makers as both unjust and unrealistic, leaving unresolved issues in a chaotic urbanization being built on a quagmire of crushed lives and (non)legitimate power.

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China's Moving Slums: A Case Study of Recycling and Housing Injustice on the Edge of Beijing

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Close to 30% of China's urban population live in slum conditions according to UN-Habitat (2010). And, China's expanding cities continue to face an 'urbanization of poverty' and expanding inequality between the rich and poor, where many of the latter are migrants. Yet, in its recent urban slum eradication/upgrade scheme, the Chinese state has excluded rural migrant settlements from the definition of what constitutes a slum. By introducing the concept of moving slums in China, we interrogate the 'slum-free' vision in the Global South and the scholarship on China's slum-absent urbanism. In fact, the moving or hidden slums are neither historical or geographical 'exceptions' in the Chinese cityscape. We argue that the spatial mobility of the 'slums' as a result of *hukou*, China's land politics, and population control measures under a neoliberal-authoritarian state has made addressing their existence problematic and has contributed to the disjuncture of the literature on this subject. Inadequate attention to the 'hidden' migrant communities contributes to a gap in knowledge that leads to inadequate action against the increasing inequality and distributive justice in China. We draw evidence from years of in-depth, visually integrated fieldwork and participatory research in several large Henan migrant-run recycling enclaves that have existed on the edge of Beijing for decades. We contend that engaging with the concept of the moving slum can facilitate collaborative efforts on the part of exploited groups in urban China to secure their rights to the city. This paper highlights the importance to address the social dimension of urbanization in China (Chen et al. 2016).

Under Family Surveillance: Women Workers' Control over Their Income in Southeast Turkey

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This study is based on findings from in-depth interviews with ten women working in Mardin city centre. The labour market experiences of women in the extended families are defined within the framework of the hierarchical structure in the family that is based on age and gender. Mardin is among the less socio-economically developed cities in Turkey and offers its population few social and economic opportunities, including very few qualified employment positions for women. This has strengthened the power of the extended family over women. Within this sphere of influence, women are exposed to a wide range of limitations, from cases where their participation in the labour force is strictly obstructed to women being forced to drop out of school early against their will and join the labour market. Extended family manifests its power to control both the conditions of entry to the labour market and working women's power and wages. However, this is not a smooth process. I observed conflict among the members of the extended family and investigated how women cope with this process. Even though they may be pressured into unwanted marriages, women struggle to empower themselves not only through education but also by earning their own income.

The Political Economies of Everyday Borders: The Case of West African Street-vendors in Madrid

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In downtown Madrid, West African migrants make a living from illegal street-vending. The borders they have crossed chase them in this urban area through police interventions and a set of laws that precludes their full membership to the urban polity. How do these practices shape the lives of migrant street-vendors in downtown Madrid? This article argues that street-vendors operate in a field of nested illegalities where economic and legal marginality limit political speech and reduce the chances of obtaining a regularised status. The lack of access to other public arenas makes

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street-vending not only an economic activity but also a form of political speech and participation. This research draws on semi-structured interviews conducted with lawyers and activists and on informal interviews with street-vendors. Secondary quantitative data provide an insight into policing methods in the absence of the local police's direct participation in this research. The disenfranchisement of street-vendors is elucidated through the theoretical tools of border studies and postcolonial thought. Ultimately, the concepts of subaltern city making and quiet encroachment, posited by Roy and Bayat respectively, are used to disrupt the pseudo-geographical locations of North and South.

Precarious Employment and Social Exclusion: Athens in Crisis

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Precariousness and social exclusion are terms very much heard in the current period. This means that they describe a situation which is not marginal but, on the contrary, it affects large numbers of people jeopardising the conditions of their existence. Although their precise meaning is rather blurred, both combined they refer, in general, to the creation of insecure and uncertain conditions of existence as the result of remote decisions made at the expense of ordinary people's lives' trajectories. Hence, they encompass not only non-standard employment and worse labour conditions but life itself. For Isabell Lorey (2015), this concerns more than insecure jobs and lack of the security of waged employment. Insecurity and danger affect the whole of existence, the body, modes of subjectivation. They are strongly connected to a status of vulnerability where people cannot schedule their future lives, they tend to be socially isolated and materially deprived, doing short and dead-end jobs and mostly they are forced to find recourses on social programs schemes in order to make their daily living. Far from being a homogeneous category precarious people on the verge of social exclusion can be seen as 'second class' citizenry since they are denied a range of rights, the main being the equal access to forms of protection and the equal possibility to live with dignity. Based on extensive ethnographic research in Athens, we focus on the way precarious subjects conceive the current conditions of their existence and on how they develop the means of coping with the antisocial background they live in.

Moving beyond 'crisis'? Integration Strategies of Third-country Nationals in Greece

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During the last 4 years, Greece has faced one of the largest migration influxes in its recent history. The active engagement of Third Country Nationals (TCNs) in local societies constitutes a precondition for integration. This paper uses qualitative research and presents the results of the EU research project 'Local Alliance for Integration' (acr. LION/776213) (AMIF-2016-AG-INTE, 2017-2019) regarding the integration of TCNs at local level in the field of employment, formal education, healthcare, social care and intercultural coexistence. The research was carried out in Thessaloniki, conducting 40 semi-structured interviews with TCNs and local stakeholders, 3 focus groups with relevant stakeholders, and 2 consultations with TCNs and local stakeholders. The first section of the paper focuses on the mapping of best practices in terms of integration policies at the EU and national level through desk research and 3 focus groups with stakeholders, while the second part presents main findings from the semi-structured interviews with TCNs and stakeholders regarding their experiences, perceptions and practices in the field of employment, formal education, healthcare, social care and intercultural coexistence. The research findings reveal multiple barriers regarding TCNs' integration, limited access to information with regards to rights and benefits, and inadequate provision to healthcare and social care services.

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Rethinking Urban Informality: Lessons from Informal Housing in China

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Many of the significant urban transformations are taking place in the developing world. In particular, informality, once associated with conventional negative thoughts, is now seen as a generalised mode of metropolitan urbanisation (Roy 2005). Much of this urban growth today happens in informal housing (Roy & AlSayyad 2004), and astonishing figures show that millions of migrants live in urban informal housing as part of the urbanisation, migration, dual urban and rural household registration system (*Hukou*) and dysfunctional housing provision occurring in Beijing, China. Although being different forms from slums or squatter settlements in other countries (Turner 1978, UN-Habitat 2003), these growing informal housing in Beijing are also associated with similar issues such as inappropriate infrastructure, insecure land tenure, potential safety issues, spatial segregation, social exclusion informal sector and informal network, etc. However, both theoretical and empirical studies on informal housing in Beijing are limited. This paper will review the diverse mechanisms behind the complexity of urban housing informality in China; it aims to rethink the value of informal properties and improve the understanding within informal housing area, so as to enable state and housing professionals to accumulate, eliminate and integrate informal housing areas within formal planning zones, promote urban regeneration/development and alleviate housing poverty in China.

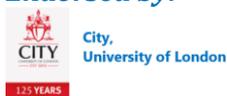
Sharing the Burden of Unemployment: A Critical Theorization of the NEET Phenomenon in the Mediterranean EU Regions

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Over the past three decades, the EU and other nations have adopted ‘employment flexibilization’ as an umbrella term for various policies and practices that promote non-permanent or atypical or precarious employment. In fact, the term has been more intensively applied since the 2008–2009 depression. Being a market-oriented reduction of typical labour protection, often accompanied by unbalanced employee pay-offs in the form of enhanced security, flexibilization has been praised for its ability to eradicate barriers (i.e., rigidities) in labour market entry and boost employability. Within this context the term of social economy has been regenerated through, among others, initiatives against unemployment driven by the notions of mutuality, common interest, autonomous and democratic governance. However, due to the recession and the deep socioeconomic reforms, the working population encounters not only escalating precariousness but also high increments in NEETs expansion (i.e. those that are Not in Employment Education or Training). This pro-capital transformation is related to increasing unemployment, but also to several other factors such as the condition of being socially excluded, discouragement and the rise of ‘delinquent behaviour’. This study has a threefold objective: 1) to provide critical insights on the spatio-temporal trends of labour flexibilization, 2) to analyse the interrelationships between flexibilization and the NEETs phenomenon and 3) to argue against the effectiveness of mainstream social economy practices and their true impact upon youth unemployment. The focus is on Mediterranean EU countries at the NUTS-2 regional level for the past decade or so. The study’s major finding contradicts the prevailing beliefs that support a ‘healthy trade-of’ between flexibilization and social economy as a remedy to economic recessions and an instrument that boosts employment and productivity. Following a geographical-materialist framework of analysis, the results strongly support the wider scepticism that has recently developed about the pressing need to reassess adopted economic policies for labour market regulations and promote a radical change that fosters both socially-just growth and labour protection.

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Short-term Rentals and Urban Socioeconomic Inequalities: Qualitative Evidence from Two Athenian Neighbourhoods

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Athens' urban fabric has undergone profound transformations in the recent years, stemming from low property prices — a direct impact of a longstanding crisis, a lucrative Golden Visa programme that attracts transnational capital, and the soaring numbers of a booming urban tourism industry. The proposed paper explores the issue of short-term rentals within the context of a South-EU metropolis, aiming to contribute to the political-economic views of Critical Geography and the Supply-oriented Approach to gentrification and touristification, with a theoretically informed empirical analysis. The research objective is to scrutinize the specifics of Airbnb listings and the uneven development these generate, across the micro-localities of two central neighbourhoods of Athens and investigate the socioeconomic impact through the eyes of the in-situ population, workers and entrepreneurs. The paper draws on a mix methods approach, relying upon secondary data and fieldwork observations, which will be processed through GIS tools. The analysis reveals the varied trajectories of the two neighbourhoods, finds that micro-concentrations of Airbnb listings are related to shifting land uses and nearby — heavily influential — urban landmarks and illuminates the complex impact of short-term accommodation on intra-urban labour markets and socioeconomic cohesion.

Urban Complexities and Life Course Planning: The Case of Second-generation Albanians in Greece

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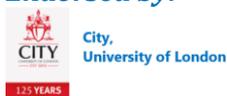
Growing urbanization and global interdependences have created new challenges and complexities for the 21st century governments in terms of cohesion, equality, diversity and well-being. Despite desires to facilitate inclusion and sustainability in changing urban settings, wide inequalities are still present, questioning the efficacy of current policy planning. In this complex context, migration issues and the integration of second-generation immigrants, is revisited in order to understand the processes of urban transitions. In Greece, the acute economic crisis has reshaped second-generation immigrants' life courses and future plans in terms of educational attainment, labour market opportunities, intergenerational mobility, social integration, identity and self-identification. Based on ethnographic analysis, this paper aims to examine how second-generation Albanian immigrants in Greece are coping with new urban inequalities and complexities emerging from financial crisis, prolonged austerity and unemployment. This paper will shed light on the strategies that these adolescents choose to implement in order to overcome their precarious life-worlds adopting the notion of precarious future as a time framework for organizing their present choices. By examining their action against the structural violence and relevant urban complexities that jeopardise their visualized life trajectories, I highlight the fact that second-generation Albanians do not behave as passive subjects but focus on their individuality, take specific action and finally create the terms of their social reproduction.

From Trukford to Bradistan: Ethnic (De)segregation in Metropolitan Europe and its Effects on the Integration of Immigrants

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In light of accelerating immigration to Europe and the concomitant transformation of ever more European cities into multi-ethnic metropolises, this paper aims to contribute toward reaching a judgment on the segregation-integration

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nexus. Gaining insights into this nexus is paramount, as the scholarly verdict on the relationship between spatial segregation and the integration of immigrants is still pending, while governments are already pursuing policies to combat concentration in the name of integration. The novelty of this contribution consists in the method it explores, namely a comparative discourse analysis of immigrants' Facebook groups. This approach makes it possible to 'listen into' the conversations taking place amongst immigrants in cities with varying levels of segregation. Initially, the social media posts are searched for answers to the on-going debate on *whether* the physical emplacement in more or less segregated neighbourhoods matters anymore. Subsequently, they are scrutinized for traces *how* place matters. Hereto, a distinction is made between sociocultural, economic and political integration. In all three modes of integration, the analysis finds that desegregation might be causative for downward assimilation and transnationalism, whereas ethnic enclaves provide the basis for a pluralist mode of integration. Therefore, it suggests to re-evaluate critically the suitability of dispersal policies as immigrant integration tools.

**Indicators of Urban Segregation in Istanbul:
An Example of Official Urban Transformation Promotion Films of Municipalities**

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Urban transformation creates inequality. Urban transformation creates separation in urban space. How are urban inequalities built by the local administrations under the name of 'improvement'? Income-oriented transformation of the slums in Istanbul has become one of the government's main economic resources in Turkey. The urban transformation process in Turkey begun with the 6306 numbered regulation, named 'Implementation Regulation of the Law of Transformation of Areas Under the Disaster Risks', which had come into force in 2012. Even the protected areas were zoned by the regulation. The slums of Istanbul became the centre of urban transformation projects and the municipalities became the executors of these projects. The poor in Istanbul were faced with being pushed out of the city, and projects were developed for mid-upper classes in these areas. In this study I aim to understand the construction process of urban segregation in Istanbul's slums by the official urban transformation promotional films that were prepared by the municipalities. Promotional films were selected focusing on the slums that after 2012 faced a transition to apartment life. A significant contrast was identified between positive and negative indicators), which was analyzed looking at the indicators of inequality through the methodology of Roland Barthes's semiotic analysis.

New Values, Old Inequalities: The Third Wave of Neoliberalization in Post-Socialist Poznań

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The paper discusses the current phase of urban restructuring in Poznań, arguing that the recent shift in the city's governance model (2015–2018) — the conversion of entrepreneurial 'city of know-how' to participatory 'city of freedom' — is driven by the evolution of a post-socialist variation on neoliberal urbanism. While the former could be interpreted as a result of the second wave of neo-liberalization of Polish cities (marked by the adaptation to an institutional framework of European Union epitomized in commercialization and privatization of urban fabric, regeneration by mega-events, and urban revanchism), the latter signals the beginning of the third wave of the said process entailing the promotion of new metropolitan values (creativity, sustainability etc.), experimentations with 'fast policies' and the cooptation of the oppositional forces mobilized against the more brute and top-down version of neoliberal urbanism. The paper examines these problems focusing on the 'soft' modernization practices of city making and quasi-democratization of Poznań's model of governance. Through an historical-geographical materialist analysis of local alliance of urban movements and municipal authority it demonstrates how 'the right to the city' rhetoric is being used to consolidate the neoliberal ideology of surrogate participation, governmentalization of urban

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activism and middle-class centred recasting of such concepts as ‘public space’, ‘participation’ or ‘urban citizenship’. The case study shows that despite the improvement of the quality of space and seemingly progressive rebranding of the city Poznań remains a socially divisive area leading to the spatial and discursive exclusion of urban poor as well as to potential reemergence of right-wing anti-neoliberal populism.

Motherhood Penalty in South Asian Labour Markets: A Case Study from Urban Bangladesh

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South Asian labour markets represent some of the lowest labour market participation by women. The literature on labour market inequalities often identify the concept of motherhood and its implications as one of the contributing factors behind women’s persistently lower engagement to paid work. In this study, the author examines the career trajectory of ten working women in the megacity Dhaka through in-depth interviews and case study analysis over the period of six months. The study shows that even though there are different government mechanisms in place to integrate women in the mainstream labour market, middle class women do not really benefit from them in Bangladesh. Amidst the ever-rising nuclear family units, the scarcity of trustworthy and affordable child care centres, unavailability of employer sponsored day-care centres and unfavourable parental leave policies often push working women to replace their full-time career with low-paid flexible alternatives. In addition to financial compromise and sliding social mobility, this downward career trajectory fuels critical psychological impacts among women who perceive themselves as more than a good mother. The study includes recommendations by expert psychologists and pioneer feminist leaders in South Asia.

Women Small Merchants: An Ethnographic Approach to Informal Trade in the Centre of Athens

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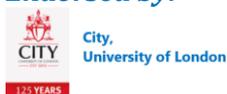
This paper examines the case of women-small merchants working in the centre of Athens selling products, and who fall within the framework of informal employment. They usually sell either as wandering traders or in fixed positions using benches. These products are usually of their own production, e.g. food products or creations of their own craft, such as aprons, socks, knitted sweaters. Most women, who are small merchants, are in some borderline state when they sell products as they do not have a formal merchant license. This is why they either sell their products alone at some street corners, so that they can escape if needed, or, again, at the ‘fringes’, the ends of the street markets and the central market of Athens, so that their presence does not ‘bother’ merchants having a license. In this paper, we will mainly focus on: a) the problems women-small merchants deal with in their daily life selling products ‘informally’, without a license, b) the strategies they follow on the street, and c) the significance of the female gender. How is the fact that they are women significant? How are they treated by male merchants in the streets, and how are they treated by customers? Do they suffer any suppression or discrimination? The research was based on participant observation and the long term stay in the research field, as well as on the life narrations of the informants.

***‘A few hours walking in the city seems a whole month for us...’:* An Ethnographic Study of the Dormitory for Homeless People in Thessaloniki**

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Thessaloniki, a city in northern Greece, can be seen as the city of co-existing inequalities. Although it is a modernised city and a touristic destination, at the same time, it stands as ‘a city of the deprived’, of liminal figures who live at

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the margins of urban life. Since February 2017 to the present I have been conducting an ethnographic research of homelessness and the main locus of my research is the dormitory for homeless people. In a rather impoverished area, away from the city centre, the dormitory for homeless people seems ‘invisible’ to most city dwellers. Thessalonikans ignore its presence: unknown, marginalized, excluded, as indeed homeless people seem to be, at the margins of modernity, living wasted, anonymous, liquid lives (Bauman 2000, 2004). The role of emotions is crucial in order to understand and conceptualise the city, citizenship and space. Emotions shape how the city is experienced by those ‘in need’ and create an emotional canvas, a kind of emotional geography. Homeless people experience anger, distrust and at the same time they seem to engage in relations of mutual support and solidarity. However, it appears that this situation is always in question, fluid and fragile. The ethnographic study of the dormitory for the homeless in Thessaloniki broadens the discussion of liminality and precariousness since we are dealing with humans in the margins who challenge their marginality and strategically manage their homelessness. Hence the main aims of the paper are: to pay attention to the multiplicity and complexity of urban life, to engage with debates on inequality and homelessness, to unpack conflicting understandings of different urban spaces as well as to pay attention to different emotional and somatic ethnographic experiences.

Unmet Healthcare Needs of Unemployed People in Urban Areas in Attica

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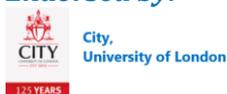
Aim: To assess unmet healthcare needs of unemployed people in urban areas of the region of Attica. **Methods:** A cross-sectional study was conducted in 6 entities of the Manpower Employment Organization (OAED), from October 2016 to May 2017. A stratified multistage random sample was chosen in the northern and southern suburbs as well as in the metropolitan centre, distributed approximately per 30%. A self-completion questionnaire was structured including questions on unemployed people’s socioeconomic characteristics, health status and unmet health needs. Descriptive and inferential statistics were performed using SPSS 25. **Results:** 830 unemployed participated in the study. 37.2% of sample resided in north, 31.8% in south and 31% in central suburbs. 3 out of 10 were long-term unemployed and 16.4% suffered from a chronic disease. Although 42.4% declared unmet health needs due to unaffordable co-insurance payments, only 15.1% was addressed in social settings. The Unemployed who resided in the southern and metropolitan centre are more likely to have unmet needs ($p=0.039$) and visit social settings ($p\leq 0.001$). 52.7% of long-term unemployed reported unmet needs compared to short-term (36.2%) ($p\leq 0.001$). Correlations were found between unmet needs and health status ($r=-0.291$) and mental health ($r=0.200$). **Conclusions:** Strategies to alleviate barriers of healthcare access and utilization faced by the unemployed are needed.

Urban Environmental Governance and Sustainable Development: Nottingham City and Shanghai

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The paper is based on my doctoral study seeking to understand how cities with different local contexts govern their urban environments within their development agendas. The paper explores how the global sustainable development agenda is perceived and, whether or not, it is localised in different settings. Through the lens of multilevel governance, policy networks, and policy transfer, this paper presents the cross-national comparative case studies of Nottingham City (UK) and Shanghai (China) to compare: how different actors in Nottingham and Shanghai perceive the sustainable development concept; the challenges and opportunities for urban environmental governance in their contemporary contexts; how environmental concerns are considered in their urban development agendas; and the mobility of resources and policy initiatives to support their environmental governance. It is challenging to compare presumably ‘incomparable’ cities, but the study consequently produces meaningful methodological contributions to

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the arena of urban comparative research. The fieldwork was conducted in Nottingham/England and Shanghai/China where I observed public events and carried out in-depth interviews. Through interpretive content analysis of interview transcripts, field notes, and relevant documents, preliminary findings show interesting dilemmas between environmental protection measures, or more broadly sustainability policy agenda, and inequity in urban settings, which reversely challenges the very sustainable development concept.

Hard-core Football Fans in St. Petersburg: Mechanisms of Social Exclusion and Inclusion

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Russian ultras gained notoriety in Western media during the French Euro 2016 tournament and the 2018 FIFA World Cup. The fear of professionally trained nationalist fighters breaking the peaceful celebrations of the World Cup in Russia has found its way into public discourse. Focusing on the example of Zenit FC hard-core supporters from Saint Petersburg, this paper addresses the most problematic social issues existing in the current Russian football hard-core fan culture: racism, gender inequalities, and ethno-religious antagonism. The construction of the ‘other’ in football fans rivalries often derives from cultural and socio-economic contexts, past and current geopolitical situations. Imagining football culture as a traditionally and predominantly masculine one, hard-core fans also use gender as another mechanism for social exclusion. Lastly, supporters of Zenit FC have adopted nationalistic rhetoric prevalent in the Russian Premier League stadium. This nationalist rhetoric defines interactions with other fans on both levels — internal and international accordingly. Based on several years of participant-observation and numerous in-depth interviews with hard-core fans, the paper aims to discuss the mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion applied at the football terraces in Saint Petersburg.

Precarious Housing: Survival Strategies in the Centre of Athens

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Housing needs do not just concern accommodation or sleeping patterns, but rather broader constellations of discourse, ideology, affect and corporeality, which involve complex biopolitical configurations of what is considered ‘home’. The paper focuses on housing survival strategies emerging in the centre of Athens as a response to austerity. Biopolitics that conserve extreme inequalities of habitation are explored in their relation to the conceptualizations of ‘crisis’, ‘state of exception’ and democracy. In order to understand the experience of dispossession and social suffering of subjects living in various states of precarious housing and marginal homelessness, I suggest the study of a continuum of improvised housing arrangements. This concerns modes of ‘living together’, or also apart, the uses, re-uses — for some, *abuses* — of space reported in relation to alternative forms of low-budget building, temporary or longer-term accommodation strategies, hospitality practices, forced rehabilitation or cohabitation models. In other words, livelihoods in intermediate, marginal and temporary spaces where vulnerability, destitution, deprivation, loss and injury set light on intersubjective embodiments and affective economies. Welfare state policies and social benefits, bureaucratic adjustments and legislation along with the humanitarian interventions will be problematized via concepts of victimization or responsabilization of the subject, as well of compassion and charity.

The Uneven Urban Development

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Modern Athens’ historical and cultural evolution suggests that the urban complexity of the city reflects an unorthodox urban development that has been occurring since the beginning of the 19th century. As the city seeks to establish its

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own identity as a contemporary modernized European Capital, its urban evolution is mainly characterized by radical economic, political and social changes that have a direct impact on the city's landscape. In addition, the city experiences a significant population growth, finding its greatest outbursts during the 1920s, 1950s and 1960s. In the lack of an overall plan that could arrange efficiently the city's expansions, many new urban areas are developed through private initiative. As the city expands informally, giving clear priority to the design of private space, city planning comes 'after', in order to regulate the existing deficiencies and neglects of the 'un-designed' urban development. A study conducted by urban sociologists in Athens between 1988 and 1991 illustrates a homogenizing building environment that has been created mainly by its social dynamics and self-regulatory mechanisms and differs strongly from the typical European City of the North. Nevertheless, the typical Athenian urban environment is almost 'disrupted' by a number of large-scale architectural interventions that have been occurring throughout the city over the years and aim to stimulate the city's image as a contemporary modernized European City. These interventions often show a self-referential character of 'discontinuity' within the city's fabric, unfolding an 'uneven' urban development that conceptualizes Athens as a city of contradictions and a place of specific identity.

**From Womb to Tomb:
The Legacies of Racial Segregation in Buffer Zones in Life and Death, Bloemfontein**

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The power and legacies of the colonial-cum-apartheid planning matrices have endured to this day in South Africa, either in terms of broader political and economic issues or spatial planning. There has been a continuity in change pertaining to the racial composition of the government but the continuity being the persistence of the colonial-cum-apartheid system of governance into the post-colonial-apartheid era. The post-colonial-cum-apartheid cemetery is another idiom of racial inequality as well as segregation where black and white, rich and poor are segregated even in death. This paper refers to work that blames the post-colonial government for failing to plan for black people. These arguments are completely inaccurate, as the nature of planning continues to be a major signifier of urban inequality which significantly hinders sustainability. It also jeopardises democracy as demonstrated in the Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality in South Africa. Three specific continuities — segregated neighbourhoods, urban planning curriculum and buffer zones, specifically cemeteries — are perpetuated by the planning policies. This paper focuses on the third continuity, with site visits to the cemeteries, interviews and aerial photograph analyses to map various buffer zones and cemeteries in Mangaung. This paper moves towards proposing the abolishment of segregated cemeteries in South Africa.

Cultural Perceptions in Different Temporal Contexts: The Case of Albanian Migrants in Corinth

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This presentation suggests that the labour and economic precarity that plagues the majority of migrants in the modern globalized world should be seen in the light of past cultural strategies; namely, the strategies that migrants have employed in order to face similar challenges during their initial movement in countries of destination should be examined in conjunction with current strategies. This historical and temporal approach highlights the continuities and the transformations of the culturally certain ways of responding to the diverse 'crises'. The case study of Albanian migrants who work 'seasonally' in Corinth and live in the wider region of Corinth shows the way in which Albanians handle the social networks. They currently supplant the Albanian social networks that have helped them to find a job in Greece in the 1990s because they consider them as potential competitors. They still use the logic of networking in relationships but now with Greek regional employers using the connection that they so far have developed. The latter

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activate their own network of ‘acquaintances’ with other employers allowing Albanian migrants to work in a variety of spatial contexts. We conclude that migrants face modern economic and labour challenges by transforming their own cultural strategies.

A Broken Social Contract: Fabricating and Entrenching Inequality in Italy

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This paper confronts a paradox of Western society. Since the Unification of Italy in 1860, a stereotype of Southerners has become predominant. This stereotype claims that, bogged down by lack of trust in each other and by their amoral familism and superstitious beliefs, Southerners are politically and socially backward; narrow individualists who lack social sense and cannot be trusted. Strongly legitimated by powerful intellectual lobbies — including, by some anthropologists, of all people — and their political masters, ordinary people are portrayed as an ungovernable mob, an underclass. This ugly fabrication is much alive today. An ethnographic focus on Naples shows how policies continue to be implemented that foster ordinary people’s disadvantage and exclusion, giving my informants at the grassroots reason to feel that they continue to be mistreated as second-class citizens. Relatively recently, this historically unequal society has acquired a new, critical element. The growing presence in vast popular areas of illegal immigrants — now in their thousands — engaged day and night in illegal activities contrasts with their absence in wealthy neighbourhoods, where the ruling élites live. This growing phenomenon, long tolerated, de facto, by the powers-that-be, both compounds, in its own way, inequality and injustice and fuels intolerance and violence among a traditionally tolerant and welcoming population. An increasingly worrying crisis in the broken covenant between citizens and governance looms on the horizon.

Land, Law and State-Sponsored Urban Inequality: Evidence from Bengaluru, India

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Nearly one-third of Indians live in urban areas. The agrarian crisis in the countryside has resulted in a mass migration from villages to urban areas. An urban bias in development policies and the absence of polycentric models of growth have further worsened the burden on cities. The haphazard expansion of cities, the growing number of vehicles on roads and the resultant pollution and traffic bottlenecks, and the severe scarcity of water, electricity, basic infrastructure, and urban amenities have all made big cities unlivable. Urban immiseration due to myopic city planning policies has aggravated inequality and corruption. The poor suffer the most due to urban inequality. All these trends are found in Bengaluru, India, a burgeoning metropolis of 12.47 million people bursting at the seams. In response, the state demolishes slums ostensibly to clear spaces for the city’s renewal. Corrupt politicians and bureaucrats connive in unlawful constructions, zoning violations, and the usurpation of public lands. Further, to attract investments, in July 2014, the state government amended the Karnataka Land Reforms Act 1961 making it easier to convert farms into commercial land. The amendment enabled businesses to hold on to the land for seven years even if they did not start their enterprises, thus incentivizing land speculation. Desperate citizens have launched litigation. But the judiciary cannot intervene because urban sprawl is a policy matter best left to the political process. Based on an ethnography of those affected by urban development policies, I argue that state elites and bureaucrats benefit from land speculation and thus have little interest in reversing it. The poor, because of limited political capital, are tossed around; the middle class is at the mercy of the land sharks, and the rich benefit from the soaring demand for land. The judiciary loses legitimacy when it is overruled through retrospective amendments.

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The Destiny of Urban Peripheries: Down-town Tel Aviv's Contested Realities

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Anthropologists are not expected to predict future developments. However, advocating the 'ethnographic present' research conception, the paper intends to explore the changing conditions of a few Tel Aviv down-town slummy neighbourhoods. That process of transformation involves the engagement of a varied population: the old-timer Israeli residents, the concentration of foreign labour, refugees and asylum seekers mostly from Eritrea and Sudan, the more recent entry of young affluent dwellers. Reminding of similar situations in European urban centres, the emergent inclusion of Third World newcomers generates acute conflicts interlocking in particular the veteran cohort of local Israeli residents who represent a disadvantaged social category. The evolving conflict invites political intervention on both sides of the map: 'Right' versus 'Left' national parties, and humanitarian civil organizations. Although a slow development, one can observe the gradual gentrification of those neighbourhoods, attracting a younger and stronger population that might greatly affect the future of these areas, forcing out the uninvited foreign 'intruders' in particular. That 'quiet' progression seems more effective than the heated demonstrations and political manoeuvres displayed by both sides of the political spectrum. The paper tries to identify the circumstances (social, economic, architectural, etc.) and the dynamics that seem to impact that present-day and future gradual urban transformation.

How Cosmopolitan are Multi-caste Colonies in Urban North India? The Case of Meerut City

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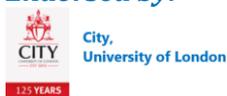
This article is based on fieldwork done in an urban neighbourhood in Meerut city, Uttar Pradesh, India. It mainly focuses on the experiences of Jatavs (a Scheduled Caste, or Ex Untouchable caste) in a multi-caste neighbourhood. In India Scheduled Castes used to be segregated in their colonies but after independence state governments created Housing Development Authorities in districts; these Development Authorities made many housing schemes in urban areas, any person may purchase house in these schemes. These housing schemes provided opportunities to Scheduled Castes to live in these multi-caste neighbourhoods. However, people of Scheduled Caste often feel unwelcome in these colonies. Further, some Scheduled Castes argue that they felt excluded at certain occasions involving the collective life of the neighbourhood. People of Scheduled Castes then are forced to adopt different strategies to sustain in multi-caste colonies. It appears that different castes are living together in multi-caste colonies in urban areas but micro level data reflect that Scheduled Caste people still feel isolated in these colonies. In this paper I will look at a multi-caste colony in Meerut town, created through the town's Housing Development Authority to explore what the experience of caste is in such a neighbourhood.

The Impact of Public-private Partnership and CSR Initiatives in the Sanitation Sector on the Working and Socio-economic Conditions of Sanitation Workers in Pune, India

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In India, sanitation work has historically been dominated by members of lower or backward castes, earlier referred to as 'untouchables'. The system of 'varsa hakka' (hereditary right) by which preferential treatment is given to kin of the sanitation worker in recruitment, explains the preponderance of the lower castes in sanitation work. Even if it ensures the workers' economic security, it consolidate and reinforces existing social inequalities. Sanitation work involves hazardous working conditions resulting in several deaths. It is also degrading and de-humanizing. With the

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launch of *Swachh Bharat Abhiyan* (Clean India Mission) in 2014 and *Smart Cities Mission* in 2016 to improve services and infrastructure in the city, the Government of India and the Pune Municipal Corporation have undertaken several initiatives to improve waste management and sanitation in Pune City. Both these initiatives rely on extensive collaboration with private institutions. In 2017, PMC announced collaboration with Toilet Board Coalition — a business led partnership and platform, towards making Pune world’s first smart sanitation city. In this paper, I explore whether the public-private partnership and CSR initiatives improve the working conditions of sanitation workers and make sanitation workforce more diverse in Pune. Through survey and interviews with workers, civic officials and representatives of private institutions the paper looks at two specific questions: 1) Whether these initiatives have positive impact on working and economic conditions of sanitation workers; 2) Does privatisation of sanitation work have any impact on recruitment pattern of sanitation workers making the social profile of the workers more diverse?

Post-Soviet Urbanisation and Migration: Informalisation of Economies and Societies in Post-Soviet Cities

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After the collapse of the Soviet Union the intensity of migratory flows increased; migrants were mainly attracted to bigger cities. Russia became the number two receiving country after the US. Post-Soviet capital cities such as Moscow, Tashkent, Bishkek or Astana are the popular urban centres and the main destinations for migrants from post-Soviet Republics. Visa free zone of post-Soviet space created these opportunities for labour migrants. However, these cities and states were not prepared for mass migration; particularly in Russia where more than ten million migrations arrived since late 1980s and after the break of the Soviet Union. Post-Soviet urbanisation through the mass flow of migrants have had another kind of dynamics different from that of the West or the Far East. Soviet past and continuities such as *propiska* regime (city registration) made Soviet style of urbanisation unique among other similar developments in the World. Migration misgovernance, xenophobia and discrimination, and absence of social security systems created favourable conditions for the informalisation of economies, politics, security, and societies. In this paper I will show how Islam provided alternative system of belonging and replaced the state providing Muslim migrants safe spaces, employment, healing services, accommodation, social security and other opportunities. Religion, and other informal norms and kinship acted as a system of quasi-state. The paper aims to show these processes drawing on ethnographic fieldwork in Tashkent (2005-2006, 2015) and Moscow (2016-2017).

Tracing Bio-inequalities in the Landscape of Cancer: An Ethnographic Approach

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This paper examines ‘bio-inequalities’ (Fassin 2009) emerging in health and illness within the context of the experience of cancer. Deriving from an ethnographic research conducted during the economic crisis in an urban public anticancer hospital in Greece, the paper argues that even though cancer is affecting people without discrimination, those suffering from chronic illnesses, such as cancer, experience disparities in their everyday life. Scholars, who are working in this field, are increasingly interested in seeking the ways in which biopower not only transforms but also differentiates life and lives (Marsland and Prince 2012). Following Fassin’s work on the ‘value of life’ attached both to economic values and moralities, the paper is looking through the example of cancer in order to trace the ways that (bio)inequality is generated through the gaps between technology, ‘ethnopolitics’ and life.

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Ethnic Enclaves Reimagined in the Global City: An Ethnography of Co-ethnic Socio-religious Networks on London's Old Kent Road

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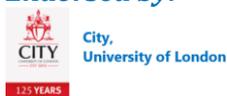
This paper examines Black Majority Churches which are attended by West African immigrants on London's Old Kent Road in one of the city's most deprived boroughs. The area, which is characterised by high inequality, faces many challenges associated with meeting the complex social needs of a multi-ethnic inner-city population representing a new geography of margins. My research, which combines urban ethnography and ethnography of religion, draws upon Lefebvre's deeply dystopian but also hopeful view of urban space by presenting members of these churches as producers of space that seek to create the right conditions for life in all its potential fullness for all citizens, including the right to renewed centrality for those consigned to the periphery. By situating the study within discourses of globalization, transnationalism and postcolonialism to examine the role of religion in the global city the lived experience of the members of these churches is explored. I argue that these churches function as co-ethnic migrant networks where religious discourses and practices are utilised to empower the members to resist individually marginalisation, racial prejudice and de-valuation so that they can re-position and re-imagine themselves within the broader society, helping them to claim their right to the city. The church leaders act as agents of change mobilising and empowering marginalised and devalued citizens in London, adapting a life coach approach and self-improvement techniques to re-engineer adherents' personhood and make them a good fit for the individualist neoliberal job culture and society in a global city space.

Urban Inequalities and the Quest for the 'Right' Linguistic Competence: Ethnographic Insights into the Lived Experience of Migrants in London

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Language proficiency is commonly seen as a key factor that accounts for migrants' disparities regarding their social positioning and trajectories within urban settings and contexts. Lacking the 'right' linguistic competence, they often find themselves confronted with a language barrier reinforcing other structural barriers thus acutely feeling the weight of their 'language problem' in their everyday endeavours to make a living and a life for themselves and those they support. Increasing the pressure, on policy level there is also an observable trend by local authorities to hail uncritically the idea of linguistic competence/inclusion as a guaranteed enabler of all other forms of inclusion whilst failing to provide adequate provision for people to improve their language skills. This paper critically examines language learning as a social process within the global city context of London as well as the role language learning for social inclusion discourses and debates play in the construction and stabilization of social realities in migrant narratives. I draw on my ethnographic fieldwork within and beyond an institutional setting offering English language classes for migrants to explore the lived experience of adult migrant language learners who find themselves caught up in increasing stratification, social inequality and unequal power relations. My research sheds light on how they deal with and navigate these complex processes. It particularly teases out my participants' struggles for value and values (drawing on Bourdieu and Skeggs) and captures some of the more subtle processes of inclusion and exclusion, power struggles and inequalities of different kinds.

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