The Evolving State of Gentrification

powerful cognitive recombinant evolutionary economics

~~Evolutionary Gentrification~~

"...there is a need to understand the emerging manifestations of gentrification and the constitutive socio-spatial practices of its actors without being bound to outdated conceptual frameworks." -- Mark Davidson (2011, p. 1994)

"The extraordinary thing about gentrification at the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century is its ubiquity." -- Neil Smith, "The Evolution of Gentrification," (2011, p. 15)

"The metropolis is not just this ... final collision between city and country. It is also a flow of beings and things, a current that runs through fiber-optic networks, through high-speed train lines, satellites, and video surveillance cameras, making sure that this world keeps running straight to its ruin." -- The Invisible Committee (2009, p. 59).

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Gentrification is evolving. ~~First labeled by an urban sociologist in a book on London published more than half a century ago, gentrification now involves a universally-recognized menu of strategies for capital investment and cultural cachet among developers, investors, policy elites, and upwardly-mobile creative-class professionals. Old, neglected, or overlooked city neighborhoods suddenly emerge as busy, popular destinations for the wealthy and middle classes (and for their money), and for the young who are struggling to achieve their own good fortune. Yet the word "gentrification" signals an explicit and contested politics of inequality, dispossession, and exclusion -- a "new urban colonialism" (Bridge and Atkinson, 2005) that has become the focus of vast academic literatures shaped by intense theoretical debate and often tediously specialized jargon. The politics are more blunt in the vivid language of media culture and protest. In New York, the U.S. film director Spike Lee recently described the gentrification of his old Brooklyn neighborhood as "Motherfuckin' Christopher Columbus Syndrome." In San Francisco, a protester held a "Google Scum!" placard at one of the public bus stops used by the luxurious private shuttles for workers commuting to the Silicon Valley suburbs, highlighting the fuge against the flood of technology capital that is (creatively) destroying the Mission District. Thus as the gentrification process has become an ever more pervasive yet contested structural dimension of global urbanization, its advance is preceded by an euphemistic frontier of alternative, optimistic words promising renaissance, revitalization, redevelopment, renewal, inclusion, social mix, sustainability, and creativity.~~

~~Who could possibly object to a creative, inclusive, sustainable social mix?~~

~~Yet even as these idealistic, hopeful words distract many people from the harsh politics of 'gentrification,' the process itself provides a vivid, neighborhood microcosm of the leading edge of uneven development and the reproduction of urban space in contemporary capitalism.~~ And as capitalism is remade, so is gentrification. It is refined by the dramatic technological efficiencies of today's production processes and occupational divisions of labor. It is transformed by the ascendance of ethnoracially cosmopolitan alliances of developers, elite investors, and aspiring middle classes. It is accelerated by the ever-deeper integration of human communications and

a decisively capitalist urban planet -- but a cosmopolitan capitalist urbanism of what Gayatri Spivak calls 'planetarity,' as 'western neoliberalisms meet their others in the East and South...'

working together to change the world "into a more rational and humane configuration through conscious intervention" Harvey 2011, p. 121

~~deep~~ ~~deeper integration of human communications and digitized social relations as forces of production~~

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digitized social relations as forces of production. Gentrification is being deepened, digitized, and democratized.

Democratizing a process of inequality, however, does not require that inequality be reduced or eliminated -- just that the rules of competition that produce unequal outcomes are changed in ways that are seen as more "fair." This is where gentrification helps us to understand the multidimensional acceleration of change across several domains of the urban experience, and this helps us refine a broader agenda for research and action to build cities as sites of genuine, meaningful social justice. Gentrification is being transformed through a re-negotiation of the rules of human competition over urban space. This re-negotiation is a new and unique blend of material economic *exclusivity* and discourses of cosmopolitan, transnational ethnoracial *inclusion*. For better and for worse, gentrification is evolving -- not just in the vague sense of change, but rather in the explicit, human-evolutionary processes of intergenerational inheritances, environmental conditions, competition, and cooperation in reproducing human development over time. This is about the desire to be better -- to achieve and to succeed, but also to make progress towards a better society or a better world -- and to have the next generation do better than ours. It is, quite literally, a struggle to create 'a new humanity.' It's getting more competitive, especially in the most dynamic sites of a global process of human development that only a few years ago finally crossed the majority urban threshold. In cities around the world, the frontiers of gentrification now map the leading edge of a new ethos of socially-networked forms of competition that are coalescing in ways that are creating a new kind of social Darwinism, while transcending many of the traditional dividing lines that have organized urban studies. These new forms of competition involve a geographically variegated blend of trajectories in what is variously described as the 'knowledge economy,' the 'creative economy,' or 'cognitive capitalism' (Scott, 2011). Cognitive capitalist development and underdevelopment, in turn, involves an acceleration in the diverse path dependencies of a systematically uneven planetary neoliberalism shaped by "an increasingly transnational field of market-oriented regulatory transfer" (Brenner et al., 2010, p. 182). Yet the traditional Anglo-American core of neoliberal globalization is now competing with ascendant non-Western "distinctive visions of the global in an emergent matrix of Global South 'horizon[s] of metropolitan and global aspirations'" (Ong, 2011, p. 51). Western and non-Western processes and conceptualizations of urbanity are changing quickly -- at the precise moment when Silicon Valley innovations now make it possible to apply the positivist scientific dreams of the nineteenth-century approach called "social physics" to ever larger subsamples of millions or billions of people in the planetary urban population.

All of these technologies and practices seem so new. They promise an interconnected, cosmopolitan world of opportunity and meritocratic achievement. Yet they are reproducing, on a planetary scale, the philosophies of "cognitive Darwinism" that were so influential in the consolidation of a dominant urban theory in the early twentieth century (Entrikin, 1980). It is worth recalling that many of the scientific logics and methods used to achieve that dominance -- ecological competition, large-scale social observation and statistical analysis -- were also directly implicated in the rise of the eugenics movement.

It has now been more than fifty years since Ruth Glass first put quotes around a word she coined to describe changes in London's Covent Garden as "gentrification." Everyone who studies

gentrification dutifully cites the passage in which she introduces this strange term, with its curious reference to the anti-urban English "landed gentry." "Gentry" comes from the Old French *genterise, gentelise,* and the old dictionaries tell us this means "Birth, rank by birth, esp., gentle birth ... people of education and good breeding;" in England, gentry came to mean "those between the nobility and the yeomanry" (C&C Merriam, 1943, pp. 417-418). Glass chose her words carefully; the dictionaries also tell us this means "persons of a class, -- usually with contemptuous or humorous significance, as, the light-fingered *gentry*." But if everyone cites Glass's urbanization of the word, few have noticed what she wrote only a few sentences later, when she warned that London "may quite soon be a city which illustrates the principle of survival of the fittest -- the financially fittest, who can still afford to live and work there." (Glass, 1964, p. xx). Glass was channeling the American social-Darwinist perversion of evolutionary theory -- 'survival of the fittest' was Herbert Spencer's phrase, not Darwin's -- to draw attention to the "neomalthusian" assumptions of the 1944 Greater London Plan, and a set of later amendments that weakened rent controls and "liberated" development rights.

Today, every city that aspires to "world class" status illustrates these principles of liberated market competition and survival of the financially fittest, or is desperately trying to do so. Even those cities stigmatized in the media with poor odds of survival are being described in the biological metaphors of nature "red in tooth and claw" (Tuan, 2002, p. 326) -- is Detroit dead? (Risinger, 2014); is post-Katrina New Orleans 'resilient'? -- while the view from the winner's circle of the survival-of-the-fittest tournament gives us articles like the *Nature* science writer's suggestion that London's gentrification is inevitable, like a scientific law that we can study and measure with precision, "a natural evolution" (Ball, 2014).

Evolutionary Cognitive Capitalism

The fundamental role of competition has been obscured by the way gentrification emerged in twentieth-century urban theory. Several interrelated conditions allowed the ruthless ideas of neomalthusian competition from the nineteenth century to become encoded as a sort of 'stealth' network architecture of today's taken-for-granted worlds of economic policy, urban entrepreneurialism, and 'disruptive' technological innovation. At first, the sheer magnitude of suburbanization after the Second World War rendered the study of gentrification as a sort of niche, boutique inner-city preoccupation that could safely be ignored by mainstream theory and policy; as Brian Berry famously put it in the mid-1980s, gentrification was nothing more than "islands of renewal in seas of decay." Mainstream theorists came to regard the 'urban' in terms of marginalization, decay, and crisis at the same time that the first Chicago School (the sociologists) was being overshadowed by a second, even more powerful Chicago hegemony: the free-marketeer economists of America's dollar-dominated financial and geopolitical empire. By this point, economics was consolidating its power through a reanimation of classical, seventeenth-century pre-Marxist liberal political economy -- updated with the cutting-edge infrastructures of postwar technoscience: inferential statistics, positivist claims of scientific objectivity, mainframe digital computers paid for with lucrative new sources of research funding, and ever-expanding archives of machine-readable data. In America, the rise of a calculus/quantitative economic orthodoxy was especially pure, modern, and ahistorical.

Positivist amnesia made it all too easy to forget that all the elements of modern econometrics -- correlation, chi-square, regression, tests for statistical significance based on normally-distributed errors -- had been refined through the biometric measurements of the human bodies and capabilities that had evolved up to that point in history. The correlation coefficient came from Francis Galton's obsession with the sources of *Hereditary Genius* (the title of his most famous book), while much of contemporary inferential statistics was refined by Karl Pearson -- a passionate advocate of collective human improvement through scientific knowledge and measurement, including the measurement of human knowledge itself through intelligence testing.

There is a complex, fascinating, and often horrific history here. The period between the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* and the outbreak of war in 1914 was defined by the intertwined advances of scientific measurement and quantification, and political struggles over the origins and meanings of inequality and human difference. Statistics, politics, and theology were at play in the most localized questions of what to do about the poor and uneducated as well as the most global questions of geopolitics, colonialism, and the separation of the world into 'advanced' and 'backward' nations. Part of this history involved vulgar *laissez-faire* strains of social Darwinism that rationalized the inequalities of a Gilded Age built through an industrialized system of racist colonial exploitation and imperialist violence. Yet other strains involved seemingly benevolent blends of ideas on merit, achievement, and 'progress.' Donald MacKenzie's history of Galton, Pearson, and the other leaders of the eugenics movement in Victorian Britain highlights the era's bizarre combination of *noblesse oblige* and self-righteous identities.

> The professional middle class owed its social position neither to wealth nor ascribed status but to the specialized mental abilities and knowledge of its members. The hereditarian theory of mental ability as developed by the eugenicists claimed that only a limited section of the population had the potential to achieve the skills and knowledge required for professional middle class roles. The professional middle class had achieved their position not by accident of circumstances, but as the result of generations of selection for mental ability. The next generation of professionals would of necessity have to be recruited from the middle class. Thus a rigidly stratified educational system was justified, with only the narrowest of ladders to allow the unusually gifted child, the 'sport,' to rise from the lower classes. Eugenics offered the professional middle class an educational philosophy which enabled them to justify the effective monopoly of professional education by the existing professional class. The eugenicist could consistently advocate an expanded educational system - 1870-1914 was a period of considerable educational expansion - while laying down a structure for this expansion which maintained existing privilege (MacKenzie, 1976, p. 510).

Needless to be mentioned at this point that social Darwinism and eugenics were thoroughly discredited by the rise of the Nazis. Nevertheless, the neoliberal economics that Ruth Glass clearly saw in the 'survival of the fittest' post-War amendments to the London Plan was inextricably bound up with the creation of what Timothy Mitchell (2005) analyzes as the "calculative world" of statistics and economic theory. That world - the fabrication of the

'economy' -- entrenched the axioms of social Darwinism into presumptively neutral, scientific questions of efficiency, change, and innovation; everything was premised on human competition, and a distorted individualism that obscured the collective, cooperative dimensions of evolution (Clark and Clark, 2012). In England, liberal political economy stubbornly retained the proud optimism of eugenics. Introducing the winner of the Gold Medal of the British Eugenics Society in February, 1946, John Maynard Keynes (1946, p. 40) offered "a few words of piety and remembrance" to Galton, before explaining the intellectual lineage of the winner, the sociologist Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders: "Whilst Darwin was first led to his theories by reading Malthus," Keynes declared, "Carr-Saunders was led to Malthus through Darwin." Carr-Saunders was Director of the London School of Economics from 1937 to 1957, and in that role he came to know a lot of smart, competitive innovators among the institution's generations of selection for mental ability. For our purposes, however, one of those colleagues is most significant: Freidrich von Hayek, the theorist Margaret Thatcher credited in her 1993 autobiography as the key intellectual figure of the neoliberal revolution. Carr-Saunders and Hayek were among a small group of teachers who had been evacuated to Cambridge during the Second World War, where they met on a committee that hired the philosopher Karl Popper. Carr-Saunders had built his reputation on a 1922 volume, *The Population Problem*, that was a "treatise on quantity and quality." Spoiler alert: the *problem* with the *population* was that the smartest people weren't having enough kids, compared to, well, those who are average or below average. Erik Angner makes it clear that the neomalthusian social Darwinism of the gold-medal eugenicist Carr-Saunders played a significant role in shaping Hayek's thought on economic competition and human development. "A reader of Hayek's work on cultural evolution will be struck by the sheer number of references to *The Population Problem*," Angner (2007, p. 80) writes; "Indeed, from 1967 to 1988, Hayek looked to the book for support in virtually every passage in which he discussed the theory of cultural evolution." Beyond the compelling *prima facie* evidence of Carr-Saunders' eugenics influence "on Hayek's thought on evolutionary matters," there are also fundamental, structural similarities in their view of human competition. Hayek "explicitly said he knew of no one before Carr-Saunders who articulated the thesis that selection operates on acquired habits and traditions." (Angner, 2007, p. 81).

"Acquired habits and traditions" is good, old-fashioned Lamarckian evolution. It goes all the way back to the days of Herbert Spencer and Father Malthus, and represents one of the more primitive strains of the "cognitive Darwinism" that influenced Robert Park and the Chicago School sociologists (Entrekin, 1980). But beginning in the late 1940s, as Keynes was praising the evolutionary perspective on education and intergenerational change that was reshaping sociology and economics, Hayek was using that same evolutionary knowledge to mount a political challenge that would eventually destroy the postwar welfare state that had been built by the Anglo fusion of Keynesian macroeconomic policy and American Fordist industrial organization. Put simply, the neo-liberal political economists kidnapped evolutionary theory. The initial steps of that political movement had created the "survival of the fittest" housing market of intensified urban competition that Ruth Glass called "gentrification." Only thirty years later in the post-Cold War 1980s, Thatcher could look back proudly on Hayek's free-market influence on a worldsystem of survival-of-the-fittest neoliberalism that stretched from her own achievements in Britain ("there's no such thing as society") to the America of Ronald Reagan ("government is not the solution to our problems; government *is* the problem") as well as Bill Clinton ("the era of big government is over"). At the same time, the science writer Matthew

The Hayek 1989...

Ridley was developing his own neoMalthusian theory of how free-market trading had accelerated human evolution: we have evolved to be the competitive, selfish 'animal spirits' of the free-market frontier that so inspired Thatcher and Reagan. Ridley's book, *The Rational Optimist: How Prosperity Evolves*, won the right-wing Manhattan Institute's Hayek Prize in 2011, not long after Ridley served on the board of the first English bank to endure an all-out panic since the days of Darwin: Northern Rock went bust in the credit crisis of 2007 that quickly spun into a full-fledged global financial crisis. Richard Dawkins, author of *The Selfish Gene*, acclaims Ridley as "a superb writer" who "seems to get better and better," and the publisher promotes Ridley's latest, *The Evolution of Everything*, with a telling quip from *The Economist*: "His theory is, in a way, the glorious offspring that would result if Charles Darwin's ideas were mated with those of Adam Smith."

Darwinian ideas have indeed been mated with Adam Smith, producing a powerful cognitive recombinant evolutionary economics. But the lineage from Hayek to a survival-of-the-fittest neoliberalism of Thatcher, Blair, and Cameron is not exactly the same if we follow things through the Reagans, Bushes, and Clintons. Indeed, any explicit talk of evolution becomes risky and polarizing in America. This is where the emergence of the theory and politics of gentrification missed the opportunity to challenge the new social Darwinism: by the time gentrification research grew so dramatically in the United States in the 1970s and 1980s, its politics and epistemology were developed in opposition to the distinctively ahistorical, technocratic American mutations of neoliberalism. This meant that most of the critical perspectives on the inequalities of gentrification attacked the updated, modern technological pronouncements of a quantitative, calculus-laden economic science of "optimal" urban economic space -- even as American economics was carefully manipulating the public face of its own history. It was one thing for Richard Thaler to debate the finer points of the evolutionary trajectory of *homo economicus* with the founder of the law and economics movement at a conference at the University of Chicago Law School. But Ronald Reagan would never have had the chance to appoint Posner to the Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit had it not been for the mobilization of the creationist Christian evangelical vote; speaking to a gathering of evangelical ministers in Dallas weeks before election day in 1980, Reagan answered a question about evolution with the kind of fair-and-balanced dog-whistle formulation that now looks all too familiar in every Republican campaign: "Well, it is a theory, a scientific theory only, and it has in recent years been challenged in the world of science." (quoted in Witham, 2002, p. 60). In the first term of the Reagan Administration, the U.S. Department of Education bestowed a special recognition on the Transnational Association of Christian Colleges and Schools, which is limited to schools with "doctrinal statements that uphold 'the six literal days of the creation week.'" (Witham, 2002, p. 117). The old Chicago School sociologists were quite explicit on the evolutionary dimensions of their theory, but if today's Chicago School economists hope to retain any influence in the American political economy, they understand the real implications of Thaler's response to Posner. "Accepting the theory of evolution as true does not mean that it needs to feature prominently in an economic analysis"; better instead to hide the social Darwinist technics behind the equations, while speaking publicly about innovation, learning, resilience, and development, and translating the concepts of "acquired habits and traditions" to the moral and ethical imperatives of No Child Left Behind.

What does this all have to do with gentrification and a new research agenda on cities? Put simply, we need to approach today's gentrification in the same way Ruth Glass challenged the neo-malthusian social-Darwinist 'survival-of-the-fittest' logics of urban competition in 1964. John Cassidy, economics correspondent for the *New Yorker*, called the twentieth century "the Hayek Century" just as Henri Lefebvre's premonitions of planetary urbanization were becoming a vivid, cosmopolitan reality. Isn't it strange and perhaps a bit dangerous to try to name an entire century after one human? So far, the twenty-first is a century of an 'urban world' of 'cities and the rise of the consumer class,' if we heed the consultants at McKinsey & Company, but it's also the century of the iPhone, social networking, cloud computing, the Internet of Things, and what the venture capitalist Marc Andreesen calls "software eating the world." This is also the century of a dramatic, transnational expansion of educational opportunity and competition -- "The World is Going to University," proclaims the *Economist* in a recent cover story. This urban century is about a decisively capitalist urban planet -- but a cosmopolitan capitalist urbanism of what Gayatri Spivak has called 'planetarity,' as Western neoliberalisms meet their Others in the East and Global South. This is an urban century in which prominent science writers are calling gentrification "a natural evolution" (Ball, 2014) and using "atomic physics" to explain the revitalization of Times Square (Buchanan, 2007), while the prominent economist Edward Glaeser is flying to cities around the world delivering the message of his bestseller *Triumph of the City*: humanity's greatest invention, the city, 'makes us richer, smarter, greener, healthier, and happy' -- an 'urban species.' And yet somehow that collective inventiveness of the entire species comes from the selfish, individualist nomads of neoliberal economics -- obscuring the collective, cooperative dimensions that have always been part of evolutionary theory (Clark and Clark, 2012). Paradoxically, those who most clearly understood Dewey's explication of the full implications of Darwinism for politics, ethics, and education -- we don't have to wait for evolution to play out, we can guide it by our actions -- were the architects of neoliberalism. "Cognitive Darwinism" was hijacked and smuggled into the heart of economic thinking, as well as the quantitative methodologies of econometrics. Around the same time as the evolutionary prosperity of Northern Rock was collapsing, an article in the *Journal of Consumer Behavior* deployed functional magnetic resonance imaging brain scans in ways that showed exactly how far Hayek's theory of cultural evolution had itself evolved with technological change: "Evolutionary Neuromarketing: Darwinizing the Neuroimaging Paradigm for Consumer Behavior" (Garcia and Saad, 2008).

Reclaiming (R)evolutionary Urbanism

Gentrification is the leading edge of the restructuring of capitalist urban space (Smith, 1982). This means that if we wish to understand how gentrification is changing today, we need to consider the broader evolutionary trends in the urbanization of capitalism over the past several generations. Harvey's analysis in *The Enigma of Capital* is crucial here. Harvey outlines the paradoxes of a crisis-prone world of inequality and violence that nevertheless allows "some of us" to "live in a world where standards of material living and well-being have never been higher" (Harvey, 2011, p. 120). Yet the historical details of the saga of capitalist politics, Harvey suggests, have distracted our attention from "governing evolutionary principles of the sort that Darwin uncovered in the realm of natural evolution" (Harvey, 2011, p. 120). If we are to have any chance of working together to change the world "into a more rational and humane configuration through conscious interventions," Harvey (2011, p. 121) argues, we cannot ignore

the aggregate, collective dimensions of humanity as a species on the planet. Population growth and capital accumulation have been "at the core of human evolutionary dynamics since 1750 or so," Harvey observes, while emphasizing that these dynamics are far more complex, dynamic, fluid, and interactive than the simplistic mono-causal explanations offered by neo-Malthusians, environmental determinists, and technological evangelists. In a brief, overlooked passage in Volume I of *Capital*, Marx briefly engages with Darwin's theory of evolution as a prelude to a lengthy historical narrative of the rise of the factory system and the machine tool industry -- in which advanced machinery is deployed to produce ever more advanced machinery, in a mutually-reinforcing cycle of acceleration as the "number of tools that a machine can bring into play simultaneously, is from the very first emancipated from the organic limits" of the individual human laborer (Marx, 1867 [1967], p. 354). This process of quickening change, of course, has wide-ranging implications for every domain of human society and relations to the non-human world. Harvey elaborates and refines Marx's analysis to distill a set of distinct but interrelated "activity spheres" of change in the "socio-ecological totality" of human development: 1) technologies and forms of organization, 2) social relations of work and the division of labor, 3) institutional and administrative arrangements of law and governance, 4) production and labor processes, 5) relations to nature, 6) the reproduction of daily life and of broader human society, and then 7) a final ensemble that Harvey calls "mental conceptions of the world." This last sphere involves a kaleidascope of subjective, humanist considerations not typically associated with Marxist political economy. It includes the expectations and beliefs that people hold about the world, their trust in experts, and their willingness to accept various rules and hierarchies as necessary and legitimate. Moral and ethical standards are also included, as are cultural norms and belief systems, as well as political and religious ideologies. Harvey (2011, p. 123) is careful to emphasize the fundamentally *co-evolutionary* process of change, in which each of these "activity spheres" evolves along a distinctive trajectory while also remaining embedded in dynamic interaction with all the other spheres: "No one of the spheres dominates even as none of them are independent of the others."

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> "A graphic designer wearing a handmade sweater is drinking a fruity cocktail with some friends on the terrace of an 'ethnic' café. They're chatty and cordial, they joke around a bit, they make sure not to be too loud or too quiet, they smile at each other, a little blissfully: we are so civilized. Afterwards, some of them will go to work in the neighborhood community garden, while others will dabble in pottery, some Zen Buddhism, or in the making of an animated film. They find communion in the smug feeling that they constitute a new humanity, wiser and more refined than the previous one. And they are right. There is a curious agreement between Apple and the negative growth movement about the civilization of the future." -- The Invisible Committee (2009, p. 70).

> "Students in Vancouver, those of us attending UBC for example, must now go above and beyond than just an undergraduate degree in order to live in the desired areas of the lower mainland's metropolitan core." -- Urban Studies undergraduate student, UBC, December 2015.

Each of these situated, partial perspectives has its relevance and legitimacy. But must we ignore how the entire cognitive-capitalist assemblage fits together? Should we overlook the speed of

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change in the relations between class and space in the entire networked ensemble, from Vancouver to Oxford to San Francisco to Nanjing? How can we ignore the survival of the financially fittest competition that constantly reconfigures the relations among all these elements? In an era of transnationally and virtually networked urbanism, the class transformation of urban space is so much more spatially elusive than the old familiar images we've been taught to look for: we're not always going to find, all in the same place before our eyes, the shabby, modest mews of working-class quarters invaded by the middle classes to become elegant, expensive residences. But if we expand and mobilize our research agenda rather than trying to localize and confine our imagination to achieve an impossible positivist precision – we'll have a much better chance of understanding the evolution of planetary urbanization. And that will help us to respond to Davidson's (2011) call to leave open an alternative, emancipatory virtual – and to work towards cities without the revanchist inequalities of gentrification.

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EXIT

~~The Evolving State of Gentrification~~

~~Jason Hackworth and Neil Smith's "Changing State of Gentrification," is one of the most important in the half-century~~

¶ Jason Hackworth and Neil Smith's ~~[illegible]~~ article, "The Changing State of Gentrification," is a landmark ~~is one of the most important contributions in the history valuable interventions~~ in the scholarship and politics of gentrification research. In a panoramic yet concise blend of ~~histo~~ historical materialist theoretical inquiry and meticulous empirical research, Hackworth and Smith ~~distilled the history of~~ encapsulated ~~histo~~ ~~consolidated~~ the history of a process ~~that had become a systemic and a body~~ ~~that had become a systemic~~ that had become a pervasive, systemic feature of contemporary urbanism. They diagnosed the political history of increasingly aggressive ~~role of the state~~ state interventions ~~in the~~ guiding the class transformation~~s~~ of urban space, as ~~urban~~ the ~~the managerialis~~ ~~managerialism~~ gave way to harsh ~~an entrepreneurialism that~~ postindustrial entrepreneurialist innovations ~~alternating~~ ~~that were between [illegible] periods of that destroyed~~ destroying the intergenerational achievements of collective consumption while creating new market opportunities

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in New York City

Fordist-Keynesian managerialism of industrial urbanism

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In New York City

for further rounds of predatory neoliberal creativity (Harvey, 1989; Peck and Tickell, 2002). ~~Their~~ ~~Their analysis~~ They provided a compelling ~~historiography of the gent~~ ~~the distinctive~~

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A (2)

historiography ~~of the contextuality of gentrification, through distinctive historical waves reflect that~~ ~~that reflect~~

~~of~~ of three ~~of~~ distinctive "waves" of political and economic forces ~~that condition and contextualize gentrification processes,~~ conditioning ~~that conditioned~~ the ~~speed~~ extent, speed, and consequences of gentrification processes. ~~They~~

A2X

~~Hackworth and Smith At the millennial cusp of New York's global-city concepts and~~

~~Washington~~ ~~America's Washington Consensus Land-of-History~~

~~planets~~ ~~neoliberal~~ ~~neoliberal~~ financial ~~imperialism, Hackworth and Smith mapped a~~ ~~local~~ ~~developed a mo~~ ~~exposed a global~~ ~~mapped a global nexus of neoliberal urbanization~~ ~~that was~~ ~~that was~~

~~pre-9/11~~

A

XSA

~~A first wave~~
~~in the 1960s up to~~
~~in the~~

in the 1960s and up to the onset of a severe global recession ~~of~~ in 1973

A first wave involved
466 ~~466~~ "sporadic if widespread"
~~reinvestment involving~~
~~involving state-led~~
~~efforts to~~

A2X ①

reinvestment through state-led efforts to counteract structural urban decline; ~~a~~ In a second wave from the late 1970s through the late 1980s
~~466~~ "gentrification surged as never before," and was integrated "into a
~~468~~ wider range of economic and cultural processes at the global and national scales."; ~~and a third wave After a~~ (Hackworth and Smith, 2001, p. 466, 468).
~~A third wave~~

A third wave ~~taking hold after a short~~
~~a tough recession in the early 1990s~~
beginning in the early 1990s ~~exposed~~
was "a purer expression of the economic ~~and~~

XSA

conditions and processes that make reinvestment in disinvested inner-urban areas so alluring for investors," (p. 468) ~~eclip~~ ~~eclipsing~~ overshadowing cultural ~~factors~~ factors. Compared with earlier phases, the third wave pushed ~~deeper~~ ~~farther beyond~~ farther beyond the disinvested urban core, ~~reflected~~ ~~reflected the~~ involved a much more prominent role for ~~large scale~~ ~~developers~~ ~~large and trans~~

large developers with transnational ~~operat~~ portfolios, ~~proceeded with~~ faced far less resistance given ~~the~~ ~~displacement of~~ the previous rounds of displacement of working-class ~~residents~~, ~~a~~ and entailed a far more aggressive, interventionist role for ~~the state~~ ~~at~~ ~~state powers and subsidies~~ the state, at multiple scales.

activists,

A2X ②

XSA

~~real estate created~~

~~and a vast yet uneven circuitry of leveraged~~
~~& fictitious capital circulated through~~
~~an evolving infrastr~~

~~evolved~~
Urban housing markets,
~~Urbanization Urbanization~~, always integrated with
~~and urbanization became more~~ tightly
enmeshed in a vast yet uneven circuitry ~~of~~ through
~~leveraged fictitious capital flows through~~
collateralized debt obligations, credit default
swaps, and all the other instruments of
leveraged fictitious ~~capital~~
capital that ~~shaped~~ an
~~planetary credit~~ unprecedented
credit and construction
boom until the collapse
of 2008.

the capital-state nexus of financial power, became even more

A4

were to shape

A+

clarity, coherence, and

¶ Despite the importance of Hackworth and Smith's contribution — indeed, because of its significance — it has come to represent a form of "wave" thinking ~~that has been subjected to~~ that has ~~been~~ the ~~subject~~ target of intense ~~critique.~~ critique in recent years (see Malatras, 2011; Lees and Teo, 2013; Ghertner, 2015; Bernt, 2016). Bernt summarizes recent trends in the literature:

became

(2016, p.1)

> "...the intensity with which gentrification is challenged as a concept has changed considerably in the last couple of years. Echoing the call of postcolonial thinkers to 'provincialize' western theories, today more and more scholars tend to see gentrification as an urban phenomenon rooted in rather specific experiences made in a handful of western metropolises in the last century."

A5

in terms of "waves of

¶ Conceiving gentrification ~~as a~~ historically developmental processes ~~was connected to associated with~~ is now equated with teleological thinking — and, even worse, as a "diffusionist" view in which gentrification began in cities of the Global North and subsequently spread 'down' the ~~urban hierarchy of the Global South~~ hierarchy of nations, ~~cities~~ regions, and cities of the

A5

(Lees, Shin, and Lopez-Morales, 2016, pp. 1-11).

Global South: At the extreme, the meanings of Atkinson and Bridge's (2005) ~~critique of~~ challenge to the injustices of ~~of~~ global gentrification — their edited collection is subtitled 'The New Urban Colonialism' — ~~has been~~ has been reversed ~~and redirected to the~~ ~~attack~~ and redirected

now

in an attack on the ~~theory of~~ ~~theoreti~~ theorization of gentrification. ~~Forms waves of gentrification~~

A6

A6X

To see ~~gent~~ waves of gentrification unfolding across time and space — or to apply theories ~~of gentrification~~ developed in the Global North to the ~~diver~~ contingent diversities of Global South urbanism — is now understood as ~~a neocolo~~ a neocolonial imposition, another ~~orientalist~~ orientalist creative ~~orientalist~~ destruction of indigenous thought ~~knowledges~~ via a powerful Northern ~~the~~ (and usually Anglo-American) hegemony of ~~languages, knowl~~ conceptual languages and knowledge production (Aalbers, 2004).

ACT

Malouras (2011, p. 43), ~~cites with approval~~
cites with approval Tim Butler's (2007, p. 163)
~~is~~ verdict ~~that~~ ~~is~~
on the real meaning of ~~Butler~~
Atkinson and Bridge's subtitle: ~~the~~
"the ~~real~~ issue of 'neocolonialism' is
as much with the use ~~of~~ and
definition of the term as with
its consequences." ~~the~~
~~and Asher G~~
~~which~~ Ghertner (2015, pp 559-560) argues that
the concept of
gentrification ~~fails~~
~~to capture~~ "fails to grasp
transformations in the
peri-urban and outer areas
of post-socialist and post-colonial
cities" of the Global South; ~~sites~~
~~precisely those~~ ~~those places~~ ~~"where the most violent~~
~~displacement is taking place"~~
these are the sites "where the most
violent displacement is taking place," but
"it is in precisely these areas that
nobody cares about gentrification." Ghertner's conclusion:
~~Gentrification, Ghertner concludes~~
As an explanatory concept ~~Ghertner concludes~~ gentrification fails in much of the
world.

A6X

[ACK]

arrives with the best of intentions, and it

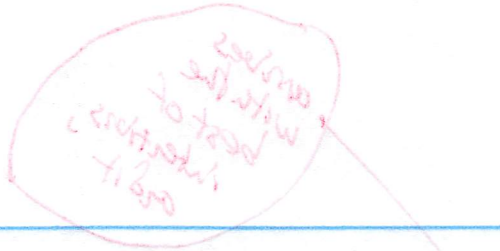
¶ This ~~postcolonial~~, poststructuralist, postcolonial turn towards a more cosmopolitan urban theory reflects a long-overdue ~~contextualization~~ ~~of~~ recontextualization of ~~the~~ the "truth-spots" of Anglo, Northern theory; ~~(Blaut, 1993; Roy, 2017)~~. Yet it highlights a series of dangerous paradoxes.

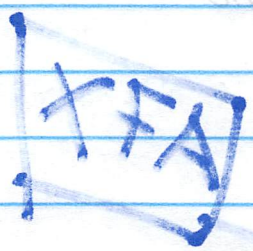
A7X

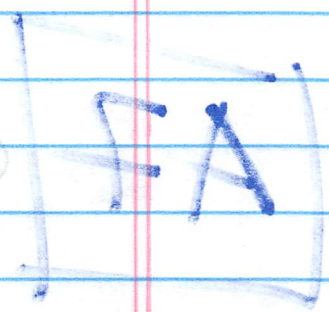
At the precise moment ~~when infras the infrastruct infrastructures of the at circuit-switching have become those~~ ~~financialization has created~~

A7

when the circulation of capital through urban built environments and transnational financial markets reproduces a genuinely ~~a~~ global infrastructure of "quaternary" circuit-switching (Aalbers, 2017), the ~~diagon~~ ~~st~~ strategic, critical theorization of how those circuits are creating ~~global scale new~~ "new geographies of structural violence — planetary rent gaps" (Slater, 2015, p. 114) — is itself attacked as a form of theoretical violence, of reading "all land through the universal lens of gentrification and the rent gap" (Ghertner, 2015, p. 553). ~~While~~







XFA

FA

it offers a much-needed challenge to the ways that "theory is usually a gaze from the core," "part of the colonial, imperialist, or otherwise dominant way of understanding, giving meaning to and conquering the periphery" (Maloutas, 2017, p. 3; cf Blaut, 1993, Roy, 2017).

A7X

XFA

~~authoritarian~~ ~~authoritarian regimes~~
~~authoritarian~~ ~~above the largest urban~~
~~displa~~ ~~displacement~~
~~displacements in human history~~

At the same time that ~~authori~~ non-western authoritarian capitalist regimes legitimate some of the largest domicides in history as ~~"natural or are politically and morally good" (Zhang 2017,~~

A8

~~natural~~ simultaneously natural
and ~~a politically an~~
politically and morally positive
(Zhang 2017), ~~the~~
~~"Western" ancestry of~~
~~gentrification theory~~

'Western' ancestry is used
to discredit the
~~spatial~~ relevance of ~~gentrification~~
the ~~strategic~~ strategic analytics and
politics of gentrification. At the
exact historical moment when planetary cybernetic
technologies allow global diasporic communities
of crowdsourced real estate auctions

A8

~~to instantaneously reconfigure~~

A9X

~~to bid at~~ to explode bid-rent curves of potential and capitalized ground rent in a matter of seconds (*)

~~write~~

A9Y

~~[illegible]~~

~~[illegible]~~ — ~~completely~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~reconfiguring the~~ ~~a global realignment~~ ~~of the sociocultural and economic facets of gentrification~~ — the postcolonial turn ~~abandons~~ abandons the ~~[illegible]~~ intergenerational project ~~in favor~~ ~~favor of~~ ~~in favor of~~ from Glass (1964) to

A9

Hackworth and Smith (2001), in favor of an uncertain, risky politics of pluralistic contingency: Fifty Shades of Revanchist Urbanism.

~~[illegible]~~

and Lees, ~~[illegible]~~ Shin, and Lopez-Morales, 2016

¶ Let me be absolutely clear: postcolonial theory and 'Southern' gentrification ~~theory~~ research (Ghertner, 2015) ~~provides~~ offers ~~provides~~ valuable and important lessons ~~[illegible]~~ that are directly relevant to ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~

XPA

YPA

A9X

Young (2016) offers the empirical details of a

~~compare Young's [2016] analysis~~
~~empirical analysis of a property~~
Vancouver property assessed at ~~$16~~ Cdn $16 million
that was bid to $60 million ~~and then flipped~~
~~a month later~~ in the course of a five-day
~~over a five day period~~
~~over the course of a five day~~
~~through a crowdsourced social media~~
crowdsourcing campaign on Chinese and English
social media sites ~~last~~ a month later
the property was flipped for
Cdn $68 million. For wider theoretical
analyses, see Rogers (2016) and
Daniels (2017).

Cdn

: "Gone in 7,200 Seconds";

APX

— driving a global realignment and dissolution of the presumed distinctions between economic and sociocultural explanations of gentrification —

AQY

YPA

the challenge of adapting "wave" theories for a cosmopolitan planet of colliding indigeneities, of "worldings" (Ong, 2011).

In particular, there is a paramount role for variations in the role of the state in guiding the gentrification takes place; a) b) maintaining, strengthening, or restructuring historically inherited regimes of land tenure and housing rights; c) managing provisions for compensation or resettlement of populations displaced by development, dispossession, or market prices; and d) reproducing and mobilizing ethnoracial solidarity or "cross-class national pride" (Leg and Teo, 2013) to support nationalist urban modernization projects.

specifics of when and where

A10

All of these factors are important, only but they are surface manifestations of a deeper essence: the role of the state in justifying, promoting, and managing the process of human competition. If we really wish to

Specifics of place and where

DA

~~postcolonialize~~

~~postcolonial~~

~~[illegible]~~

take the antifoundationalism all the way down,
~~we must [illegible]~~ we must
simultaneously ~~[illegible]~~
extend and challenge the
postcolonial critique. The extension:
gentrification theory must be understood
in terms of the central ideological
justification that sustained ~~the~~ "the West" as a
coherent ~~[illegible]~~ globally industrialized ~~[illegible]~~
system of racist colonial exploitation
and Imperialist violence: social Darwinism
(Hofstadter, 1944). The challenge: ~~gentrification~~
gentrification can never be 'provincialized'
to cities of the Global North, ~~because the~~
~~process has always~~

A11

coherent ~~[illegible]~~ phenomenon, with its

Livingstone, 1992

or rejected as a relevant lens for
~~for the understanding~~ understanding ~~[illegible]~~
~~peri-urban areas~~ the peri-urban exurban
zones of post-colonial or post-socialist
cities, ~~[illegible]~~

A11

Livingstone 1992

~~or indeed any specific type of~~
or indeed any ~~specific~~ ~~the~~
narrowly-defined spatial
location within the dynamic
"field" essence of contemporary
planetary urbanization
(Bourdieu, 1984; Ley, 2003;
Merrifield, ~~2013~~).

2013

AU part 2

NA

A12

~~dynamic fields of planetary urbanization~~
~~(see Merrifield, 2011).~~ Gentrification has never
~~always been~~ really been ~~about the~~ a geographical
~~a localized geographical~~ process that
can be understood within ~~[illegible]~~
specific, bounded ~~locations~~; it has
~~always been a~~ always been a geopolitical
process, ~~localization of~~ a localized expression of
~~the dialectic~~ dialectical tensions
of transnational urbanism,
of ~~colonial boundaries~~
~~the~~ struggles between ~~colonial boundaries~~
~~and postcolonial flows.~~

spaces

the multiscalar

competitive

the colonial boundaries of
hierarchical power and the
insurgent border-crossings of
postcolonial flows.

A12

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¶ My claim here is that gentrification

~~[illegible]~~

~~¶ Gentrification [illegible] cannot be understood~~

is inseparable from the enduring legacy of evolutionary theory in geography, sociology, planning, and economics. This is not just a matter of studying historical changes through distinctive periods of gentrification; rather, the ~~[illegible]~~ is that the process and the concept ~~has always~~ have always been intertwined ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible] of the fittest doctrines of social Darwinism and eugenicist competition.~~

C ①

with the struggle between collective social institutions ~~and the violent~~ ~~[illegible]~~ versus the violent survival-of-the-fittest doctrines of social Darwinism and eugenicist, individualized competition. The links are almost always implicit, hidden behind the technocratic languages of urban economics (innovation, creativity, equilibrium, competitiveness) ~~or~~ or real estate and policy boosterism (revitalization, regeneration, sustainability, resilience); ~~but~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~but it is all driven~~ but all the ~~[illegible]~~ discursive innovation ~~discourse belongs a deeply~~ is driven by a deeply embedded evolutionary epistemology.

exceedingly simple yet widely ignored point

complexity,

with the struggle
between collective social
institutions ~~and the individual~~
~~and~~ versus the right
survival of the fittest doctrines
of social Darwinism and rising industrial
competition. We have see that always
[illegible]

exceedingly
simple yet widely
favored point

①

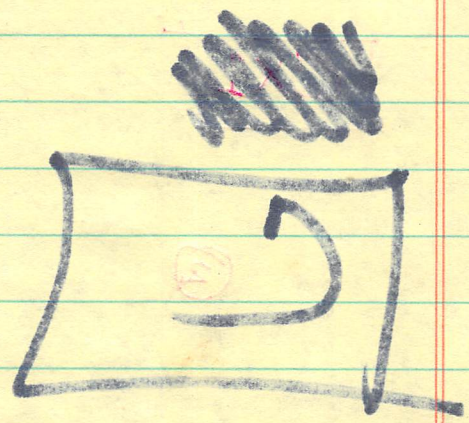
D

~~Evolutionary epistemologies~~

~~The links are almost always~~
~~implicit~~, implicit, hidden
behind ~~the~~ a
~~sorry language~~ → revitalization
~~revitalization, regeneration, and~~ regeneration,
~~creativity~~ renaissance,
resilience, sustainability,
creativity
~~that~~ conceals
~~a deeply embedded~~
~~evolutionary epistemology~~.

~~Ex 1~~

C ②



~~more crucially, gentrification has always~~
~~been~~

~~intertwined with the violent doctrines~~
~~survival of the fittest doctrines of social~~
~~Darwinism and eugenicist competition.~~

~~several~~ considerations are crucial here. The first is a genealogy of the past.

~~Three~~ Two

~~First, the gentrification theory was~~
~~the critical analysis of~~

From the very beginning the concept of 'gentrification'
~~theory~~ was an explicit challenge to
~~the abuse of~~
the hijacked deployment of evolutionary
theory to justify the worsening inequalities of an
~~of a of globalizing~~ urbanizing world
~~of a world~~ poised between imperialism ~~and~~ hegemony
and postcolonial transformation.

C 3

~~The lengthy chapter in which Ruth Glass first~~
~~coined the term~~ ~~the housing market~~
~~is an devastating critique of~~ ~~deregulation~~
~~deregulation~~ ~~the deregulation of land and~~
~~housing markets we would today call~~
~~neoliberalism and of the~~
~~toxic brew of ethnoracial~~
~~anxieties~~
~~as postcolonial~~
~~as the~~
~~global empire~~
~~world came to the Global South global~~
~~center came to the metro~~ ~~empire came home~~
~~returned~~
~~arrived to~~
~~empire~~ ~~came to the~~

~~1964 chapter on London~~

~~sustained~~

[redacted]

[illegible] considerations are out here.

[illegible]

From the very beginning [illegible]

[illegible] a postcolonial dialogue [illegible]

The repeated deployment of [illegible]

theory to justify the western project of a [illegible]

[illegible] between [illegible] and hegemony

and postcolonial transformation.

[redacted]

[illegible]

Two

Everyone cites the famous passage where Ruth Glass, first describes the ~~takes~~ ~~upgrading~~ middle-class 'takeover' and 'upgrading' of "modest news and cottages" in London's "working-class quarters" as a process of "gentrification"; ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ nobody reads the full chapter. ~~[illegible]~~ a comprehensive, wide-ranging attack on the "neomalthusian" assumptions built into the 1944 Greater London Plan, the "anti-planning" ~~legislation of~~ amendments to the Town And Country Planning Act that relaxed rent controls and "liberated" market speculation, and the ~~[illegible]~~ intensified economic oppression, ~~[illegible]~~ racism, and segregation ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ of a British society, refused to ~~[illegible]~~ accept and adapt to "the postcolonial world of today". – ~~[illegible]~~ as the descendants of indentured servants and slaves from the far reaches of ~~[illegible]~~ a slowly decolonizing Commonwealth arrived to claim their rights of citizenship. ~~[illegible]~~ ~~Everything~~ Everything that Glass analyzes in a transformational

(1964, pp. xviii – xix)

Glass's "gentrification" chapter is

1950s

, or the other essays Glass was writing on decolonization (see Lees, Shin, and Lopez-Morales, 2016).

3A

that

Everyone cites the famous passage where
Ruth Glass first describes the ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ middle-class
'takeover' and 'upgrading' of
"modest news and cottages" in London's
"working-class quarters" as a process
of "gentrification"; ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ nobody reads the full
chapter ~~[illegible]~~ a comprehensive, wide-ranging
attack on the "neo-malthusian" assumptions
built into the 1944 Greater London Plan,
the "anti-planning" ~~[illegible]~~
amendments to the Town And
Country Planning Act
that relaxed rent controls
and "liberated" market speculation,
and the ~~[illegible]~~
intensified economic oppression, ~~[illegible]~~ racism,
and segregation ~~as~~ ~~[illegible]~~ of
British society, revised to ~~[illegible]~~ accept and adapt to
"the postcolonial world of today" –
~~[illegible]~~
as the descendants of indentured servants and slaves
from the far reaches of ~~[illegible]~~
a slowly decolonizing Commonwealth arrived to
claim their rights of citizenship. ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~
Everything that
Glass analyzes in a transformational

(1964, pp. xviii – xix)

Glass's "gentrification" chapter is

1950s

3A

or the other essays Glass was writing on decolonization (see Lees, Slum, and Lopez-Morales, 2016).

London — regional industrial restructuring,
~~expanding~~ expanding transportation and commuting
fields, ~~the upscaling of retail districts,~~
the upscaling of retail districts, the deepening divides of
~~the intensification of ethnoracial~~
~~segregation — emphasizes~~

~~segregation~~
immigration and ethnoracial discrimination —
emphasizes the intensification of
competition. "Gentrification" ~~only has~~
~~mean~~ ~~has absolutely no meaning when~~
~~torn torn out~~
~~torn from the decolonizing global imperial~~
~~context~~

C 3B

is simply one of the newer spatial
mutations of ~~[illegible] decolonizing global~~
the struggle for ~~existence in the~~
~~world capital of a planetary imperial~~
~~a quickly~~
survival in ~~the fast-changing~~
~~metropolis at the center of a~~
~~global imperial network.~~

System.

the core metropolis of a fast-changing
global imperial ~~network~~; ~~under the~~
~~given the confluence of increasingly transnational~~
As the competition for the necessities of
urban life (home, work, education for the children)

C

~~becomes~~ becomes transnational amidst "liberated" market forces,

"any district in or near London, however dingy or untashionable before, is likely to become expensive; and London may quite soon be a city which illustrates the principle of the survival of the fittest — the financially fittest, who can still afford to ~~to~~ work ~~and live~~ and live there." (Glass, 1964, p. xx).

3c

phenomenon

processes

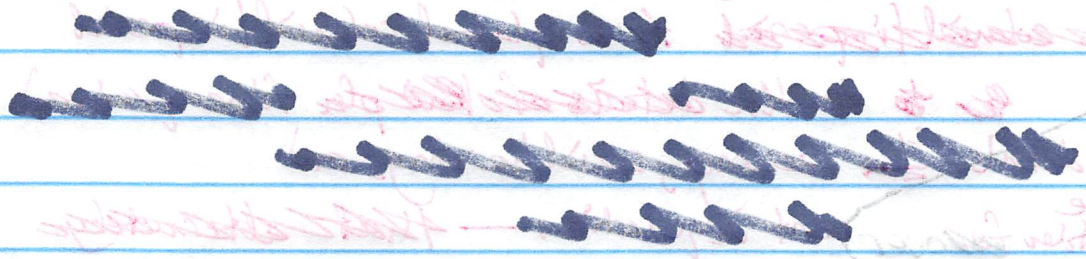
'Gentrification' has absolutely no meaning as a local neighborhood-scale ~~process~~, unless it is understood as the manifestation of ~~wider~~ a) wider ~~process~~ of intensified social competition, and b) ~~the state~~ state policies ~~to~~ ~~from colonial/imperial~~ ~~from global colonial/imperial~~ ~~to the details of land pla~~ ~~fine-grained details of zoning, social housing and rent regulation~~ — ~~that alternately~~ ~~cushion and reinforce human competition~~ ~~for the benefits of urban life.~~ ~~that mediate the~~ ~~manage or reinforce human~~ ~~any state policy — not just the fine-grained details of zoning, social housing, or rent regulation, but also the geopolitics of colonial/imperial~~ ~~the distinctions of~~ citizenship, immigration, education policy, and even the geopolitics of colonial/imperial relations. Gentrification — defined ~~[illegible]~~ ~~compellin~~ ~~simply and compelling~~ terms in the most essential and eloquent ~~way~~ as the upward class transformation of urban space (Hackworth, 2007; ~~is simp~~ ~~is just a one~~ ~~one kind of~~ ~~a one among many kin~~ ~~spatial manifestation~~ ~~of an increasingly~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ; Clark, 2005) —

that ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ regulate or reinforce human competition ~~for~~ over the benefits of urban life.

3D

~~State policies are not lim~~ Such state policies are by no means limited to the fine-grained urban details of zoning, social housing, rent regulation; they also involve the multiply-scaled politics of

or land ~~[illegible]~~ tenure



C

is the spatial manifestation

of intensified competition of social difference (as 'class' ~~co-evolves with~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~caste~~

co-evolves with caste, culture, ~~and other~~ gender, and other ~~[illegible]~~ intersectional dimensions of identity ~~and~~ and ~~social~~ positionality) and spatial evolving spatialities of mobility, fluidity, and temporality.)

C 3E

organization (as 'urban space' is reconstituted through

transnational

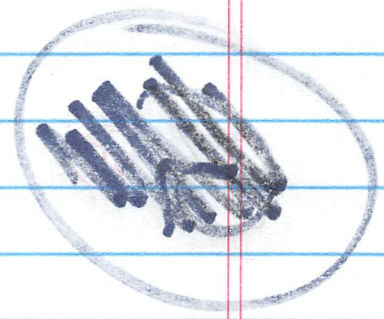
~~in contemporary transnational [illegible]~~

~~[illegible]~~

~~An alternative, complementary~~

~~Another~~

An alternative, complementary definition — which may help us get beyond the ~~dilemmas~~ dilemmas of what Malcotas (2017) calls ~~[illegible]~~ "half way decontextualization" — might go like this: gentrification is any process of upward mobility that uses urban space ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ to climb over other people, to claw upward in a social ~~hierarchie~~



hierarchy and not just to ~~[illegible]~~ ~~material constraints~~

transcend the material constraints of a ~~[illegible]~~ ~~of historically inherited~~ ~~existing~~ ~~of [illegible]~~ society's relations with the natural world. Gentrification, ~~is~~ in other words, is the false naturalization of social inequality. ~~[illegible]~~

C 3F

It is a complete betrayal and reversal ~~of the possibilities~~ ~~of the early potential for urban evolution~~ of the potential for urbanization to ~~allow~~ enable ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~

~~[illegible]~~

spatialities

~~[illegible]~~

"a new and more intimate self-consciousness," ~~[illegible]~~ ~~a~~ ~~progres~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~possible~~ a progressive era of conscious, collective evolution of the kinds of ~~humanity~~ (Geddes, 1915, p. 2; cf Clark and Clark, 2012; Boggs and Boggs, 1974 [2008].)

C3FX

humans we wish to become

C

C3FX

— exploiting and abusing the spatialities and ideas of urbanism in order to ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ the "increasingly agonizing contradiction" between ~~human and material abundance~~ the <u>overdevelopment</u> of human material abundance ~~and the~~ versus the <u>underdevelopment</u> of ~~cooperative politics and spiritual-ethical~~ ~~cooperative p~~ ~~moral, ethical, and spiritual~~ human ethics and morality. *

Maintain

(Boggs and Boggs, 1974, p. 171)

[2008]

C3FX

PART 1

~~In recent work, Hackworth (2017) has developed a full-frontal attack on the "naturalization" of urban decline~~

~~It is the dialectical parallax view~~

C3FX

PART 2

(*) Gentrification can thus be understood as the dialectical, parallax view of the other side of urban decline — which Jason Hackworth (2017) has challenged in a magisterial analysis of how ~~"natural"~~ ~~"natural" theories of "natural"~~ neighborhood life cycles and other theories of 'natural' decline ~~have~~ help to conceal ~~concealed~~ political projects of social control, that are all too often rooted in ethno-racial conflict.

C3FX

¶ The second genealogy entails ~~[illegible]~~ an interplay between the past and present in shifting geographies of knowledge production.

C

3G

3

~~subjects of a decolonizing global empire arrived to the metropole to claim their rights of citizenship in the Commonwealth. Glass explicitly attacks the authorized the intensified urban competition that is king London that was making London~~

attached

~~a place reserved for~~

~~Evolutionary~~ Evolutionary metaphors and logics were ~~[illegible]~~

~~a city which illustrates the principle of the survival of the fittest — the financially fittest, who can still afford to work and live ~~life~~ there" (Glass, 1964, p. xx).~~

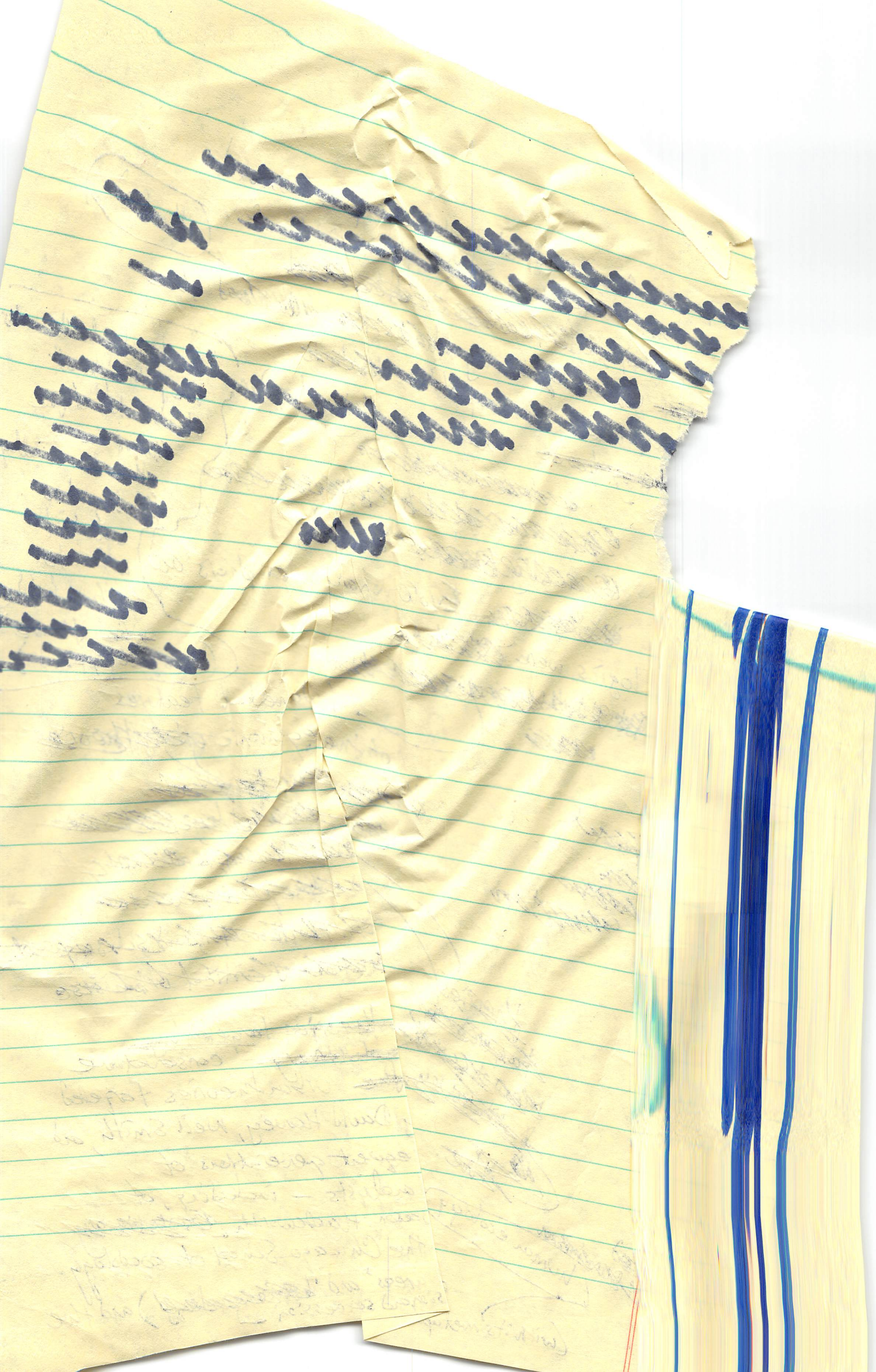
fudamental features of the hegemonic ~~urban theories~~

~~[illegible] attached by Neil Smith, David Harvey, Neil Smith, subsequent generations of Hackworth, and subsequent [illegible] of critical urbanists.~~

~~theories targeted by~~ conservative urban theories targeted [illegible]id Harvey, Neil Smith, and [illegible]t generations of [illegible]sts — including, of [illegible] Hackworth. ~~Evolutionary~~ [illegible]icago School of sociology and ~~[illegible]~~ (with its metaphors of succession) and the

~~Distorted~~ ~~[illegible]~~ (human ecology)

~~[illegible]~~



Chicago School of economics (with its neoliberal commandments of consumer choice and market equilibrium)

privileged the dynamics of human competition as the universal causal force of

urban economic innovation, suburbanization and land development, and the rhythms of investment and disinvestment in neighborhood change.

Eric Clark, whose methodological breakthroughs helped refine and extend Neil Smith's rent gap theory of gentrification (Clark, 1988), has recently traced the links between contemporary

(1979)

~~popular understanding~~ ~~discourses of economic innovation and~~

~~policy~~

~~science and poli~~

neoliberal discourses of economic innovation

~~and the rev~~

C 6

and the revolutionary genetics-driven consolidation of the Modern Synthesis of evolutionary science in the 1930s. Clark ~~and Clark~~ notes that the wildly popular and influential science writer Matthew Ridley, for example, uses "evolutionary theory to justify Thatcher's assertion 'there's no such thing as society,' while portraying intrinsically egalitarian markets as suffering under despotic government, squatting 'like a giant flea upon the back of the nation'" (Clark and Clark, 2011, p. 567, citing Ridley, 1996, p. 261). ~~But simply~~

~~Any genealogy of the neoliberal~~

Any genealogy of the ~~neoliberal~~ ~~urbanism that~~ roots of the neoliberal urbanism analyzed by Hackworth and Smith (2001) ~~leads into a~~ quickly leads us into a

and all other critical gentrification researchers

vast ~~vast~~ web of ideological and
material connections to some
rather nasty, cancerous
zygotes of revanchist
political theory. Matt Ridley
~~Matt Ridley won the~~
won the 2011 Hayek Prize for
his work on ~~collective~~
the "collective intelligence" and
"spontaneous order" of ~~unre~~
unfettered markets, ~~and~~
~~in turn Hayek's~~ (~~and even as he~~ ~~was~~
~~in turn Hayek's~~ ~~and as he proudly announced~~
although ~~his~~ the proud announcement of
the prize on his blog ("The Rational
Optimist: How Prosperity Evolves"), was somewhat
chastened by the need to scrub ~~his bio~~
~~Ridley was scrubbing his bio of~~
~~of the rather embarrassing role of~~
~~positions on the Board of~~
~~stint as, stint as Chairman of~~
~~the U.K. bank Northern~~

a rather embarrassing "catastrophic black
mark" ~~on~~ from his cv — his role as
~~[illegible]~~ Chair of Northern Rock,
~~the UK's~~ the largest UK bank failure
since the days of Darwin; Ridley
~~was forced~~ resigned in 2007 as the
~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~

~~"nobody saw it coming" optimized~~ bank
~~rationalization~~ begged for a government
bailout,

and quickly
~~[illegible]~~ resorted to the
standard "nobody saw it coming"
optimized rationalization
used by all neoliberals
in the Global Financial Crisis
(see Russell, 2010). Ridley,
whose "family seat"
is an 8,500 acre estate in
Northumberland, is the
son of a ~~former~~
previous Northern Rock
chairman, and the
nephew of ~~a Conservative~~
~~MP who served [illegible]~~
~~as a minister [illegible] Thatcher's~~
~~government [illegible]~~

Nicholas Ridley, ~~who~~ — "Lord Ridley of Liddesdale" —
~~served as~~ ~~[illegible]~~

a ~~[illegible]~~, ~~sarcastic~~ sarcastically
charismatic Conservative MP who served
in various ~~[illegible]~~ ministerial roles
in Thatcher's government ~~precisely~~
~~during the long decade in which Ruth Glass~~
~~of worsening inequalities diagnosed in~~

6

~~due~~ through
the long decade of
worsening inequalities diagnosed in
~~Ruth Glass's~~ Ruth Glass's last
book, Clichés of Urban Doom,
~~Glass~~ ~~with a passionate~~
~~hatred of the~~ ~~hatred of~~
~~the arrogant~~ ~~the arrogant~~
~~hierar~~

~~Glass died in 1990,~~
~~but to~~
~~read her final essays~~
~~today,~~
~~but reading her~~
~~her~~ ~~her words tod~~
~~today~~

C
9

published in 1989. Glass died the
next year, but her words offer a horrifically
~~a horrifyingly~~ brilliant and prescient
guide to today's taken-for-granted
~~neolibe~~ market worlds of ~~[illegible]~~ computerized automation, of
"robotically miniaturized" ~~working classes,~~ labor forces
of a "dying species" of working classes stigmatized and divided between
~~stigmatized and classified~~ ~~[illegible]~~ welfare-dependent
"baddies" versus entrepreneurial creative-class
"goodies"; Glass ~~passionatel~~
had a passionate hatred for the
unequal world that Thatcher was
building.

~~a dying species stigmatized and divided~~

and the fact that so many of the names in this narrative signify people who are now dead is absolutely fundamental to understanding ~~the~~ today's evolving state of gentrification. Gentrification, along with neoliberalism, ~~Margaret Thatcher credited Hayek as the architect of her~~ has been algorithmically automated, encoded ~~as the the dominant~~

C10X

~~[illegible]~~

In her autobiography, ~~[illegible]~~ Thatcher credited Hayek as the architect of her political revolution, ~~and the [illegible] Iron Lady's foundation released her [illegible] response to~~ and after her 1979 election victory she wrote ~~to thank~~ ~~and in~~

C

10

~~and in later years the Iron Lady's foundation has released some of her correspondence with Hayek, including~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~a May, 1979~~

a generous note of thanks ~~to~~ in response to Hayek's congratulation

~~a generous May, 1979 response to a post election congratulatory telegram~~

"I was very touched by your kind telegram." ~~Maggie wrote~~ ... I am very ~~[illegible]~~ proud to have learnt so much from you over the past few years. I hope that some of these ideas will be put into practice by my Government in the next few months. As one of your keenest supporters, I am determined that we should succeed. If we do so, our ultimate victory will have been

610x

as the dominant (if unstable) operating system of planetary urbanization flooded with ~~[illegible]~~ trillions of surplus capital — ~~[illegible]~~ the ledger entries of surplus value appropriated from previous generations of workers who are now dead. (Right now, about ~~$~~ US $10 trillion is stored in negative-yielding sovereign debt in Europe and Japan).

an era of

$\boxed{\text{CIOX}}$

CIOX

have been

immense." (Thatcher, 1979). Those victories ~~were~~ immense indeed, with a global reach ~~[illegible]~~ the portraits on the cover of Harvey's (2005) Brief History of Neoliberalism: Thatcher, Pinochet, Deng, Reagan. ~~[illegible]~~ Today, however, the ~~[illegible]~~ simultaneous celebration of ~~[illegible]~~ ~~postcolonials~~ non-western "distinctive visions of the global" (Ong, 2011, p. 5) ~~[illegible]~~ in the rise of ~~[illegible]~~ Global South cities, and the ~~[illegible]~~ ~~shock~~ emergence of a phase of "cognitive capitalism" with "biomedical and genetic engineering and artificial intelligence at the forefront" (Harvey, 2014, p. xii; cf. Moulier-Boutang, 2012; Scott, 2011) ~~have~~ have distracted us ~~[illegible]~~

neatly captured by

postcolonial

C

11

6

a pair of bittersweet

from philosophical lessons of the industrial-colonial urbanization that had consolidated Western modernity in Darwin's century. The same logics that encouraged a progressive understanding of urbanism

as the next phase of emancipatory evolution

had sustained and justified the planetary violence of racist colonization that

had financed the enormous new agglomerations of the human species that Geddes labeled 'conurbations'

Geddes, 1915; Kropotkin, 1885; Blaut, 1993; Livingstone, 1992, pp. 273 ff.); the same highest technological innovations that reflect the achievements of human evolution produce

C12

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

machines that come to ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible] dominate human social relations~~

dominate human social relations while following their own, non-human evolutionary trajectories — what Samuel Butler famously called 'Darwin Among the Machines' (Butler, 1863; Mumford, 1967; Harvey, 2011, pp. 119–139). ~~There~~
~~There is more than~~

C13

~~There are more than a few~~
~~ghostly~~ Quite a few ghostly voices can be heard from last century's "cognitive Darwinism," ~~there's~~ (Entrikin, 1980, p. 47), then, when the publisher excerpts ~~a~~ a quote from The Economist to promote Ridley's latest book, The Evolution of Everything: "His theory is, in a way, the glorious offspring that would result if Charles Darwin's ideas were mated with those of Adam Smith." Other ghostly voices are heard when Ed Glaeser begins his world tour to promote The Triumph of the City, ~~as~~ celebrating free-market cities as humanity's greatest ~~[illegible]~~ invention,

creating "gateways between cultures and markets," as "gateways to ideas" of an "urban species" that is becoming "richer, smarter, greener, healthier, and happier" (Glaeser, 2011, p. 7); this was ~~exact~~ exactly the same time that Glaeser was using ~~also~~ the historical example of Chicago-School economists ~~advising the~~ who advised the Pinochet's murderous regime to argue against the ~~[illegible]~~ proposal that ~~adopt~~ the American Economics Association ~~the~~ institute a code of professional ethics in the aftermath of the Global Financial crisis (see Mirowski, 2011, p. 223). This is where Mirowski's ~~comprehensive analysis~~ ~~historiography of the present and past~~ analysis of ~~[illegible]~~ neoliberalism ~~[illegible]~~ — ~~[illegible]~~ Ruth Glass's (1964) conception of gentrification as an expression of neomalthusian, survival-of-the-fittest urbanism — ~~[illegible]~~ with the present futurism of ~~[illegible]~~ Big Data obsessions of ~~with~~ 'Smart Cities' and the incessant creative-class disruptive ~~innovation~~ ~~in~~ innovations of cognitive capitalism. This is because

ties together the past

14

0

Thatcher's beloved architect was not just an economist, but a political philosopher ~~deeply committed to~~ ~~whose~~ whose most important ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ contribution was an ~~[illegible]~~ explicitly evolutionary theory ~~of~~ ~~information~~ ~~information~~

connecting intergenerational ~~[illegible]~~ human

human

Competition with the dynamics of information and ignorance. ~~Intergenerational competition~~ ~~involved~~ ~~[illegible]~~ Hayek's views on competition ~~were deeply~~ were ~~[illegible]~~

C 15

derived from the explicitly eugenic ~~[illegible]~~ theories of education and social variations in birthrates ~~[illegible]~~ devised by Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders, director of the London School of Economics from 1937 to 1957 (see Keynes, 1946) ~~[illegible]~~; Hayek "explicitly said he knew of no one before Carr-Saunders who articulated the thesis that selection operates on acquired habits and traditions" (Angner, 2007, p. 81). ~~Acquired habits and traditions, of course, is [illegible] discredited [illegible] [illegible], but it makes for a ruthlessly effective politics when applied to the economics of information.~~

~~[illegible]~~

'Acquired habits and traditions,' of course, is just the discredited, old-fashioned pre-Darwinian approach of Lamarckianism, but it ~~makes~~ ~~[illegible]~~ can be updated to ~~[illegible]~~ a ruthlessly effective cutting-edge political program when applied to the economics of information. ~~[illegible]~~ In Hayek's theory of the ~~[illegible]~~ long-term evolution of human cultures, "the 'market' is posited to be an information processor more powerful than any human brain, but essentially patterned upon brain/computation metaphors." (Mirowski, 2011, p. 54). The market always surpasses the understanding of individuals and collective institutions (hence socialism will always fail), and while ~~[illegible]~~ there are disagreements among varied factions of what Mirowski calls the Neoliberal Thought Collective, for marketing purposes, "neoliberal market society must be treated as a 'natural' and inexorable state of mankind" (Mirowski, 2011, p. 55). Hence the enthusiastic embrace of natural science metaphors and the "portrayal of the market as an evolutionary phenomenon," ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~biology and physics~~

C16

and other non-market systems

(NTC)

~~[illegible]~~ in a biological sense:

"If the market was just an elaborate information processor, so too was the gene in its

16

ecological niche. Poor, unwitting animals turn out to maximize everything under the sun, just like neoclassical economic agents, and cognitive science 'neuroeconomics' models treat neurons as market participants." (Mirowski, 2011, p. 55).

~~Now we can begin to see the full implications of an evolutionary cognitive capitalist gentrifying planet.~~

C17

Mirowski's ~~gen~~ genealogies of informational neoliberalism are now literally encoded into the evolutionary infrastructures of competition and law with today's Silicon Valley visions of a friction-free capitalism of Big Data, Smart Cities, ~~and~~ and optimized machine learning; one ~~aspect~~ of the widespread revival of the ~~the~~ nineteenth-century approach known as "social physics" (O'Sullivan and Manson, 2015) is deployed in the popular and policy discourses justifying gentrification. Philip Ball, a prominent science writer for Nature, reviews a mathematical-statistical study of changes in London's gentrifying neighborhoods published in the journal Physics & Society, and concludes that gentrification is "a natural evolution," a process that is "healthy for cities," a "reflection of their ability to adapt, a facet of their resilience," "almost a law of nature." (Ball, 2014).

stream

14

Another widely-read science writer, Mark Buchanan, uses the concept of "atomic physics" to explain the "social cascade" of the dramatic revitalization of Times Square (Buchanan, 2007). As social physics portrayals of gentrification go mainstream — Ball's 'natural evolution' essay appeared in The Guardian online — today's (2014) "wave" thinking in gentrification begins to mimic the quantum duality of particle and wave theories of light, or Heisenberg-style uncertainties on the effects of our observational practices. State elites, developers, journalists, and more than a few scholars celebrate the hard-fought victories of particular redevelopment megaprojects — while repeating the refrain that 'regeneration' is a natural process, a continuous, inexorable force-field of urban evolution.

C17 PART 2

CIF
PART
2

¶ In the NTC project, the role of the state ~~is~~ ~~was initially misused~~ ~~is not solely~~

is not solely about property rights, police powers, contract enforcement, and the balance between public and private domains; rather, the ~~[illegible]~~ fundamental ~~primary~~ function of the state is a communicative, informational enterprise designed to reinforce ~~[illegible]~~ coercive law as "a system of power and command" while maintaining popular legitimacy ~~[illegible]~~ ~~the relentless insistence on audit regimes~~ ~~audit cultures, 'accountability' measures, and~~ ~~the endless measures~~

C18

~~C15~~

through nominally democratic systems (Mirowski, 2011, p. 58).

Beyond the measures ~~[illegible]~~ ~~that~~ that create ~~an~~ inescapable ~~subjectivity~~ redefining ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ 'citizen' as 'consumer' through the endless ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~to promote accountability, the state~~ power is deployed to resolve the contradiction of ~~political~~ ~~marketization initiatives that are inevitable~~ ~~urb~~ urgent, desperately-needed interventions to drive a marketization that is supposedly natural and inevitable; to maintain the legitimacy of economic experts ~~whose fundamental~~ ~~who espouse a theory of~~

micropolitical ~~[illegible]~~ subjectivities

~~imposition~~

imposition of benchmarks, rankings, and audit cultures to promote accountability, beyond all the brand identities guarded by patent and trademark law, state

~~proliferation of brands protected by patent identities made guarded by patents and trademarks and the benchmarks, rankings~~

C18

~~human ignorance~~ ~~whose shared axiom is that~~ ~~whose the~~ ~~implementing a theory of human ignorance~~

whose fundamental theory is that every human expert is ignorant in the face of an omniscient market; and to sustain the myths of choice and freedom in a system of harsh inequality and selfish ignorance that, Hayek himself noted in a 1966 speech to the Mont Pelerin Society, was entirely compatible with authoritarian governmental structures.* C19X

C16

C19

~~The epistemological implications~~

At this point, Mirowski's analysis of the NTC 'informational state' points to momentous epistemological implications for urban theory (and indeed *any* kind of theory or scientific expertise). In the "full Hayek,"

C19

everything is fair game,

from well-financed corporate propaganda

to Donald Rumsfeld's

wartime "unknown unknowns"

to @RealDonaldTrump's

and Fox-News "fair-and-balanced" flat-earthism

C19 PART 2

Climate denialism and

Deep-State, "wiretap" conspiracy theory "alternative facts"

and "fake news" attacks

air-quote

on the very idea of reality itself: the

Trumpian Twitter feed is

Gramscian false consciousness as

a smartphone app, but Uncle

Miltie taught us that we are always

free to choose in the marketplace of

ideas. The market, the most powerful

information processor ever developed by the

billions of years of planetary

evolution, will sort out what is true and

useful and good, — even in the United States,

where explicitly survival-of-the-fittest public policies

are sustained by Electoral College assemblages of a population

where a majority of adults

Confusion and information overload as a self-sustaining cognitive Keynesianism

CR
PART 2

simply
do not believe in evolution. ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~

, therefore,

~~We can learn a lot from the~~
We have a lot to learn from the
saga of a "reality" television celebrity ~~[illegible]~~ who
~~[illegible]~~ being
~~[illegible]~~ described as a "real" estate developer,
~~[illegible]~~ the majority of self-identified
Republicans who ~~[illegible]~~
~~of Putin's Russia~~ ~~of Putin's Russia~~
~~after a [illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~
after a ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~

has built nothing in three decades

retain

a positive
view of Putin's Russia
even after a #pizzagate ~~[illegible]~~
election ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~
Kremlin media ~~[illegible]~~ named Sputnik, ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~

instruments

cybernetically sold through an alt-right meme army and

C19 PART 3

C19

~~the extended family~~

a President who attacks
U.S. intelligence agencies as "McCarthyite"
agents akin to "Nazi Germany"
while portraying U.S. urban life
as "American carnage." Meanwhile,
in Beijing,
~~for a the luxury "Kushner 1"~~

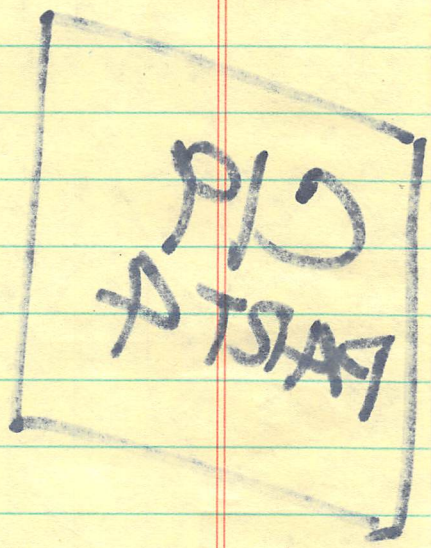
C19
PART 4

a Jersey City project that includes
1,476 luxury apartments
and a specialized medical center
for pets is advertised
as "Kushner 1: Government Supports,
Star Developer Builds." Jared Kushner's
$150 million in financing,
pitching the benefits of the U.S.
EB-5 citizenship-for-sale immigration
program to an audience of
100 eager Chinese investors, (Hernandez et al.,
2017).

sister takes the stage to solicit

at the Beijing Ritz-Carlton

in a Ballroom



C19
FAIST 4

New York Times

reporters ~~were~~ are kicked out of the event with classical ~~PRC quard thuggery~~ PRC-style quard thuggery after only a few minutes, ~~and the next stop on the roadshow~~

and security ~~was much tighter~~ is tightened at the next stop on the roadshow, at the Four Seasons in Shanghai — but reporters ~~were~~ are still able to ~~persuade~~ piece together a few snapshots of aggressive promotion of the Trump name and the lure of the ~~EB-5~~ gateway to U.S. Permanent Residency.

~~offered by the EB-5 (originally created as way to finance redevelopment in low-income urban neighborhoods) (Bradsher et al., 2017)~~

~~a program created to finance redevelopment in low-income neighbor urban neighborhoods that is now used as a thoroughly~~

the ~~EB-5~~ original stated purpose (in 1990) of the EB-5 program, begun as a demonstration program to draw investment to ~~targeted to employ~~ ~~region~~ "designated regional centers" or "targeted" areas of high unemployment, is a clear ~~clear~~ instance of state-driven gentrification —

(Bradsher et al., 2017)

C19 PART 5

PART 5

~~as it~~

~~as is the more deeply~~

~~upscal~~

~~upscaled version pushed by~~

and so is the current, cosmopolitan ~~upsc~~ upscaled Beijing - Jersey City - Shanghai version. (*)

C19 PART 6

(*) The "targeted employment" provision of the EB-5 enabling legislation is easily ~~gerrymandered~~ ~~gerrymandered~~, allowing luxury properties to be subsidized by defining 'target' areas to ~~include low-income census~~ ~~distant low-income [illegible]~~ stretch all the way across a city to include low-income census tracts. See the analysis and maps of the EB-5 "targeted" area for the Kushner Companies "Trump Bay Street" in Jersey City, in Boburg (2017).

gerrymandered to ~~create~~ create almost any kind of optimized rent gap,

CIP
PART 6

~~Hayek is happy~~

~~Sleeper~~

If all of these chaotic conceptions might seem to be a strange, contradictory, or conspiratorial ~~[illegible]~~ view of ~~[illegible]~~ gentrification and urban theory, that is precisely the point; Hayek is ~~[illegible]~~ because the market always knows best. ~~[illegible]~~

laughing at Ruth Glass.

As Tom Slater's devastating critical policy ethnographies demonstrate in the heart of Global North neoliberalism, ~~these~~ contemporary urban theory ~~is~~ is now manufactured through a powerful, sophisticated just-in-time ~~industry~~ ~~[illegible]~~ agnotology industry: ~~[illegible]~~

(2017)

of right-wing think tanks

C19 PART 7

~~doubt, confusion, contradiction, [illegible]~~ uncertainty, contingency, confusion, contradiction are all at the heart of ~~the~~ ~~decision-based evidence production that making presented under the deceptive cover of "evidence-based"~~

"evidence-based decisionmaking" that is, in (non-alternate) reality, ~~[illegible]~~ decision-based evidence making.

PART 4

¶ Now we can see the full implications of the twentieth-century kidnapping of evolutionary theory for today's cosmopolitan planetary urbanization. If we re-read Hackworth and Smith's (2001) landmark alongside Glass (1964) and Minowski (2011), it becomes clear that ~~the most [illegible] Smith's (1982) formulation of gentrification as a manifestation of the surface manifestation of the underlying [illegible] of capitalist urban uneven development, it becomes clear that we must respond to Smith's (2011) incomplete evolutionary analysis of gentrification with [illegible] comprehensive theoretical [illegible] of multiple [illegible] of evolutionary [illegible] transformation of capitalism as [illegible] today.~~ Capitalism is always evolving, and so is gentrification. As international innovation reproduces increasingly dynamic, cybernetic forms of cognitive capitalism, gentrification becomes a manifestation of uneven cognitive development. ~~[illegible] Smith's [illegible] knowledge being [illegible], [illegible] everywhere think about what they have been what [illegible] the [illegible] of urban space to [illegible] other [illegible] social [illegible] knowledge that are becoming increasingly competitive, cosmopolitan [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] through~~

Stuckard urban

still urban

C20X

C17

C20

C20X

C20

~~In the century and a half since Samuel Butler wrote of "Darwin Among the Machines" and Marx~~

~~Cognitive development — how~~

Human thought has obviously evolved ~~[illegible]~~ a great deal in the past century and a half — since Samuel Butler wrote of "Darwin Among the Machines," since Marx engaged with Darwin's work to understand mechanical reproduction "emancipated from the organic limits" of human laborers (Marx, 1867 [1967], p.354) in the English machine-tool industry. ~~Cognitive~~ Human cognitive development now ~~[illegible]~~ involves a quickened pace of multidimensional mutation mediated through the "universe of self-replicating code" (Dyson, 2012) of information-empire algorithms and channels that mediate the daily consciousness formation of the networked billions, ~~and alter~~ fundamentally altering the ~~coevolutionary sphere that Harvey~~ coevolutionary sphere that Harvey (2011, pp. 122-123) calls "mental conceptions of the world." The expectations and beliefs people hold about their world, their trust in experts, their willingness to accept ~~[illegible]~~ varied rules and hierarchies as necessary and legitimate, ~~[illegible]~~ their moral and ethical commitments, cultural norms, ~~and belief systems~~, and political and religious ideologies —

C21

C2+

—all of these are now dynamically reproduced and dissolved through the technological and corporate infrastructures of,

the evolutionary integration of human communications and digitized social relations as forces of production.

algorithmic market processes of creativity, innovation, and competition: cybernetic

This

Coalescence of code, competition, and capital exposes "the roots of consciousness formation in the material realities of daily life" (Harvey, 1985, p. 230) even as those realities are quickly remade by the non-material idealisms of how we think about life, labor, and consciousness itself. This is the urbanization of consciousness under conditions of planetary cognitive capitalism.

C21 PART 2

C22

Seen in this light, the survival-of-the-fittest housing market that Ruth Glass foresaw in London is now a thoroughly pervasive dimension of the restlessly transnational respatializing "fields" of an urbanizing world of neocolonial and postcolonial creativity. It's about how urbanites everywhere think about what they have versus what others have, in all the variegated ways identities are co-constituted

550

with the ~~imagined communities~~ material as well as non-material idealisms ~~material and~~ imagined communities of family, nation, ~~race/ethnicity~~ race/ethnicity, class, ~~culture~~ ~~and that stubbornly vague~~

in the

~~and the many~~

and 'culture'. The use of urban space ~~to~~ to climb over other humans in social hierarchies ~~as~~ in urbanizing struggles that are increasingly competitive, cosmopolitan fusions of Western and non-Western aspirations, values, and meritocracies. ~~this now accelerated~~

is now intensified and accelerated

C23

~~[illegible]~~

Yet we must not be deceived: ~~each~~ the only "fairness" delivered by the most cosmopolitan, postcolonial meritocracies ~~is the harsh, [illegible]~~ is the universalization of a harsh, unforgiving, ~~sifting of the human species according to the principles on the basis~~

~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~sifting of the human species~~

C23

C24X

and ultimately eugenic sifting and sorting of the human species. Gentrification is the leading edge of the urbanization of human evolution — on an evolutionary path that is by no means natural or inevitable, but has been hijacked in order to suppress the collective, emancipatory possibilities of the kinds of humans we could choose to become (Boggs and Boggs, 1974; Clark and Clark, 2012).

C24

C24X

(*) Many roads lead to serfdom — not just the neoliberal toll roads of the Global North, ~~[illegible]~~
but also the
postcolonial mega-project highways
~~of [illegible]~~
of authoritarian developmental states
in the Global South.

C19X

we must resurrect

Smith's (1982, p.139 p.142)
formulation of gentrification as
"the leading edge of a larger process"
of uneven societal development "rooted
directly in the fundamental social relations"
of the capitalist mode of
production.
We must
refine and extend the incomplete
evolutionary analysis Smith (2011)
began shortly before his death — and
we must
put it into a dialogue with Harvey's
(2011) comprehensive explication of
multiple, interdependent "activity spheres"
of an ongoing "coevolutionary" transformation
of the "socio-ecological totality"
of planetary capitalism.

C20X

COX

The deepest

assumptions of violent, neomalthusian

nineteenth-century colonial thought have

been written into the source code of

the stealth network architecture

of today's

happy talk of innovation and creativity

C24X

(1915) Cities in Evolution

¶ From the radical collectivism of Geddes' to the neoanarchist selfishness of

Glaeser's (2011) Triumph of the City,

it has always been clear that urbanization is the leading edge of human evolution; the question is what ~~direction that path that evolution~~ path ~~is~~ humanity would take.

When Ruth Glass surveyed the ~~inequalities~~ old and new inequalities of a global metropolis poised between formal decolonization and incipient, Hayekian ~~neocolon~~ neoliberal neocolonialism, she identified one of the newer frontiers of harsh, survival-of-the-fittest urbanism. ~~geo~~ Gentrification is the leading edge of intensifying competition amongst current and future generations of urbanites, as mediated by the accumulations of past generations (in the form of capital and the shape of the built environment); ~~all~~ All snarkiness aside, the anonymous revolutionary insurgents of France's Invisible Committee are absolutely correct: gentrification is a political struggle over the evolution of a new humanity, a coalescence of the colonial past — what the film director Spike Lee ~~famo~~ memorably describes as "Motherfuckin' Christopher Columbus syndrome" — and the intergenerational future: in the same speech, Lee described ~~the vicious competition~~ the vicious competition amongst white gentrifiers in New York's African American neighborhoods ~~to~~ trying to get their children into private schools: "... there's a business now where people — you pay — people don't even have kids yet and they're taking this course

E 1

on how to get your kid into private school." (quoted in Coscarelli, 2014). Today, more than half a century after Glass (1964) first mapped the hijacked evolutionary urbanism of Hayek's dream, and in light of what Hackworth and Smith (2001) taught us to see in the historical transformations of the process, what is the changing state of gentrification today?

Two

~~[illegible]~~ issues are most important. First, in terms of theory and method, we ~~[illegible]~~ ~~must~~ must move beyond the obssessive ~~[illegible]~~ geographical empiricism of looking for gentrification in the fine-grained details of ~~[illegible]~~ the urban landscape. ~~Gentrification is manifest in specific locations~~ While gentrification is manifest in specific ~~particular [illegible] spaces at particular times, its essence~~ locations at particular times, its essence is the ~~state-mediated process~~ state-managed process of intensifying human competition ~~[illegible]~~ for the benefits of ~~[illegible]~~ an urbanization ~~[illegible]~~ ~~that is~~ that is itself transcending the old Euclidian ~~boundaries of urban~~ ~~[illegible]~~ city/country boundaries of Westphalian ~~[illegible]~~ colonial modernity. The exploitation of urbanity to achieve upward ~~[illegible]~~ mobility is now thoroughly transnational — a planetary gentrification (Lees, Shin, and Lopez-Morales, 2016) that coalesces with the increasingly complex and elusive spatialities of a postcolonial "planetarity" (Spivak, 2012) ~~of Global South national~~ of cosmopolitan aspirations of ~~Global South nations~~ peoples, ethnicities, indigeneities, ~~and nations of~~

E 2

~~nations~~ diasporas, and nations of the Global South.

So long as we cling to the "outdated conceptual framework" (Davidson, 2011, p. 1994)

~~of~~ of cause-and-effect at the scale of localized city neighborhoods,

~~particular urban neighborhoods, Ghertner (2015)~~

Ghertner (2015) is correct: gentrification theory will fail ~~in most of the world, given the~~

~~with all of the contextual variations in development histories,~~

~~land tenure regimes, and state~~

~~state interventions~~ ~~interventions in housing~~

~~markets,~~

to account for all the world's contextual variations in development histories, land tenure regimes, and state interventions in housing markets. But all these ~~diff~~ differences ~~dissolve~~ ~~begin to diss~~ dissolve when we understand gentrification as a symptom of ~~[illegible]~~ evolutionary urbanism, an ~~ethos of~~ ethos of endless 'innovation,' 'creativity,' and 'resilience' ~~that all [illegible]~~ defined by a singularity: competition. ~~Look you:~~

~~what city, what~~

~~Where, in the Global North or the~~

~~Global South, [illegible]~~

E 3

I ask you: is there any urbanized or urbanizing society anywhere, in the Global North or Global South, where we do not find a discourse and material practice of ~~[illegible]~~ "competitiveness"?

real

Seen in this light, ~~the spatial contingencies~~
there's no mystery to the strange spatialities
of ~~socially networked infrastructures of~~
cybernetic infrastructures of
an urbanizing cognitive capitalism.
Mukesh Ambani's
$2.53 billion, 27-floor Villa Antilla,
overlooking Asia's largest slum, gets
heavy coverage in the Western ~~Pe~~ press, ~~including~~
~~a fawning Vanity~~
~~a lush Vanity Fair spread~~ ~~a Vanity Fair~~
~~interviewed with his wife~~
~~Nita and~~
~~[illegible]~~

E 4

~~including a Vanity Fair~~ ~~and his~~

~~Nita Ambani~~,
and Nita Ambani, "wife of India's
richest man," invites a Vanity Fair
reporter into their 400,000-square foot
home to showcase the ~~[illegible]~~ impeccable taste of
this ~~latter~~ latter-day "Xanadu" (Reginato,
2014). In Vancouver, a record-setting property
transaction ~~[illegible]~~ involved a $51.8 million, 25,000-square foot
home sold by ~~the~~ second-highest-paid
CEO in the San Francisco Bay Area; ~~the~~
~~buyer was a failed duck farmer who grew up~~

a social media gaming executive,

who happened to be ranked as the

~~the by~~

~~in poverty, but who persevered to build a giant conglomerate with interests in property development, pharmaceuticals, textiles, and hotel management.~~

the buyer, who grew up in poverty and failed in his first business venture (a duck farm), persevered to build a giant conglomerate with interests in property development, textiles, pharmaceuticals, and hotel management: Chen Maolin is the delegate from Nanjing to the PRC's People's Political Consultative Committee, ~~and specifically cited Vancouver as the best education for kids" in Vancouver~~

E (5)

~~who bought a home in Vancouver~~ and in a rare interview he told the CBC, ~~he has loved~~ "I love Vancouver. It's a very beautiful city. They have the best education for kids."

(2015)

¶ The second challenge ~~[illegible]~~
is explicitly political. Evolutionary theory ~~has~~ has
been hijacked, ~~[illegible]~~ and a perverted strain of social
Darwinism has been encoded into the planetary
operating system of an increasingly cosmopolitan
capitalism: gentrification ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~

E 6

worsens the inequalities of urbanism
even while producing ever more attractive
images of multicultural meritocracy. Seen from
the ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~

hipster city neighborhoods or exurban innovation
clusters ~~of Singapore, Santiago, [illegible]~~
from Singapore to Santiago to San Francisco —
~~[illegible]~~ and from the frequent airline
flights and Uber rides ~~[illegible]~~
of the creative-class gig economy —
it all looks like a world of opportunity. Gentrification
is ~~being~~ deepened, digitized, and democratized —
for all who can afford it, or who are willing to sacrifice
everything in order to keep pace on the ~~[illegible]~~
faster-spinning hamster wheels of infinite competition
in ~~education, work,~~ work, education, and living space.
(The first cohort admitted to ~~the new transnational~~
the Abu Dhabi portal of NYU's Global Network University

consisted of 188 students chosen from ~~an applicant pool of~~ more than 9 thousand applicants). In the ~~lottery ticket ontology of~~ ~~bizarre lottery ticket ontology of~~ ~~of severely rationed opportunity~~

celebrity ontology of meritocracy that strengthens popular support for worsening social inequality (Imbroscio, 2016), almost any state intervention to promote competition can be disguised in the floating signifier discursive ransomware of choice and opportunity on the 'level playing field.'

E 7

~~The Evolving State of Gentrification~~

Reclaiming (R)evolutionary Urbanism

F