

Transcript Ep. 60: On Peripheralisation

[00:00:00] **Intro:** This is the urban political, the podcast on urban theory research and activism.

Seems to me that in the end there's an ambiguity, the fact that if periphery, so it's always a category, a category that depends on centre. If we try to change our perspective in the point of everyday life in the Greek, of the everyday life that is producing practice by the form of conflicts and this kind of stuff, and we say, there's a production of another centrality.

But decentrality. So, it's inside this dialectical movement or it's outside. And this is the big, you can say theoretical question because, does a periphery can exist in a political autonomous point of view, or in fact we just have to lead this category and say, periphery becoming periphery is only a production of the space on the point of view of capital.

Do we need this category of periphery? It's one open question. I don't know, it's like a question inside of my head.

[00:01:40] **Metaxia Markaki:** You just heard an abstract of the intense discussions that took place this August in Athens during the RC 21 conference, in the context of Panel 26 entitled "Peripheralization, the production of ex-centric places as an ordinary process of extended urbanization".

The panel was conveyed by Christian Schmid and Metaxia Markaki. It accommodated 24 contributions discussing different geographies and scales and sparked intriguing openings and questions on the topic of peripheralization.

I am Metaxia Markaki. I study peripheralization processes that manifest in the mountainous regions of Arcadia in Greece.

[00:02:17] **Faiq Mari:** And I am Faik Mari. I study the Commons in Palestine, specifically agricultural collectives in relation to the Palestinian liberation struggle.

[00:02:26] **Metaxia Markaki:** Together we'll be your host to this urban political podcast on Peripheralization.

The topic of RC 21 this year was evocative. Ordinary cities in times of exception and the surrounding of Athens equally intriguing.

Greece has lived for the last 15 years under a permanent condition of exception, experiencing a severe debt crisis, which has eventually generated processes of peripheralization in different scales, brutally affecting not only the life of the capital city Athens, but also profoundly restructuring peripheral regions and landscapes beyond the cities.

The panel 26 framed precisely this question. How do peripheries form, how does urbanization generate processes of peripheralization? Under the title "Peripheralization, the

production of ex-centric Places as an Ordinary Process of Extended urbanization", the panel called for contributions investigating such processes in different scales and geographies, discussing both their socioeconomic and ecological implications, as well as the emancipatory potential in ex-centric territories in times of exception.

It asked for investigations that challenge and renew external methodologies. And forms of theory building, encouraging the centre perspectives on the urban, the response to the call of the papers was massive. We discussed urban struggles at the edge of metropolitan regions. We extended the discussion to peripheralization processes that manifest beyond city regions, for instance in a dialectic relation to operationalized agricultural landscapes, or for instance in relation to infrastructural projects.

We saw contested ecologies of peripheralization in the gold mining activities in Skouries and battles against the expansion of renewable energy investments in Greek peripheral landscapes. The land questions that emerges under these processes. Cases of peripheralization by dispossession in Palestine, in the displacement politics of black Mediterranean.

In this today's important questions emerged. But mostly the very meaning of the concept of Peripheralization came into discussion its relevance to contemporary urban theory and urban struggles. We are therefore thrilled to continue this discussion today with you, and an amazing group of panellists.

I'm glad to introduce Christian Schmid, professor of sociology at the Department of Architecture at ETH Zurich. And prominent for historic contribution on discussions of urbanization and his recent work on extended urbanization. Hi, Christian.

[00:05:03] **Christian Schmid:** Hi Metaxia.

[00:05:05] **Metaxia Markaki:** Further, I'm glad to introduce Shubhra Gururani, director of the York Centre for Asian Research and Associate Professor of Anthropology at the York University. Shubhra is co-editor to the amazing issue engaging the Urban from the periphery, together with Loraine Kennedy and Ashima Sood, welcome Shubhra.

[00:05:22] **Shubhra Gururani:** Lovely to meet you all.

[00:05:24] **Faiq Mari:** We also have with us Michael Lukas, assistant professor in the Department of Geography at the University of Chile. His research focuses on the intersections of urban political economy, urban political ecology and power relations in urban planning and governance in Latin America.

He is editor of the recent work "Beyond the Megacity", new Dimensions of Peripheral Urbanization in Latin America, together with Nadine Reis.

[00:05:49] **Michael Lukas:** And I was in Athens, and it was really, really nice and a very interesting discussion and very cosy environment.

[00:05:57] **Christian Schmid:** Yes, yes.

[00:05:59] **Faiq Mari:** And we also have Giulia Torino, junior research fellow in urban studies and lecturer at the University of Cambridge.

Drawing on the colonial, feminist, and critical race theories, she explores contemporary spaces of dwelling on the racial capitalism, first in Latin America and more recently in Europe and the black Mediterranean. Hi Giulia.

[00:06:21] **Giulia Torino:** Yeah, I confirm Michael's feeling on Athens. It was a really, really nice space, and it's great to be here with all of you.

[00:06:30] **Metaxia Markaki:** As an afterthought in the whole experience of the conference in Athens. Let's bring again on the table the main question. How do peripheries form and how does urbanization generate processes of peripheralization?

[00:06:44] **Christian Schmid:** I mean from the point of view, of the organizers of that session, which actually at the end were six sessions plus sevens.

And so, it was really, obviously a burning question. Really a question that attracted quite some people, but also, they stayed and were really impressed by the debate itself. And were really interested to continue the debate. So, I think it somehow shows that that question of peripheralization in recent times really got quite some actuality here.

And so, there are, the point is here that, that there are many, many ways how certain regions or areas could become peripheralized. I think a key element here is that we didn't really, when we offered this session, we didn't start with the definition of peripheralization.

We also didn't start with the definition of central and periphery. There are many, many different definitions, and ways to approach it. So, I think that's the first thing. So, it's not a, I mean it's a concept that immediately is understandable, but it's not fully, let's say, conceptualized today.

It opens up a lot of ways to cope with that and gives us also a lot of freedom, just to do some research and then to come back with interesting results and interesting questions. To give a brief answer to your initial question, peripheralization can arrive in very, very different ways.

I think first of all, it is a multi-Scala process. So, we can have it of course in the large scale, we can have it in a very small scale. What also became clear, even if we started to conceptualize peripheralization in the context of processes of extended urbanization. That means really, somehow, so peripheries that are already somehow peripheralized and that get further peripheralized in the process.

Of course, it can also happen in very central areas, which we just also analysed recently in a paper we just published, comparing peripheralization processes and mass housing urbanization in Paris, Hong Kong, and Mexico City. So, peripheries can arrive in many, many different contexts.

And I think the key point here is because we look at it now under the, let's say, lens or perspective of urbanization. Of course, we could look at peripheralization also from, let's say macro economies or other perspectives. But here we are looking from urbanization. And urbanization is a process that often is quite unpredictable actually.

And that means that centres and peripheries, they can form but they can also, somehow reverse. So, centres, central areas could become peripheralized. There are many examples for that. And also, let's say peripheralized regions could also find ways to, again, build centralities.

For instance, what you actually mentioned already at the beginning, also through actions, and building new networks and thus in that way also building new centres even in quite peripheralized areas.

[00:10:51] **Metaxia Markaki:** To follow up with a question to Shubhra. Your recent work "Engaging the Urban from the Periphery" brought exactly this question on the table. And the concluding piece of this volume discusses a peripheral turn. So, a turn in urban scholarship moving away from the centres towards the peripheries. Looking and learning from the peripheries, small towns, strolling hinterlands, and especially the global south. How can we understand this movement, this conceptual movement from periphery as a place, to periphery as a process, or as a verb? And how does this open up our research?

[00:11:38] **Shubhra Gururani:** Thank you so much Metaxia. Yes, I think the framework of the periphery and how I, and we arrived at this, has been very much, both an empirical question but also a conceptual question. What do, and coming from fieldwork in India to recognize that while there were overlaps with processes, actors, forces, contexts, spaces in other parts of the world, yet there were divergences. And that's in some sense to be expected that this kind of heterogeneity, this kind of multiscalarity of this process was expected. But there was some bit of a discomfort with this framework that this is not exactly what is unfolding.

And as anthropologist, this discomfort is always very productive. You want to think about the local in particular ways, but also to have the local relate with the global or the larger processes. And it is in this context that thinking through other frameworks of, which have engaged with the questions of massive urbanization, I found the framework of peripheral urbanization or peripheralization as an interesting anchor, a theoretical anchor to think about. One was that periphery, as in much of the global south is where the process of urban transformation, of uneven development, or of these unpredictable ways in which land and its actors are changing, practices is taking place.

In fact, the story as one knows, is that it's not, urbanization or urban growth is not happening in the city centres. It's happening in the peripheries. Then of course, so for me, peripheries is one in empirical site. It's a site, it's a place I want to document. I want to study ethnographically and map all the new and the old actors and what happens.

The other one is of course, the peripheralization, as you say, what is this process of peripheralization? And peripheralization to me is a highly generative way to thinking about some kind of social spatial, temporal shifts that are taking place. What are the ways, and we can think about, and it's changed in the last, and as Christian has said, and as also you said in your introduction, it's diverse, it's unpredictable.

The unpredictability of it, or it's the contingency of it or of the diversity of it makes a particular kind of framing, a singular framing very difficult. And I think that's where there has

been a struggle to think about a place which is unfolding, which is changing, which is highly uneven. How do we talk about such a dynamic space?

And this space to me is the coming together of this, the way we, Loraine and I talked about thinking of periphery as a very capacious, unstable, unpredictable space, which allows us to think about the diversity. But to me, as somebody interested more in processes, and the ways so spaces get produced, peripheralization is an interesting process and I think which Christians' work, the piece he was referring to talks about, again, the peripheralization, brings off the ways in which I think about, and I think Xuefei Ren's piece in our special issue is talking about periphery, also refers to the global south, brings together a place in which we are left out. And how those places get created. How do margins get created. And this speaks to the way, in a way in which we can take this conversation between peripheralization and comparative urbanisms in conversation.

How do we think of other places, what the theory making entail, from places like the global south, in my case, from the context of India. Which even today, and now we can go into the argument is it really 70%, but statistically, according to the Indian census, India is close to 70% agricultural, 70% of its population in part or, mostly in part relies on agriculture.

If agriculture is such a central part of Indian livelihoods and rural is such a strong place in Indian ethos and Indian economy, then what does the urban mean and what does this periphery constitute? In fact, the work on Ruralisation is also urging us to think about urban from the outside, and I think it's a very productive debate to think about it.

And it is in conversation with this process and focusing on peripheralization, thinking through the framework of comparative urbanism from the other places of the global south, that I began to think about agriculture and agrarian entanglements with urbanism. What I found interestingly, that in India, the persistence of agricultural relationships, and by what, I mean by agrarian relationships, not only of, of course of livelihood, but primarily of land, of property.

Those relationships are very instructive to see how urbanism and urbanization, and particularly in these peripheries is taking shape, in India. For instance, relationships of property around caste, around class, around region, around ecology become extremely central to the way in which, the urban is shaping.

So, in fact, the planners are now, having to come to terms with it. Otherwise, the idea was city would be this place, they would plan, and the city would unfold. But city is unfolding in multiple ways and precisely at the conjuncture of the politics, of agrarian politics of land, of property, of ownership, of governance, which is troubling the way in which one has thought of urban as a particular kind of place.

So, to me, peripheralization is politics. Peripheralization is a relational politics. And it is precisely to, and again, in context where places like global South, where agriculture is central, and perhaps in Faiq's work where agriculture collectives are very central, one might have that conversation, have very different histories.

Here, one comes to term with colonial histories of land. Colonial histories of property making, colonial histories of sedentarisation, sedentarising pastoral communities. That the questions of land and property become central to thinking about peripheralization. And of course, in the context of India, it comes with ethnic and caste politics as well.

So, to me, it's a political process. It is a social spatial, political process, which allows us to capture the diversity while being attentive to the local dynamics of how it unfolds. And as anthropologists, we can't do enough of local. And the challenge for us to have this comparative conversation across to see how we can think conceptually and build frameworks to do so.

The question would be, what is at stake of thinking of, and why are we thinking of periphery and peripheralization as autonomous? What is at stake? What do we get out of it? It is an open question for me, and it is an interesting one, so I'll leave it at that for now.

[00:19:34] **Metaxia Markaki:** So maybe I pick it precisely from this, to say that I very much agree with the question that you just brought on the table. So is there the possibility of autonomy of a process as peripheralization if we are understanding that periphery by definition is a relational term, and therefore, peripheralization is a relational dialectic process.

So, in this sense, maybe it's interesting to highlight that in your work and also in Christian's work, you do bring this idea of periphery and peripheralization in relation to processes of urbanization and in particular extended urbanization. So, we are discussing processes of peripheralization that unfold beyond city regions or beyond agglomerations.

I think this is very interesting and I'm wondering if you could both say a few words about how discussing peripheralization in more than city or beyond than city regions redefines the term itself.

[00:20:38] **Christian Schmid:** I think it has a lot to do with agency. If you look on the processes that are behind peripheralization, social economic processes, the state, the national state, sometimes the regional state, they play key roles in these processes.

There is also a functionality behind peripheralization. To somehow emptying spaces, exactly from people. So, to get people out of certain spaces to somehow, even destroy livelihoods, to somehow destroy local cultures and local economies in order to somehow open the land for commodification processes for instance, energy production, and many other things.

So here we see also a clear process, where peripheralization is not just a kind of accidental phenomenon, but is a result of very clear strategies, that indeed have the goal to peripheralize certain regions. Particularly in the context of extended urbanization, I think that plays a key role, in our examples we found now many, many, moments in which this state role really became key in the process.

Now, having said that, of course there is also the agency of the people living in these areas, and I think here it also becomes somehow tricky if we are just somehow making a kind of a binary. So, it's either periphery or it is centre. Sometimes it is both at the same time.

And we will be found out this, and Metaxia, I mean you are on the forefront of this research, so maybe you will tell later also about that. That, of course people are not just somehow living in one place, but people become more and more mobile, and they have been mobile since a long time.

Circular migration and all sorts of mobilities and movements. That's nothing new, but it becomes more and more, let's say pertinent, and widespread. And so that means that people are not just either living in the periphery or in the centre, but they are living in both places and connecting those places.

And so here, I think, here agency becomes absolutely key because in that sense, if you are coming from the centre to the periphery, go from the periphery back to the centre, it becomes a very, not only a relational relationship, but it becomes a kind of a moment where you are really connecting these two seemingly different realms, but they form, let's say, both part of your personal life.

So, in that case, of course the meaning starts to change. And in that sense, and there are a lot of, also experiences and accounts from particularly Latin America with these very strong political networks, that somehow spread out towards also peripheral areas. And where these kinds of connections become absolutely key for creating new centralities.

And so, in that sense we can also see that creating centralities is not just something that is an effect of state strategies, but it is also the effect of people, who create those new centralities. And we have quite some examples for that, Latin America I just mentioned, but for instance, also in South Africa is a very good example how, in Joburg, this work by Lindsay Howe, and she shows how people in Joburg, in townships start to create their own centralities.

And in that sense also use their agency to really change the situation, their own situation. As I think here then it's also very much linked to everyday life and of course struggles for everyday life.

[00:25:35] **Shubhra Gururani:** I think I would totally agree with what Christian is saying, the question of agency, and to me of course, the question of who the actors are, who the new and old actors are. I think peripheries are, peripheralization exposes for me, the, it's a particular kind of place. It's in some sense, I don't want to, again, don't want to fall in the trap of making, oh this is centre, and this is periphery. That's not productive at this point. In fact, precisely the relationality is central and to think about how new centralities are being made. But yet why peripheries and peripheralization are, to me interesting both, as a site and as a point of entry to understand what's happening in most of the world right now, is because this is where there is a lot of, it's like an edge, it's like a frontier, right?

It's like a lot is happening. There is a new dynamic of, flows of capital, new kinds of new liberal actors have emerged. They're the new ways in which people are thinking, people are behaving, new industries are investing, new multinational companies have come in. The whole landscape has become different.

New imaginaries are being formed, new infrastructure. So, there's a whole kind of, this kind of a place where there's a lot of, the anthropologist Anna Tsing talks about, there's a kind of a frenzy and this frenzy is important because it is directing us, those who are interested in these processes, to understand how spaces get co-produced is to understand the flows of capital at the end of the day. What are the new ways that global capital comes face to face with vernacular capital.

How do local ways in which this intersection takes place? To me, that's where the periphery is. Cities, we have a sense of what are, I'm not saying we do, but we have some sense of how these flows happen. Peripheries, on the other hand, is urging us to see these new formations of flows of capital, new relationships that are being taking shape.

For instance, there are new actors. I mean the work which we have been doing, and my colleague, Sai Balakrishnan's work, or Tom Cohen's work is saying that how there are these caste groups who are otherwise very marginal, have benefited from these kinds of processes and create new centrality in the way in which you described to shape urban form, which would have not been thinkable.

It's not coming from the state, it's coming from elsewhere. And those dynamics actually go back to close to 200 years. And that is interesting to see it, such a long period of time that how this caste group, which is actually in the hierarchy of caste as a marginal group, in fact, became an important player in this moment of social special change, and now has become a kind of a core actor in shaping peripheral urbanization.

So that kind of, it allows me to say, okay, how did this happen? How does this capital flows take shape? So that to me becomes an interesting way to think about, this is the place where I would want to understand how new networks of capital, new flows of capital, new relationships of investments, new actors get created and what gets transformed.

And importantly, both the interface of state and society. That's where it is at, at the moment. Cities are a particular kind of places, and again, I'm not, don't want to say that cities, this doesn't happen. This process of understanding these late capitalist developments, which is of course very uneven, to say the least, is also a point of injury and to respond to them, right?

To think about what exactly does this possession mean at this moment? What does ownership at this moment, what are the tropes of citizenship? Who's in, who's out? They're happening in these places. These places are of different, of a particular kind, and for which we don't have a register, which we can open and say, let's do this.

Cities have been theorized. Cities have a particular kind of specialty, a certain particular kind of rhythm, a particular kind of temporality. These are places which are unfolding. And I think for that reason, this gives us the pulse of the way in which the new phase of capitalist investments is taking shape.

And I think that to me is peripheralization.

[00:30:16] **Faiq Mari:** I think we're having a very interesting discussion so far. I think I will maybe take a small step back and talk about my experience with the concept of periphery

and peripheralization and then open the discussion again. Basically, what happened is Metaxia and Christian were organizing a panel and the panel was called Peripheralization and what Metaxia described at the beginning and Metaxia asked me like, we would be happy to have a contribution from you.

And I left the email actually in my inbox for a long time thinking that I don't think my work really relates to this concept, or I don't think the concept really relates to my work. I'm not sure, like, I'm not even sure if I can frame the phenomenon, I'm studying from an urbanization perspective in general.

And what I'm talking about in my research is, a group of agricultural collectives that have risen in the villages of the West Bank, mainly in Palestine. And these are youths who view their collectives as working towards Palestinian liberation. So, they are undertaking an economic activity and perceiving of it or conceiving of it in a certain way as part of liberation struggle.

And they have emerged in the countryside mainly. And I'm trying to understand why it has emerged, how does it really relate to the history of Palestinian resistance and so on. And obviously, I'm trying to pay attention to the city, versus countryside or village aspect of that. I'm trying to pay attention to the political economy aspect of that.

And I have certain thoughts about it, and also to the role of political mobilization and organization in Palestinian history. But anyway, a couple of days before the deadline, of course, I sit down and I try to see, can I really think of this through the concept of peripheralization? And the first thing I did was I asked Metaxia, what do you mean by the concept of peripheralization?

And the answer was, we're trying to define it together, so see how, let's see how it works for you. And so, I sat down and tried to think how it might work for me. And slowly I started to see that actually I did use that of periphery before in the sense of dependency theory. And core periphery, and so Palestine as a periphery of the settler colonial economy of Israel as a subordinate economy.

And so peripheralization in that sense means the formulation of the Palestinian economy as subordinate to the Israeli one, and also in relation to imperial cores and so on. So, I started from that point, and then as I tried to think through my project, I actually found peripheralization to be quite useful.

It allowed me to look at different scales in my problem. One is this, let's say national scale, where I'm looking at the peripheralization of the Palestinian economy, again, from dependency theory perspective in relation to the colonial and imperial capitalism. On the other hand, it allowed me actually to link what is happening on an urban scale on the Village City relationship in the West Bank and understand how those two levels connect to each other.

And my argument became that basically the peripheralization in the economic sense of Palestine of the West Bank meant that agriculture no longer formed the basis of the

economy, especially in the villages where it was the main economic activity. And in this way, the villagers mainly became a proletariat.

Who are working in the Israeli economy at a certain phase, but later on who came to work in a Palestinian economy, that is nonetheless through the implication of global and Israeli capital came to serve Israeli capitalism and global capitalism. And this process generated fallow lands in the villages and also generated an alienated youth.

And along with this process was of course a process of resistance to that and the process of trying to conceptualize that and trying to understand it, and from this process emerged, let's say a certain margin of possibility where the fallow lands in the countryside were just lying there and certain alienated youth.

So that as an opportunity to struggle against this colonial capitalist regime that is occupying their lands and controlling their lives. And of course, within this system, it's not only an economic but activity through which this space was peripheralized, but it is definitely violent. We're talking about genocide, we're talking about securitization, we're talking about military occupation, we're talking about all hosts of processes. And so, at that point in my work I'm thinking of peripheralization. Okay, this is a useful concept. It's allowing me to bridge those different scales and it's allowing me to understand, for example, the growth of new cities in the West Bank, through global capital, as part of this process in which also Israeli settlements are growing, and to understand the role of the Palestinian authority as also in relation to the settler colonial regime in Palestine, which is the state of Israel.

At the same time, I have also been thinking about, what are the limits of conceptualizing, what is happening in the countryside of the West Bank as peripheralization?

Does this concept encompass everything that's happening? Does it encompass all the violence, all the securitization, et cetera? So, what are its limitations as well? How useful can it be or where is it useful? Where is it not for my research? And maybe another main question that emerged for me is, for a settler colony, for a genocidal settler colony is the indigenous population as a periphery, a sustainable concept? Can the settler colony maintain the indigenous population as a periphery, or is it always in search of new peripheries as it eliminates the indigenous population? So, this is also another question that emerged for me.

And so, from here, echoing a point that Giulia mentioned at the beginning, I came at the concept of Peripheralization, as you've seen from, let's say, an alleyway on the side. I'm trying still to work with it. And I want to see where it takes my research, but so far it has been useful.

To open up the discussion, my question is to Giulia and to Michael. How have you come to use the concept of periphery or peripheralization in your work, if you have?

[00:38:10] **Giulia Torino:** Thank you very much Faiq in the first place for this great start from your research, which is really, really interesting. I think the way I came to elaborate on the notion of periphery more so than Peripheralization was initially through, given my work on Columbia before my current research, through the Latin American decolonial critique to Coloniality, so the works of Anibal Quijano, Walter Mignolo, Arturo Escobar, and so on. And

so, through their work, my understanding of periphery had to do with the critique of colonial and imperialist relations and power imbalances.

However, the problem that started to emerge in the course of my ethnographic research in Columbia during my PhD. Working with internal displaced black communities, was that it became clear that even the Latin American decoloniality critique was not enough to account for processes of racialization and in particular, the socioeconomic dynamics of racial capitalism in capturing and rendering captive black and indigenous populations in the Americas.

And so, I became increasingly more interested in exploring how racial capitalism affects dwelling and inhabitation, in the case of Bogotá and the city first. And now in my more recent project on the Mediterranean in processes of extended urbanization at the threshold between Africa and Europe and trans-Mediterranean migrations.

And in particular working through, doing so through the concept of the black Mediterranean, which is being articulated in the last couple of years in very powerful ways, a bit not yet in urban terms by political geographers such as Timothy Raemaekers [...], who work at the threshold between African and European geographies of migration.

And the way I'm reasoning through notions of peripheries and peripheralization at the moment, is from the perspective of the so-called migrant ghettos of southern Europe, and in southern Italy in particular. These are makeshift encampments where migrant workers, especially from Northern Sub-Saharan Africa, leave often seasonally yet increasingly more permanently while working during the day in the Agri-industrial supply chain.

And these spaces are usually called in Italy, ghettos, shantytowns, slums, shacks. So, terms that have often been employed in other debates on peripheries, and often with the violent epistemology and racial undertones. But in my view, what the usage of these terms' stresses or unveils, is the impossibility of ever really settling in spaces that are considered peripheries.

And this is something that I problematize and maybe we can talk more about it, about the relationship between peripheries and the creation of a sense of place. But what I want to ask in this work is what happens when racial capitalism produces peripheries that are inhabited by expandable and highly mobile subjects?

So, in particular, how does the notion of periphery intersects with growing processes of global human movement and migration. And so, what happens when the settlements that migrants, for example, in southern Italy inhabit, are actually unsettlement? And if you look at just the etymology of the word, so some sort of unfixed peripheries and temperaments that are constantly made and unmade, often seasonally, that follow the temporalities of different harvest, but also the precarisation of the working conditions under global capitalism and the displacement sustained in Europe by a hostile migration politics.

So overall, I think that in the context of southern Italy, from the perspective of the difficulty to settle down for African migrants, but also increasingly more of Bangladeshi migrants, migrants from Eastern Europe, the periphery has become less of a place fixated in space and more of a condition of constant displaceability or unsettlement.

And in the Mediterranean, for example, it is a condition that is computed by anti-immigration policies, lethargic bureaucracies, agreements between European states with the North African states to retain migrants, Frontex, the European Border and Coast Guard Agency. And the whole military digital surveillance of borders that, it enables, but also by the Agro-mafias and the exploitation of the global undocumented workforce.

In turn, however, I think that from this peripheral space, spaces of southern Italy, several claims for a dignified life and examples of spatial agency are also visible. And this is, one example that has particularly stricken me over the past few months is this radio project that emerged from abandoned farms and migrant encampments in southern Italy that is called Radio Ghetto, where on wage agricultural workers started to set up a makeshift radio station that connects the words south. So, from Apulia in the South of Italy to Mali.

But other examples have featured, for example, the abandoned summer houses in Castel Volturno, which is a prominent, it used to be a prominent summer holiday location near Naples, where in the last years Nigerian migrants arrived in search of cheap housing and started to reinhabit, what used to be a ruined town, as Castel Volturno was almost abandoned before their arrival.

I think these examples start to highlight the fact that there is a kind of double edge reconstitution of the periphery in southern Italy, as growing human movement is affecting the making of space. So, on the one hand, as I said, we have a special condition that marks the impossibility of settling and is marked by structural and everyday practices of racialization.

But on the other hand, the periphery is also marking spaces from which unequal power dynamics and colonial afterlives are challenged or at least partly undone. So maybe I'll stop here and then we can follow up. Thank you.

[00:45:03] **Faiq Mari:** Thank you, Giulia. Maybe Michael, you can tell us about your entryway into peripheralization.

[00:45:10] **Michael Lukas:** Thank you very much for the invitation to this conversation, which is important, and which is interesting, and I think it's popping up at a specific moment in time for a reason. As was said before, there's a form of peripheral turn or a renewed interest or need to get back to a discussion that was part of social sciences, some decades ago, more than it is today maybe.

And this is interesting and there I see connected my work and the work of me with my colleague Nadine Reis. With our book we arranged around the notion of periphery. Me personally, before getting to the book, I was working on urban peripheries for some years, researching, and particularly on urban peripheries in Chile, in the metropolitan region of

Santiago, but also other smaller cities, and especially being interested in understanding how urban peripheries were being used and produced as a spatial fix. Or socio ecological fix. From the perspective of political economy, I was very much interested in how elites, domestic elites and also transnational elites transform, the peripheries of cities in a classical sense, in their specific interest for the fixing of capital, for the circulation of capital.

Of course, detecting all sorts of bypass urbanism or exploitative relations to existing communities, territories, racialized subjects. And so, with my colleague Nadine Reis, who was working at the same time on similar issues in Mexico City.

We arranged some sessions. It was at the LASA conference and then AAG in San Francisco and New York, it was around 2016. We invited two papers for a panel session about peri-urban spaces, peri-urban conflicts, and peri-urban developments in a quite broad sense with a focus on Latin America. And we also received a lot of abstracts, and then reviewed and discussed, with all these contributions.

And then tried to figure out a way to arrange these contributions that were addressing processes of peri-urbanization, as we thought would be the issue, from very different perspectives. And then we somehow got to the notion and the concept of peripheral urbanization, as the most apt for bringing together these different perspectives and also very different processes on different scales.

And so that is how we got, in essence, to the notion of the periphery in relation to urbanization, as we understand it, as a boundary concept. If you construct the genealogy of the concept of peripheral urbanization that has been used, it had a very prominent role in Latin American urban theory in the sixties and seventies, and particularly independency theory.

Peripheral urbanization was understood as the territorial processes, related to the subordinated position of Latin American countries in the world system, in global capitalism. And then from there, very different dimension and processes of peripheral urbanization were derived on the level of national urban systems. The issue of primacy, the issue of marginality, the role of transnational companies, et cetera.

In our understanding, it's very interesting to go back to this research that has been forgotten, because it's coming back now from very different angles. Not yet in urban theory, but in other branches of the social sciences. Dependency theory is coming back strong. And then we saw the second notion of peripheral urbanization as [...] Caldera mainly, and anthropology, ethnography, critical ethnography, and all the work on the Informal marginal settlements.

And the agency of these people understood as popular urbanization, which is also coined peripheral urbanization, but it's much more focused on agency, not on systemic issues. And then the third notion of peripheral organization is that in the context of the debate about global sub urbanisms, peripheral organization understood as outward growth.

Also, Edward Soja, for example, speaks about peripheral urbanization in that sense. And then the book *Beyond the Mega City*, we arranged around peripheral urbanization as this

kind of boundary concept that brings together these different perspectives and then maybe brings us to see the intersection of these different processes and scales of peripheralization, one could say.

And then maybe, peripheral urbanization is something like the subordinate integration of a unit, of a group of people, of subjects, of spaces into a bigger system, or a totality if you want. This is what we are working on right now. If this is possible to understand, peripheral organization as I mentioned, and particularly strengthening this, I don't know how to call it, maybe it's like the systemic perspective, which comes from originally dependency theory, which as I said, is coming back today.

I leave it here for the moment.

[00:52:06] **Faiq Mari:** I think both of your answers were very interesting and intriguing for the following discussion. I think, Michael, for me, for example, the use of the concept peripheralization, if I think back about it now, was a way to kind of escape an urban focus while including it at the same time somehow.

Because, as you were saying now, peripheral urbanization is a process of incorporating a certain geography or a certain place in the circuits of global capital and their power dynamic. I think the way I have used it in Palestine was to, was mainly to focus on the power dynamic itself, to focus on this process of subordination and resistance to subordination.

And to view urbanization within that. And therefore, then the question of the urban versus the rural, the binaries and et cetera that, Shubra was saying that, are maybe no longer that meaningful then are no longer centred in the discussion.

[00:53:27] **Michael Lukas:** I think I understand your point and I think it's a good one.

And then I would also say, that for me at least, first peripheral urbanization would always be about this tension or co-evolution or dialectical relationship between domination, subordination, and resistance. And it's always an agency within, it's not only exploitative relationship.

I think this is very important. It's not either or. It's about the relation between also, peripheralized social groups, for example, and elites. I'm much more researching elites for example, in my work. And I understand peripheral urbanization as what elites, from the north but especially in the global south are doing in social spatial terms.

And so, for me, from an urban studies perspective, it is important, it's not, of course, the only thing, but it is important to better understand the role of a specific form of how urbanization today, 21st century, is organized and what role the urban plays in the accumulation strategies of domestic and transnational elites.

I think in the last years we have much better understood, maybe, bottom-up agency, organizing, collective action, everyday life than focusing on very new spatialized accumulation strategies that work through the urban and include the other form of popular urbanization.

[00:55:30] **Shubhra Gururani:** I just want to follow up on this conversation and I think it's a very important one, that how new, and I think this was Giulia was saying and connects with what both Faiq and Michael are saying about the sense of place. They're the kind of politics of sense of place which is being harnessed in this particular moment.

When we are witnessing a, certainly Palestine of course stands out, but even in places like India where it's a rise of majoritarian regimes of populism and Hindu fascism, which is taking place in countries like India where these kinds of peripheries are becoming a particular kind of places where political elites, economic elites and leaders are cultivating a sense of place through these kinds of majoritarian identities and also excluding them.

So, this is where you find, where there's a lot of violence is taking place, there's a lot of exclusion and a particular notion of belonging is being created, which is very problematic as well. So, I think one has to trouble the ways in which there's an intersection where the rise of this kind of fascist, populist politics is shaping and intersecting with the flows of global capital.

What's happened in India in the context of the farmer's movement is simultaneously an agrarian movement, but also an urban movement. It was happening literally at the edges of New Delhi. This was a one-year long farmer's protest outside of New Delhi, outside of India's capital where 20 million people live.

It was not an agricultural movement; it was not a farmer's movement alone. It was a movement about multiple things. And I think that raises a question for us. The ways in which the current state is facilitating the entry of new actors, in this case of big mega millionaires who are coming in and transforming the ways in which agrarian livelihoods are getting reorganized.

But while we are thinking of peripheralization and of new relationalities being produced and how new sense of place and belonging are at stake, the question to me, which is still very much the place, and I think I'm curious about Chile and Colombia and Palestine and Greece, that what is the notion of the rural here?

Is there a rural or the rural has been, because when we begin to think about in systemic ways or structural relationships. And I think you're absolutely right that we need to take the longer conceptualization of how the dependency theory and the implication of core periphery, central to be thinking of peripheralization and how new cores and new centrality get produced.

And I think that all is fine, but is rural still a viable concept? And when we are thinking about peripheralization, as a social spatial process. Is there something called the rural. I think this is a question of a colleague. When I was doing field work in India, in the urban villages, she kept on saying, just because it's municipally, demarcated or not as a village, it makes it a village?

Or is there a notion of the rurals? I'm struggling with it myself, that what is the persistence of the rural? Rural hasn't disappeared. There's a persistence of the rurality, which is interesting

to me. That what is it? What keeps it alive and how does it trouble the notion of belonging, of sense of place, space and peripheralization.

Urban, we have a sense, we have a rural, and then we have this thing which is building them. Are these both viable or is it, again we want to be careful of not making it almost, a concept of peripheralization is to keep the, some of the critiques of the way in which we have tended to think about universal theorization.

To keep the kind of the multiscalarity of it is very central. So, I think in that sense to thinking about is rural a concept, a viable concept, if you think of peripheries, and I think perhaps ties to the kind of questions, all of you are raising about, the questions of power and the stretches of global capitalism.

[01:00:09] **Christian Schmid:** I'm just writing exactly on that point, about the question of the rural and the urban. And I mean, there's one fundamental problem here. And that's the rural, and the point is it is the similar thing as the urban, so what the hell is the urban?

We have very, very different manifestations of the urban and moments of the urban. And the same of course, is true for the rural. So, it is either a question or let's say, in theory it's a question of the definition, how we define it. And there are many, many different ways to define the rural.

And of course, the urban, and the point is also that the situations is very, very different. So, let's say the rural in India is definitely not the same as the rural in China. And we could go on and on that. And so, what I think is, these terms are almost unusable anymore. I mean we can't make much sense out of it.

The deeper, at least with my reflections, I enter this question, the more it is clear that we have to somehow be much clearer what we are talking about. So, I think the agricultural makes a lot of sense. So, at the moment, we are really discussing about agricultural questions. And that I think there, because there, it's clear, it's about agriculture and of course the agricultural question is also a very broad question and very different ways to produce agriculture products.

But at least we have a kind of a base where we can talk about. But I think the rural, it has lots to do with ideologies, identity, with, you could say, with experiences, with all sorts of, let's say self-definitions. It can be important, but I think it's on a different level and we should just be careful with that.

On the other hand, of course, it is also a legal definition. And particularly in India, but also in China, it has a lot of consequences whether a certain area is defined as, or a certain piece of land is defined as rural. That has a lot of consequences. When this is defined as urban you can do many different things.

But I think here we should be careful not to lose somehow the understanding of the processes that are going on here. So, my point is, but maybe you see that differently, Giulia or Michael. But my point here is we should somehow go beyond that.

I mean this is also a project of ours that we say we should develop new vocabularies that are more precise. Where we can really also differentiate. This is a massive, still deficit we have that we can't differentiate that our terms are so always generalizing.

So, we need a much broader, let's say, palette of terms, of colours, to somehow characterize what's going on. Because these processes are always multi-dimensional and multi-colour and so on, so we have to be more precise in these questions.

[01:03:52] **Metaxia Markaki:** Maybe I can bring here a perspective from Greece.

To be really frank, I found very difficult to navigate and understand the whole territory and the processes that were happening using the terms urban and rural. So, in fact I went there carrying the theories, very much coming from the west, let's say, and started trying to understand the very intensely, let's say, peripheralized territories of Greece.

Because Greece is a really centralized country. You have a very gigantic capital, massively populated in the last two centuries, massively urbanized and the rest of the country, mountains and islands have been designed more or less as a project, as territories gravitating around this capital. I went there with the assumption that we have the urban core and then the rural periphery.

But that was totally wrong and even contradicting my very own experience from these territories because basically what had happened is, while processes of peripheralization were unfolding for two centuries, that was creating a space that was in parallel appropriated by people that started using different spheres at the same time.

So basically, you had urban inhabitants owning agricultural land being for certain moments of the year urban inhabitants. And for other moments of the years, really inhabitants of the villages. So basically, even since the 1930s, there are mentions on this hybrid portrait of citizenship that actually had been created, it's called something like *astochorikos*.

That means urban, rural citizen that uses at the same time both identities, both places of belonging, basically diluting the binary and appropriating hybridly both those spheres. And there I found continuities, in much relevance to the discourse that comes from Latin America and the idea of holding on insurgent citizenship.

So, in this sense, this insurgent extended citizenship made suddenly a lot of sense. Also, in what we are experiencing today. Just to make a long story short, in these heavily peripheralized territories, we witnessed processes, of enclosure, and dispossession. Companies arrived trying to grab the land and install big energy parks in territories that were considered to be uninhabited.

And from nowhere, movements emerged from citizens that probably still belonged to those places, but they were moving to both, to support and defend. They're actually right to use both the urban and this rural or peripheral sphere. They claimed the right to both spheres or to this whole extended territory that the process of Peripheralization had created.

[01:07:07] **Giulia Torino:** Thank you, I would like to jump on that because to a certain degree it kind of resonated with the condition of Italy and more specifically southern Italy, but broadly the whole country when it comes to the difficulty to define what is what these days.

On the one hand, since the second half of the 20th century, at the very least, the production of the so-called countryside in Italy has been strongly dependent upon industrialization, of course. And so it was, the countryside changing was actually product of urbanization, even though it was rarely called and framed that way.

And then similarly, I think perhaps similarly to what Metaxia was describing in Greece, you have, especially in southern Italy, spaces that are both urban and rural. And when I first came across, recently, the idea of extend urbanization, I had a sort of eureka moment because I thought, oh that is what it is actually.

It's neither only one nor the other. It's a combination and articulation of rural and urban processes at the same time shaping space. But what really made things much more complicated for me to understand, I'm still in the very middle of trying to figure these out, is how transnational and global movement changes this whole panorama.

And I think that across the world we are seeing this increasingly more. I haven't seen much theorization also because I assume it's very much unfolding phenomenon of how global movement is changing this process of urbanization and of peripheralization as well. In the case of Italy, for example, these encampments that I was mentioning, not only they change seasonally completely the relationship between the urban and the rural villages and countryside in the south of Italy, the spatial relations. But they also change deeply the temporal relations because they're only inhabited by suddenly hundreds and hundreds of people only in certain months of the year. And these people are elsewhere in the other months of the year, either in the regions they came from, often, as I was mentioning, from Northern and Sub-Saharan Africa, but also in other parts of Italy, sometimes in other parts of Europe.

So, there is a great mobility of migrants, including undocumented migrants and refugees across southern Italy. But the strange temporality of it that is not fixated in time and space, but constantly changing is making even the notion of the periphery to become really unsettled in a way.

It's hard to define anymore clearly point in space. What is the periphery? And that's why reasoning, after the invitation of Christian and Metaxia on the notion of peripheralization, I think it's much more relevant for what is happening in the Mediterranean, because it's about a constantly unfolding process.

It's more the focus on the verb and the movement rather than a fixated space that, according from the, you know, the whole binary core briefly of dependency theory, that it was one of the reasons why it was so deeply criticized. The fact of fixating certain identities and inequalities and power regimes in space.

And I'd be interested either in this conversation or later on to dialogue with Michael about the coming back of dependency theory, which is something that scares me on one hand, but also makes me very interested on the other. This is just my thought.

[01:11:01] **Michael Lukas:** Okay, very briefly.

To Giulia. I understand maybe, when you say you are, you're scared even, about the comeback of dependency thinking and like very structuralist, economicist, functionalist thinking that has been overcome in the last decades. I think it's coming back in a very different guise and with an intersectional sensibility.

These are things that are coming out now, right? That nature, women, is what was completely left out, understudied. It were like very fixed categories. On the one hand, I think that is true. And on the other hand, it's like part of, maybe, a misrepresentation also, because dependency theory was not one theory.

It was a bunch of different approaches. To centre periphery relations. It was not about external domination of fixed units. That is not true either. It was about the complex dialectical relationship between the external, internal, between class relations. That is correct.

And it was very much focused on class. Which one could say maybe today is missing again. Because the debate just took a different direction. So, it's just bringing back in the good things and updating them in a way. I would say.

And what is the most important thing, it's almost banal or trivial, but it's really important. It's about relations, I think, and about processes. And never about binaries and never about fixed categories, but how different, let's say about relations from the perspective of power asymmetries, I would say.

And the last thing about the urban, rural debate. I think this is a maybe wrong post opposition or question today. Thinking about overcoming this binary thinking. It should also be about processes. And we are talking about urbanization.

We are absolutely used to talk about urbanization and not about the urban. Or this city even. But we still talk about the rural. So maybe it would be interesting to discuss, can we speak in the same terms of ruralisation as we talk about urbanization? Does that make sense? Maybe not.

I don't know, I'm not an expert on that, but it would be interesting. So yeah, process thinking and relational thinking.

[01:14:26] **Shubhra Gururani:** I want to quickly jump into this question. I think it's an important question. I think I would be interested in forging that conversation and how to think about these categories as not static, of course.

And given the movement of people from agrarian hinterlands to the cities and what you're describing. Are centuries marked by this massive movements and displacement and dispossession and then think about what happens to places that are left behind. But the

other thing which I think, which you mentioned in your introduction Metaxia and I think which is part of your Athens call as well, was the question of how to think about ecologies?

I think that's where the material relationships about resources, about land and about water become absolutely crucial. And that's where the peripheries become sort of a material embodiments of extraction in some ways. That's where it is happening and I think if we begin to think about what is happening to these Spaces where resources are getting extracted of both, of material things, of land, water, forests, et cetera, mining, and of people then we think of, with the relationality, which we want to be focusing on, becomes much more apparent. And I think these are the sites which are currently undergoing massive transformation, which brings out the edginess of these places and are generative. So, I think the ecological question, along with the movement question at Front Central, which highlights to me the relational dimension.

I would agree with you Michael. We need some version of dependency theory back to be thinking about questions of class and capital. If you want to be thinking about questions of social spatial changes. I think another discussion on the rural is I think very much has to be engaged with, if you want to be thinking about processes of peripheralization, because the agrarian hinterlands and the rural are quite intimately tied.

And how we think of them is a question, especially for countries like India and China, where the politics of the place is entangled with those, which is class and cost based. So, I think I would say yes, I'm looking forward to reading Christian's piece on rural and urban and, because I'm very invested in that conversation because, and myself troubled by them.

Because as you were saying that do you call the urban villages, is urban village urban or is it rural? It's hard to say. It's precisely what is it? It's an amalgamation. It's a kind of a hybrid space. It's a place in transition. So, these urban villages to me are very provocative, very generative to think about troubling these categories, yet holding onto them for those conceptual theoretical reasons.

So hence my insistence on thinking about them simultaneously rather than them as silos. Because I think that conversation hasn't happened and the conversation that needs to happen with urban studies to me as I've been arguing, is that we need to be engaging with agrarian studies quite actively. And that kind of takes me back to the question of thinking about agrarian studies has engaged with question of class and politics and land and property, more so I would say than urban.

Urban has been more focused on questions of perhaps with governance, if I may say so Christian? We take different ways in which the sites of these theorization were different. Agrarian studies was coming from the global south, more. Urban studies has its sort of anchors more in the global north.

And the issues were different. And hence the lenses through which one has looked at the same phenomena perhaps, has been different. I think this conversation is what is needed. And I think this is the beginning of that conversation, to me. If you're thinking about peripheralization, it is simultaneously about thinking about agrarian urban entanglements, somewhere.

And hence troubling the categories with which we have operated so far. I think we need to have more questions about this, so I'm really glad to be here and I could sit here the whole day and talk.

[01:18:54] **Christian Schmid:** Thank you very much. I think it's exactly the point.

I think these are exactly the moments where we have to break out of our silos and it's actually what we are just doing in our next project actually. To think through what is the relationship between urbanization and the food question, between urbanization and the biodiversity question, and in all these directions.

And of course, the climate crisis. Somehow, we can't go beyond that. With just our kind of nice cities and with all our old concepts. I think here everything comes really together and that needs really new efforts.

I think it's exciting to go forward with these questions. I mean at the moment we are just engaging also with kind of what does it mean agriculture and agriculture productions and what are the rules and what are the relationships and the regulations and economies.

And finally, I'm also very grateful, Michael, to bring up and also Shubra, the questions of class. I think that's something that I really think we have to tackle again because it somehow disappeared in all these debates.

And it has to come back to the front now. Because this is such an unequal world. So, we can't just call it unequal. We have, again, to make an analysis to make it much clearer which groups are in which economic, and socioeconomic positions. That are key questions.

Not for the future, but for now.

[01:21:10] **Faiq Mari:** And maybe we can end with a question that has also been lingering for a while about the centre and periphery. And I think the different contributions here have talked about, for example, the periphery as a condition, Giulia, the periphery has dispensability, but also claims to a dignified life in the periphery.

And Shubra has talked about the periphery as an edge or a frontier. We've also talked about the periphery as, let's say, as an epistemological lens to understand what's happening, whether we're talking about class, whether we're talking about caste, and how all of that is embroiled with global capitalism.

But in the work of Henri Lefebvre, if we go to that, there's a call for a right to centrality. And so maybe to go to a slightly political question here, rather than an epistemological one. Maybe we can reflect very briefly on whether we think that the notion of a right to centrality makes sense in light of our discussion today.

Or as Metaxia has once brought to the table, an idea of a right to peripherality or a right to the periphery as such. Any thoughts on this?

[01:22:41] **Christian Schmid:** Maybe just very briefly because now we have opened a huge new field of discussion. So of course, the right to centrality was always meant as a right to access to centrality, as a right to access to material and immaterial resources.

And Lefebvre somehow conceptualized that. His understanding of centrality is that the wealth of a society, the social, economic, cultural, et cetera, wealth of a society is somehow present in this centrality, how he imagined it. And of course, that is a centrality is also a kind of geographical centrality, was for a long time really concentrated in certain centres.

And so, from that point of view, so his understanding was, at the beginning at least, to say everybody should have the right to access to that wealth, to that social wealth. In the meantime, the whole spatial structure of a planetary society became much more decentralized, became much more fluid, became much more polycentric.

But in that movement, we have also to rethink centrality. So, we shouldn't think of centrality as just the city centre. just the big metropolises. I think that that would be completely misunderstanding of the concept. And that's what I already said at the beginning, it's possible to create centralities at very different places.

We have to bring forward again, the agency of people and, let's say, a kind of practical resistance. Now to confront that with a right to peripherality or a right to the periphery, has then suddenly a different notion because it means, I think here the periphery is not the opposite of the centre. I think here the periphery is a place where you have more autonomy, where you have less on the pressure, maybe have less, let's say, pressure through jobs, through the capitalism, through commodification.

So, a kind of decommodification of spaces, that you might call peripheries. I think here, this is all at the beginning of that discussion, but I think we should here maybe, go a step further and really think about, what is the quality of those peripheries? Describe it, and then maybe we find different terms for it.

[01:25:57] **Michael Lukas:** Directly connecting to what Christian said last, but then thinking about what are the qualities of these peripheries that are always only temporarily, be understood as peripheries. Again, getting back to process thinking. And I'm working on peripheral urbanization, but not on peripheries as fixed spaces, for example.

For me that is absolutely crucial. So, it's more about these processes of peripheralization and the role space or urbanization plays in it, I would say. And maybe from that point of view, this notion of the right to centrality is, I don't know it's strange. Or it does not work immediately, at least.

And what is interesting also, I think, in political terms, thinking like these, our concepts from politics or bottom up or what sense they can make in political struggle. They are not very present, I would say. Like organizing around the notion of periphery. Around the centre, it might be in terms of urbanism and densification.

But then other terms come up as access, for example, and rights or participation. But not the periphery or the centre as such, I would say. And for example, in Chile, it's the most recent example of this new Latin American constitutionalism, which started with, well, I don't know where it started, but it has now new constitutions in Colombia, Argentina, then the very famous ones in Ecuador and Bolivia.

And the latest process was that in Chile. And their part of the proposal, which was rejected in the end, but part of the proposal was the right to the city, and territory. So, this is the political term. This discussion about the urban and rural, about identities and participation is taking, and this is part of these territorial term, which we know from Latin America, and which always includes relation, and not a fixed relation between the urban and the rural.

It's more about like clothes and territorial systems and different forms to live and understand relations to nature and space, I would say. So, for me, rather than right to the centre or to the periphery from a Latin American perspective, the term territory is interesting and maybe could add something to this new discussion, to this broadening up of the debate about the right to the city.

[01:29:18] **Metaxia Markaki:** I think that the right to the periphery, if there would be such a thing, it would not be about the qualities of the periphery because I very much agree that this is not a place, it's more about acknowledging that there are struggles and claims and there are actually political subjects that are there to fight them.

So, in this sense, the right to the periphery would be understanding that there are processes of peripheralization that tend to peripheralize in order to enclose to land grabbed dispossess. And then the right to the periphery is the right to the struggles. So visibilizing the subjects that are there to fight those struggles.

[01:30:00] **Shubhra Gururani:** This is a research question. To how it is taking shape in different contexts. Of course, how peripheralization is taking shape is very diverse. That of course goes without saying. But on the other hand, how the politics of these places is taking shape.

What is the struggles? And the framing of the subordinate urbanization was partly motivated by this framework of thinking about who are the subordinate actors, who are involved in thinking around questions of rights to housing or rights to dispossession or claims. So, I think somewhere it's a provocative question.

It's a highly loaded one because, I think we don't want to reify the periphery after saying it doesn't exist. And to say the right to periphery is precisely, has that danger of doing that. But yet I think what you're saying is, it's about, and I think the point which Christian has made, quite clearly, it's a question of agency of who, I mean who is claiming the right to periphery? We cannot also romanticize that right to periphery because peripheries can be hugely problematic spaces also, and I think at least in place where the almost the land mafia, the caste class nexus, the local elites, the local dominant castes, the religious elites are quite active in these peripheries.

So, I think we need to be careful about not thinking of peripheries as this easy counter to something else with a lot of possibilities. This could also be really limiting spaces. And I think somewhere the question of how to think, to me, when I think of land and ecology as a kind of continuum, with the politics of land and control and territory and property, is what lays that out.

And much more so in the current context because I don't know if we'll have to ask how people talk about the peripheries and what are the terms. I don't even know if we're in the local language. I'll find out this weekend how people talk about the periphery. Is there even a term for the periphery?

Probably not. I don't know if there's a word in Spanish and Swiss and Greece and Arabic. Are there terms for periphery?

[01:32:27] **Giulia Torino:** I totally agree with your point Shubhra, because in Italy, the notion of periphery is something really charged with demeaning, in the way it is used on an everyday basis.

It would be really hard to make the case for a right to periphery in these terms. Just to quickly comment on what Michael was saying before, about territory, which is such an essential notion in the current politics across Latin America, I think it connects very well to what Christian was saying about the need to develop more precise and context specific vocabulary.

Because I mean I've been working extensively with the notion of territories in black movements, for example, in Colombia. But then as I translate, I cannot even try to translate it into the Mediterranean or southern Italian context because it means something completely different.

Because it didn't stem from that kind of social movement and politics as in the case of Colombia and more broadly Latin America, black and indigenous movements or rural movements, but it stems from kind of a citation of the heritage and connection to historical roots, something that is completely different.

So, I think, as we try to raise questions about the right to centrality, to the periphery, and so forth. I'm having a real hard time to even determine what those may look like because there is such a rich and deep specificity in each of the local context. And I think, maybe, the fact that academics were becoming increasingly more aware of this compared to 30, 40 years ago.

I think it's very important and recalls another concept that is very crucial in Latin American politics, in the past decade, which has been the one of the Pluriverse. So, the idea of not a universal character, broadly speaking, but a plurality of agencies and identities and world views, that in some cases in Latin America have come together into reframing constitution. In very important legal terms as well. And we don't quite see that in Europe yet. But I think it's an important notion to make travel as well as we try and interrogate all these conceptual categories.

[01:35:03] **Metaxia Markaki:** I think that was a great way to end our discussion today.

Once again, not necessarily having found, yet a precise definition of peripheralization, but certainly having opened a plurality of ways for approaching and working with the term. Thanks to those who joined us in Athens and enriched our discussion there. And thanks also to you for discussing with us today.



[01:35:28] **Faiq Mari:** Thank you everyone for the great conversation. It was great to have you all, and I think there is still much, much more to talk about, but maybe at another opportunity.

[01:35:43] **Outro:** Thanks to you for listening.

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