INTRODUCTION

Exploring Injustices through Heritage in the Neoliberal City

Feras Hammami, Daniel Jewesbury and Chiara Valli

Introduction

What happens when particular versions of the past become silenced, suppressed or privileged in processes of urban restructuring? In what ways are the interpretations and performances of 'the past' linked to neoliberal urbanism, gentrification, marginalization, displacement and the social responses to them? These and other questions about the entangelment of heritage in urban restructuring stimulated an open lecture series that led to this edited book. 'Heritage, borders and marginality within urban restructuring' was the broad theme of the series of three lecture events, to each of which we, the organizers of the lecture series and editors of this book, invited three speakers. Prior to their respective lectures, we asked each speaker to write a short reflection paper, expanding on their own interpretation of the theme and problematizing the complex technologies (spatial-disciplinary, bureaucratic and institutional) that facilitate and legitimize specific trends of urban restructuring. To stimulate reflections, we introduced the speakers to our interpretation of the theme, and invited them to expand on it, inspired by their different disciplinary backgrounds, which include sociology, cultural studies, social and economic geography, critical heritage studies, fine arts, design, architecture, urban studies, policy analysis and planning. Our idea has been to dwell on the speakers' case to advance the debates around the inherently diverse, contingent, ever-mutating and path-dependent processes of heritage making and urban change in post-industrial cities (Brenner and Theodore 2002; Harvey 2007; Wacquant 2009; Pinson and Morel Journel 2016).

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In this book we thus seek to contribute to these debates by advancing the explorations of gentrification through a critical heritage studies (CHS) perspective. Rather than engaging in a static study of material 'things' frozen in the past, scholars of CHS explore the ways through which heritage is enmeshed in a range of critical issues that face societies today, including climate change, sustainability, human rights, democracy, the future of the state and of course the protection and preservation of cultural heritage itself (Winter 2013). This perspective challenges the established relationships between nature and culture, material and immaterial, formal and informal, and global and local aspects of cultural heritage (Smith 2006; Harrison 2015). Instead, it suggests viewing heritage in relational terms (Harrison 2013) and as a process through which the past becomes contested, negotiated and reconstructed in the present, rather than given and unquestioned. What is specific to CHS is a move from explanatory discourses and site-specific contestations towards active research that articulates a theoretical framework capable of unveiling the different hegemonic projects that underlie, maintain and normalize the deeply structured relations of injustices.

Inspired by this perspective, this book scrutinizes the relations that connect heritage, the politics of place identity and memory to processes of neoliberal urbanism, and employ heritage analytically to uncover the deeply structured, path-dependent, and complex dynamics that produce, normalize and legitimize gentrification and other urban inequalities. During the lecture series, transdisciplinary discussion of this perspective on the transformation of former-industrial cities brought forth new questions and intellectual analysis of the political struggles over space and territory. It became apparent that most of these struggles were inspired by and / or targeted local histories, traditions and other forms of tangible and intangible heritage, as much as other social, economic and political aspects. Heritage emerged as a broad concept and discourse. It was not possible to keep it restricted to material culture, to old, static aesthetic artifacts, or associated only with shared, universally representative, non-politicized objects and processes. In this context, a critical engagement with gentrification through heritage revealed gentrification as being bigger than any simple outcome of urban economic development. While deeply rooted in capital accumulation processes, gentrification is inextricably entangled in processes of heritage-making, bordering and resistance. We explain each of these concepts in the next section, and follow up with a discussion about this entanglement. Neoliberalism and urban neoliberalization are brought to these discussions, inspired by the empirical and theoretical analyses reported in the different contributions of this book, and by emerging debates in CHS.

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The Neoliberal City: Processes of Change

In this book we depart from the argument that gentrification is entangled in different processes of urban neoliberalization, heritage-making, bordering, and resistance. After we unpack each of these concepts here, we close this section by explaining their intersection.

Urban Neoliberalization

In considering contemporary urban restructuring we are particularly aware of the cluster of processes, causes and effects which have come to be known as 'urban neoliberalization' (Peck 2010; Pinson and Morel Journel 2016). The city experiencing neoliberalization is one which has already been deindustrialized. This post-industrial city is thus in transition, from some degree of productive, economic security to precariousness and potential unsustainability. What happens during the transition is a highly contested and context-situated process. Many former-industrial cities sought to revitalize their economies by adapting to the needs of the 'creative class' (Tochterman 2012; Florida 2005), and / or adopting new forms of development and technological advancement. The transition often occurs rapidly, producing new developments that are both celebrated and contested. 'Stakeholders' identify the allegedly 'undesirable' spaces, places and spatial elements, and describe them as 'dirt' or as 'matters out of place' which must be cleared away in order to promote other elements of 'value' (Hammami and Uzer 2018; Herzfeld 2006; Douglas 1966). The 'punishment' of certain places is often justified and legitimated by publicly labelling them a 'lawless zone', 'outlaw estate', 'hellhole' or outside the 'common norm' (Wacquant 2009: 67–69).

The operation of the political-economic project of neoliberalization is well explained in pivotal works in urban studies and geography (Harvey 2007; Swyngedouw 2005; Brenner and Theodore 2002). A growing body of literature that borrows from these disciplines, and from other explorations within social movements and resistance studies, scrutinizes notions of justice and rights in the neoliberal city (Hou 2010; Merrifield 2014; Pinson and Morel Journel 2016; Nicholls and Uitermark 2016; Bayat 2017). From the perspective of these debates and their exploration of the dynamics driving the transformation of former-industrial cities, we can suggest that four processes, together, amount to the 'neoliberalization of the urban'.

Firstly, public land and services are extensively privatized, in line with assertions about the greater efficiency of the competitive market in comparison with the State. Secondly, these privatized domains are deregulated, or rather re-regulated: laws relating to ownership, use, access and disposal of

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land and other urban assets are largely done away with. However, new regulations governing permitted behaviour, and licensing private authorities with pseudo-police powers, proliferate. Thirdly, the privatized, deregulated city is opened to financialization: speculation on land value, rental income and debt, and the translation of real estate generally into financial commodities, as rapidly tradeable derivatives. City authorities offer substantial incentives, including publicly subsidized infrastructure, to private developers who can remodel redundant industrial sites, thereby raising the market value of assets including formerly public land. Finally, all these processes are globalized: profits generated can be exported to other tax regimes, and development capital can be raised from global markets.

These four processes are certainly not divorced from culture and the heritage of places. Political, cultural and economic approaches to the neoliberal city reinforce one another hegemonically. It is argued in this book that these processes and approaches are supported, and revitalized, by processes of heritage-making and re-making. Consequently, this helps to necessitate economic models of urban investment, themselves only possible when areas of political decision-making can be removed from democratic scrutiny. Following these lines of thoughts, urban neoliberalization processes are discussed in this book with a critical reference to heritage, seeking to unpack the characteristics and operationalization of what we call the neoliberal city.

Heritage/Heritage-Making

Heritage in this book is explored through the critical issues that entangle it in urban restructuring. In a nutshell, the erasure or preservation of particular artifacts in the built environment entails or is driven by particular processes of heritage-making and re-making. These processes however are heavily politicized and should be unpacked to better understand their thorny relations and impact. David C. Harvey (2001) argues that a process of 'heritagization' has since the mid-nineteenth century been defining our valuable past and desired future, and also informing the ways in which we engage with them. It is a process of nationalizing the ethnic and constructing a singular representation of modern nation states. This process is conceived in this book as performances of 'transvaluation of the obsolete' (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995: 369) through which the past was 're-invented' (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983) and its role in the present 'transvalued'. It is thus a process of both uniting and dividing people (McAtackney 2018). It is a politicized and violent process that over time, as Smith (2006: 17, 299) explains, has developed into an 'authorized heritage discourse' (AHD). This discourse incorporates the 'grand narratives of Western national and elite

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class experiences' but also governs people and their past accordingly. It not only guides the recurrent question in heritage studies – 'whose heritage should be preserved' (Lowenthal 1998) – but also regulates which heritages should be excluded. Heritages that fall outside the narrative of value are challenged, de-signified or destroyed (Pullan and Britt 2013; Hammami 2015), while the people and memories associated with them may accordingly become marginalized (Meskell and Scheermeyer 2008: 155). The politicization of heritage is certainly not confined to any specific local level. It expands across national, ethnic, class and other boundaries of difference.

UNESCO's World Heritage Convention (1972) and the remit given to UN organizations in order to identify and protect so-called outstanding universal values provided AHD with a global reach. Its impact on societies across the globe gave rise to criticism from the Global South of the Eurocentric, restrictive and exclusive nature of the convention and of AHD. This, for example, has paved the way for the emergence of new debates on intangible heritage and context-related processes of heritage valuation and preservation. The Burra Charter (1981), which was originally drafted in 1979 by Australia ICOMOS, came to broaden the scope of heritage so that it includes all types of places of cultural significance, including natural, indigenous and historic places of cultural value. It also shifted attention to 'place', instead of monuments and sites (Waterton et al. 2006: 340). Accordingly, new historic places have been recognized as having outstanding universal value, and actors from the private and voluntary sectors have become involved in decision-making. These changes in the production of heritage took on an additional dimension with the growing economic deficit in heritage institutions (e.g. museums, archives, libraries, etc.) as well as the emergence of certain governance models (public-private partnerships) and public interest in heritage. Robert Hewison (1987) characterized these changes in what he called the 'heritage industry'.

Creative industries discourses have brought culture-led regeneration, economic instrumentalization of creative knowledges, and technological solutions for progress to the forefront. Historical sites, buildings, archives and museums are increasingly viewed as resources for economic development. Indeed, the implications of such 'neo-liberal' development have been evident in the management of heritage in many Western and non-Western countries (Negussie 2006; Hammami 2015). Generally, these changes in the heritage sector, including the calls for democratized diversity and the continued critiques of the politicization of the past, and the focus on the 'tangible' aspects of heritage, paved the way for UNESCO's Universal Declaration on 'Creative Diversity' (2001) which suggests that 'all' subcultures (ethnic minorities and disadvantaged community groups) have equal rights to represent and identify themselves within global heritage and

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to access that heritage. This was followed shortly after by the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003 and the Faro Convention in 2005.

Despite the evolution and refinement of the dominant frameworks of AHD, traditional engagements with heritage and heritage management have not been critically challenged. Heritage is still predominantly viewed as something neutral, positive, and monumental, divorced from its wider socio-political context. On the global level, Tim Winter encourages us to explore the politics of heritage that occur within nationalism and internationalism. He specifically explains the role that heritage may play as diplomacy and in diplomacy (Winter 2013). While the ambition is to reconstruct the past in a heritage that expresses 'positive' shared histories and identities, colonial histories are increasingly debated by colonial powers as a resource for mutual benefits with former colonies. For example, the Euromed Mutual Heritage Programme has been implemented to protect the material witnesses of the colonial histories of the Mediterranean region. The Dutch government also initiated the Shared Cultural Heritage Project in the early 2000s in response to a request by the Indonesian government to exhibit collections from the Leiden Museum (Oostindi 2008; Scott 2014). While UNESCO (2013) celebrates the 'mutual benefits' of these initiatives within the context of global heritage, issues of mutuality in such initiatives have been appropriated for nationalist projects and for diplomatic relations between governments, rather than for people. On a lower level of political influence, traditional and politicized processes of heritage and heritage management are in many cities (indirectly) guiding and informing urban policies and other broader dynamics of urban change. In post-industrial Western cities, which are the focus of this book, a material account of the collective memory of the working class, and the contemporary experiences of ethnic and minority groups, have generally been regarded as less important than the experiences of the dominant upper class.

In this book, we see how these policies and practices are increasingly challenged by, among others, notions of dissonance, the pluralizing of the past, heritage activism and cultural diversity (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996; see also Harvey and Perry 2015; Harrison 2015; Mozaffari and Jones 2020). We seek to advance these notions by focusing on the political instrumentality of heritage and its utility as a 'disciplinary technology' and a strategy of resistance. As a uniting analytical practice, we also seek to unsettle the political neutrality of heritage, unpack its relations to policy circles and everyday life, and map possible patterns of in/justices that often take shape due to the (unnoticed) involvement of heritage in urban change. Don Mitchell's exploration of landscape and anti-landscape in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, provides new insight on the making of heritage, through

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the politicized exploitation of history. Feras Hammami and Chiara Valli also explain how the industrial and contemporary forms of heritage in the Swedish neighbourhood of Gamlestaden have been re-evaluated to increase the real estate value of the area.

Dwelling on these and other case studies, this book explores not only how particular heritages become officially institutionalized and publicly accepted as valuable and unchallenged, but also how re-invented heritages enable and legitimate particular dynamics of urban change despite their associated processes of gentrification, displacement, 'spatial cleansing', and other forms of marginalization (Herzfeld 2006; Meskell and Scheermeyer 2008). While exploring the critical issues that urban restructuring extends outwards from heritage, this book also explores the transformative power of 'heritage' (Harvey and Perry 2015), and its potential to empower the marginalized (Meskell and Scheermeyer 2008) and to arm new forms of non-violent resistance to injustices (Hammami and Uzer 2018). The explorations and findings reported in this book are meant to generate dialogues around these questions: in what ways is heritage entangled in urban restructuring? How does this entanglement enable and legitimate particular urban futures? How does this lead to new challenges and opportunities in cities? And how does the exploration of urban restructuring through a critical heritage studies perspective provide new insights into urban gentrification, marginalization and displacement?

Gentrification

Heritage is multiply entangled in the different situations of conflict that engulf the neoliberal city. Gentrification relates to many of these conflicts. Gentrification, intended as a socio-economic shift in a local housing market connected to transformations in the built environment, most often associated with the displacement of poorer residents, is inevitably linked to processes of evaluation and devaluation not only of housing stock, but also of communities, cultures and practices. From the earliest gentrification literature, links between heritagization and gentrification can be found. From Ruth Glass, who coined the term gentrification more than fifty years ago (1964), analysing the rediscovery of dilapidated Victorian housing stock in East London by the middle classes, to Neil Smith (1987), connecting the planned dereliction and stigmatization of inner-city areas with the creation of rent gaps, to Sharon Zukin (1984), who explained how the lifestyle of artistic 'pioneers' in post-industrial lofts in Soho was fetishized, marketized and sold to affluent investors, the processes through which derelict built heritage is first devalued, and then revalued for the benefits of investors and city elites are at the core of explanations of gentrification. While many

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policy-makers today view gentrification as the establishment of a 'new culturally sophisticated urban class fraction, less conservative than the "old" middle class' (Lees 2000: 396), critical scholars of gentrification, like Loretta Lees (2008) explain how past urban renewal policies should be labelled as the work of 'gentrification battles' and 'class war' instead of urban rebirth and regeneration.

As illustrated by Maris Gillette in her contribution to this book, the multiple ways in which old residential or post-industrial built stock is transformed into cultural heritage constitute the cultural and discursive backbone of gentrification processes, used to legitimize profit maximization. At the same time, dilapidated built environments that do not respond to certain aesthetic standards (which are also time- and context-specific) can be discursively marginalized to legitimate complete demolition and reconstruction, as illustrated by Helena Holgersson in her contribution here. In his analysis of public art in Belfast, the capital and largest city of Northern Ireland, Daniel Jewesbury (this volume) critiques ideas of public art as a common heritage through which we engage with the ways in which people lived in the past, as well as stories from the present. Viewing it as an important form of heritage, Jewesbury explains how unauthorized forms of public art are usually erased in the neoliberal city through a naturalized or legitimized vision of change that is being enacted through privatization, de- and re-regulation, financialization, and globalization.

Crucially, the valuation processes do not concern only built heritage, but also social and cultural expressions connected to it, in selective interpretations of place 'authenticity' and belonging. In many cases, gentrification is sustained by what Japonica Brown-Saracino (2010) named social preservationist attitudes, i.e. 'the culturally motivated choice of certain people, who tend to be highly educated and residentially mobile, to live in the central city or small town in order to live in authentic social space, embodied by the sustained presence of old-timers'. Even when well-intentioned, as Brown-Saracino reminds us in her contribution in the present book, our preservation choices, and what we identify as valuable or marginal, are always biased, subjective, context-specific, and historically situated. What is to be preserved, in times of super-diversity and hyper-gentrification? Who gets to decide what is worth preserving, and why? Gentrification-induced displacement cannot be intended merely as physical dislocation, but as formed by discursive, affective, emotional dimensions that revolve around the embodied political economies of worth, value, and belonging (Valli 2020, 2015a). Hence, constructions of self and the Other are central mechanisms of processes of both heritagization and of gentrification.

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Borders and Bordering

Ignoring the entanglements between heritagization and urban restructuring not only enables urban gentrification and marginalization, but also leads to the proliferation of overlapping 'borders'. In this book, 'border' does not refer to a state territorial container, coercive state power strategy, or merely a marker of national identity. Neither are borders lines of separation, nor even necessarily literal 'spaces' of interactions. Instead, borders are conceived here as being ideological, bureaucratic, intangible, spatial and instrumental practices, of inclusion and exclusion (Buden 2017). They are driven, formed and intersected by dynamics of class, ethnicity, state politics, colonialism and physicality, as well as other relations and contestations of us-them, here-there, and now-then. The idea of simply crossing – from one discrete space to another – depends on a concretized notion of pre-existing 'borders' that might be 'crossable' or 'non-crossable', but which always exist, and concomitantly, it implies an ever-lasting sense of dualism.

Inspired by critical border studies, the ways in which borders are engaged with in this book is intended to challenge their ontology and propose an alternative to 'seeing like a state' (Scott 1998). This entails a critical shift from 'borders' to notions of 'bordering practice', and the 'performance' through which bordering practices are produced and reproduced (Parker and Vaughan-Williams 2012). 'Practice' refers to 'the activities which have the effect ... of constituting, sustaining, or modifying borders', while 'performance' suggests a rethinking of borders so that they do not 'simply "exist" as lines on maps, but are continually performed into being through rituals such as the showing of passports, the confessionary matrix at the airport, and the removal of clothing' (cited in Parker and Vaughan-Williams 2012). In this context, heritagization, the heritage industry as well as urban neoliberalization processes actively involved in bordering practices. Through these processes, the political agency of bordering practices become fluid and active across different spatial scales. As Gielis and van Houtum (2012) explain, 'The uniform and straight lines in the sand, that borders were once thought to be, are now better understood as a complex choreography of border lines in multiple lived spaces' (cited in Parker and Vaughan-Williams 2012). Yet, bordering practices in the neoliberal city are most commonly conceived in spatial terms, and analysed based on established forms of borders, such as those made by infrastructure, culture, class and ethnicity. The decolonial social movements such as Black Lives Matter that recently erupted worldwide demonstrate the complex nature of borders and the intricated and contested historical roots of present injustice (Knudsen and Andersen 2019; Murray et al. 2007; Witz et al. 2017; Hasian and Paliewicz 2020). The direct targeting of Confederate monuments in the USA,

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following the brutal murder of George Floyd by police in May 2020, as well as other similar protests in the UK and South Africa, to mention but a few, was not simply action against the monuments per se but against the way in which the monuments perpetuate a racist history in contemporary society (Mullins 2021).

In this book, we attempt to infuse the debates on borders and gentrification with a critical heritage studies perspective. Looking at how borders are dealt with in theory and practice, we suggest that borders have become both a dominant form of 'heritage', and a process informed by heritage-making. The production and reproduction of barriers, fences, zones and borders are increasingly conceived as a sign of security, privacy and individual right. It is an inherited practice used to separate people from each other, and separate people from things across time and space. Furthermore, selecting, valuing and preserving particular heritages are also inherited practices of bordering. They become prevalent when values (and thus political hegemony) are assigned to one version of the past, and not to others, which co-exist with it in the same space. In other words, careful conservation of certain tangible or intangible aspects of heritage and the normalization of their projection in everyday life can enable exclusive identities to emerge, give shape to the intolerance of particularist possessive claims, shape decisions about who has the right to access and govern heritage, and transform dissonant heritage into a battlefield where it is used as a 'weapon' for border-making, circulating the self or separating the self from 'the Other'.

The argument here is that collectives and individuals increasingly embody borders while constructing their identity, whether through urban development projects or even through their ordinary everyday life practices. Through the contributions in this book, it becomes apparent that arming urban development with authorized heritage can lead to new forms of closure enacted by the self and/or the other. For instance, Martire and Skoura in this volume explain how hundreds of buildings and streets in Belfast are continuously transformed into larger blocks or buffer zones, and how this creates new contours of closure and division. Not only are people displaced beyond these contours by gentrification but their social and cultural relations are also evacuated from the inner areas of these borders. Loíc Wacquant (2008: 259) importantly illustrated that vis-à-vis segregation pressures, a local community might 'isolate itself as a counter-response, pursuing self-reinforcing cycles of social involution and cultural closure'. This also echoes Young's (1990: 60) articulation of cultural imperialism, which involves 'the paradox of experiencing oneself as invisible at the same time that one is marked out as different'. This not only hampers possibilities for healthy interactions and encounter with 'the other', but also localizes

'cultural imperialism' and legitimates particular forms of urban gentrification and marginalization.

Exploring the critical relations between heritage and borders within urban restructuring can provide new insights on the ways in which heritage, by enabling particular forms of urban restructuring, can engender and perpetuate regimes of (in)justice. This can expand debates on social conflicts in the neoliberal city towards non-territorial forms of borders, and provide a new lens through which to read and investigate urban resistance and other forms of contemporary protests against injustices. How does authorized heritage practice inform and normalize dynamics of urban change and gentrification? What kinds of divisions, barriers, differentiations and distinctions can be conceived from the ways in which cultural claims are used to legitimate urban change? How do people, especially those directly influenced by enforced urban change, respond to the injustices produced, and in what ways do they link their response to notions of the right to heritage? And how do the conditions and relations created by authorized heritage practices and other top-down urban policies discursively contest and resist these practices and policies?

Resistance

Resistance is often viewed as people fighting back in defence of freedom and democracy (Pile and Keith 1997), as a counteraction to power (Baaz and Lilja 2017), as intentional and publicly manifested practice (Pile and Keith 1997), and as collective and visible (Mayer et al. 2016; Valli 2015b). In this book, resistance is also conceived as a productive practice that is not necessarily enacted by people, but instead mobilized discursively. Violent changes can lead to new socio-political and spatial conditions and spatial practices that eventually challenge urban policies and authorized heritage discourses. Hammami and Uzer (2018) explain how architectural modernization and its associated processes of 'social and cultural evacuation of spaces' (Herzfeld 2006: 132) generate dynamics of resistance to both conservation and modernization (Inglehart and Baker 2000; Hall 2011; Zukin 2012). Their analyses of urban contestations in working-class Gårda in the city of Gothenburg, Sweden, show how previous resistance to the spatial cleansing of the city's industrial history weaponized the protests in Gårda, with lessons from the past providing them with coalitions of support.

The rapid transformation of cities, and the distant level of the political decisions that drive urban change, hamper any rational mobilization of local responses. Typically, there are many justifications given for violent urban change: the provision of modern services and 'smart' cities, as well as

prevailing economic, historical, legal and socio-political conditions. With such a level of complexity, the mobilization of unified forms of resistance, in terms of objectives, methods and level of success, is often critical. Local resistance might also become co-opted or diverted. Looking at urban change in different Western cities, local resistance to enforced urban change sometimes led to reversing or refining official development plans, but that does not necessarily favour local communities. For instance, 'resistance' to redevelopment, when argued in terms of conservation, can have the effect of saving buildings from being demolished, but ignoring associated processes of gentrification and displacement. Resistance through conservation can thus invent new, or accelerate, processes of heritagization that otherwise might not be possible (Thörn 2013). Similarly, modernizations that provide enhanced amenities or infrastructure to working-class neighbourhoods can be 'resisted' in the name of preserving the authentic 'grain' of overcrowded districts. The result in both situations is usually a wholesale displacement of entire communities.

Resistance to gentrification can even be sparked by groups whose agency in the transformation of the city is ambiguous and not easy to define. The tenants of public housing are often exposed to a violent process of gentrification and are typically seen as 'victims' in the process. Still, Sandra Annunziata in this volume explains and problematizes how the tenants of San Saba in Rome, Italy, bought their properties, with much struggle, as a strategy of resistance to a possible gentrification in the near future. The tenants see their collective demands of becoming property owners as the only way 'to stay put', preventing displacement and the gentrification that will come, and last but not least, preserving the collective imaginaries and memories of the neighbourhood as they are the only repository of this collective memory. At the same time, the residents do not see that buying their properties could promote a new process of gentrification. Hammami and Valli in this volume also reveal how a coalition of real estate owners in Gothenburg was formed, with claims of democratization and modernization in a former working-class neighbourhood, while at the same time promoting a process of gentrification. In her analysis of resistance to displacement in Provincetown, Japonica Brown-Saracino demonstrates in this volume how the struggles of new inhabitants were concerned with maintaining a sense of authenticity of the areas through the preservation of particular groups of 'old-timers', who were identified through biased and partial interpretations of history and legitimate belonging. Brown-Saracino encourages us to think about conservation, gentrification, authenticity and resistance beyond any uncritical subscription to resistance, and to always reflect on questions of 'resistance for whom? Against whom? What for?'

Artists are also among those who have been targeted as the 'stormtroopers' of redevelopment (Deutsche 1996); and more recently, 'hipsters' have been cited as the enablers of gentrification in cities from Berlin to San Francisco (Hubbard 2016; Huning and Schuster 2015). Groups who congregate in low-rent urban areas in order to carry out cultural work, whose presence subsequently raises property values, eventually pricing out longer term communities, can also become agents of resistance to gentrification (Valli 2015); we maintain however that they are not its cause, but merely symptomatic of larger, more complex, and more globalized neoliberalization processes (Valli 2021). In these processes, the history of the area and the new social and cultural values created by the contemporary community can be used to weaponize the resistance to gentrification. As Martire and Skoura expound in this book, notions such as creative class, adaptive reuse, diversity, memory and experiences are increasingly linked to 'heritage', and developed into a new language of resistance.

Intersecting Heritage, Gentrification and Resistance

Heritage in this book is linked to resistance, borders, gentrification and other dynamics of urban change and conflict in the neoliberal city. This is done, on the one hand, to explore the role that heritage may play in appropriating, legitimating and informing particular dynamics and technologies of urban change, and investigating the ways in which, and what happens when, potential heritages become cleansed, destroyed and / or neglected. On the other hand, this book navigates through the social responses to urban change to establish how coalitions of resisting groups and individuals, armed by heritage, research alternative proposals for urban organization, generate new debates, scrutinize public bodies, and raise new questions with regard to traditional modes of governance. Non-violent forms of resistance gain insights, strength and energy from the historical narratives of social movements and conflicts, including oral histories, stories of objects, the different affective environments that constitute the physical built environment, the politics of remembering and forgetting at memorial sites, and other forms of local knowledge. Weaponized by these aspects of heritage, resistance in the neoliberal city seems to have been diversified, uncovering unnoticed forms of gentrification and injustice.

Through a critical heritage studies perspective, this book re-emphasizes political struggles over space, territory and history, revealing the political exploitation of heritage in urban policies and associated processes of gentrification. The contributions investigate a variety of theoretical and empirical attempts to interrupt and interrogate urban change and associated situations of conflicts. They unsettle the stability of heritage, borders,

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resistance, modernization and the urban, and explore the challenges and opportunities that heritage might produce in Chicago, Provincetown, Hoorn, Kotor, Berlin, Belfast, Rome, Gothenburg, Johnstown and New York City. Although the empirical analyses of these European and American cities informed the contributions of this book, the discussions of the three main topics – heritage, gentrification, resistance – go beyond the geographical boundaries of these cities. The next section presents these contributions in three main sections. Finally, the book ends with an Epilogue in which we critically reflect on the topics by looking at how their meanings, causality and doing (or influence) within the context of neoliberal cities transform when we scale urban change up and down across time and space as well as when we situate patterns of urban change within the multiple layers of networks, flows and relations that constitute the neoliberal city.

Contributions in This Book

The contributions of this book are presented and organized here in three thematic sections, following the thematic programme of the lecture series that was the basis for this book.

Heritage through Gentrification in the Post-Industrial City

What experiences are protected and or erased in the so-called post-industrial city; how does the time-dominated prefix 'post' plays a discursive role in normalizing particular forms of urban change; and what role do heritage discourses play in the dynamics of protection and eradication? Exploring these questions through relations of heritage-gentrifcation has revealed hitherto unnoticed time-related processes of gentrification.

Maris Gillette, in her theoretical analysis of the 'post-industrial' as discursive practice and actual reality, argues that the language of 'post' actively gives shape to, and legitimates, dynamics of (class-inspired) gentrification. She therefore calls for a new language that is more sensitive to the processes that continue to shape the social, cultural and economic lives of people, places and communities long after plants close. She advocates the use of heritage gentrification to uncover the 'role that heritage plays in material processes of urban regeneration and the displacement of the working class'. As she explains, urban gentrification can be used 'to characterize the interpretation of former industries as a metaphoric form of gentrification'. Though this term, she challenges the 'figurative processes of gentrification, through which key aspects of working-class history, environmental

contamination, and state policies are displaced from heritage narratives and experiences, which "restructure" the past to appeal to "gentry" such as tourists and new middle-class residents'.

From the post-industrial city of Gothenburg, Helena Holgersson shows that the violent urban restructuration of the Gustaf Dalén area has gained legitimacy not only from the officially recognized (listed) values of heritage in the municipal and state registers but also from the popular recognition of the nineteenth century as the 'cool' history. The destruction and spatial erasure of anything that falls outside these periods, as well as the silencing of all local protests, though sporadically and individually organized, have been legitimated and normalized. Holgersson shows how local resistance to the spatial cleansing of the former industrial area of Kvillebäcken was restrained by authorized heritage discourses that did not value the history of that area. The locals subscribed to the discursive power of official heritage despite their memories and attachment to the area, hence the individual protests that emerged against evacuation have not developed into any collective protest. Critically, the consistent focus of Holgersson's research on the 'uncool history' of the area can be viewed as a scholarly activism challenging the unproblematized professional heritage and developers' practices that systematically erase and / or project selective layers of meaning into the city.

What happened in the Gustaf Dalén area is still happening in other areas throughout Gothenburg and other cities in Sweden and beyond, as argued by Feras Hammami and Chiara Valli in this volume. Focusing on the eastern suburb of Gamlestaden, they revealed an emerging coalition of authorized practices of heritage making and urban neoliberalization through which 'unthreatening' forms of diversity are promoted. A forceful process of aestheticization and modernization is implemented to meet a new community group that can afford the newly promoted market value of properties. The medieval, industrial and nineteenth-century layers that constitute the history of the area, and the international cultural environment of the contemporary society of Gamlestaden, are celebrated to market the future of the area as being rooted in the authorized past and responsive to the expectations and lifestyle of the envisioned local community. All conflicts that might emerge because of gentrification, symbolic diversity, unaffordable development and other practices of social and cultural evacuation of the area are simply erased by the power of the allied agendas of city planning, developers and economic actors.

These forms of heritage gentrification and re-inventions of history, landscape, geographies of memories and heroic stories are not only exclusive but also authorized to discursively gentrify selective versions of history, geography and societies. Resistance to these legitimated forms of injustices,

as showcased in the different contributions of this book, often die down and vanish amongst the incessant events produced by the large-scale urban renewal projects implemented to restore the reputation of former industrial cities in their post-industrial times.

Gentrification through Heritage-Making and Remaking

In Chicago and Provincetown, other examples of heritage-led gentrification are scrutinized by Japonica Brown-Saracino. Through the concept 'virtuous marginality', Brown-Saracino explores the ways in which a particular social group and their places of memories become a reference for what should be preserved and / or marginalized. Marginalization works here in both directions: protection and preservation; or closure and preservation. In this sense, marginalization, as she puts it, becomes 'indicative of authenticity'. The presence and memories of 'old-timers' are conceived by the new inhabitants as authentic and must be protected in order to feel the authenticity of that place. What is important here is the visibility of old-timers, ignoring the natural evolution of the local community and the productive cultural contestations that might emerge when the new inhabitants meet with the old-timers.

A different framing of narratives of value and forms of authenticity can be drawn from the case of Johnstown. Don Mitchell uses David Nye's concept 'anti-landscape' (Nye 2014) to explain an often-ignored process of gentrification in heritage-making that occurs at a remove from the geography of the city. His analysis of the US government's attempt to revive the former-steel-making city of Johnstown after years of economic decline revealed how experiences of homelessness, gender violence and growing levels of AIDS infection were removed from the narrative of the city in the hope of making the heritage of the town attractive for tourism, investment and economic recovery. Mitchell explains how the dominant conception of heritage as being positive and heroic has led to the gentrification of Johnstown's 'anti-landscape'. The latter specifically refers to periods of history that have become disfavoured, and are hence erased by decision-makers in order to frame a positive narrative of the history of a place. In the case of Johnstown, the anti-landscape refers to the long history of 'labor organizing as well as racist actions, deep exploitation as well as the fights against it' that 'shaped and defined the town and the people in it'. His analysis of heritage-making and urban shifts in Johnstown showed that dramatic temporalities and ruptures that are least celebrated might be silenced, ignored, destroyed or erased from the narrative of value, thus categorized as anti-landscape.

To confront these different processes of heritage exploitation and heritagization, Višnja Kisić suggests we expose the political nature of

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heritage. She explores the politics of heritage within the context of three different cases of heritage exploitation. While exposing the established relations of injustices that involve heritage in each case, Kisić explores the opportunities for democratizing heritage by 'rupturing the normalized, sedimented ways of valuing and practicing heritage, and [making] visible those who are excluded, oppressed and with no part'. Following the works of Ernesto Laclau and Slavoj Žižek, Kisić in this volume explains how the re-politicization of heritage in the three cases could be understood as empowering emancipatory politics that 'opens the terrain for a variety of negotiations, identifications of social actors and plurality of positions which are necessary for the constitution of public spaces in the societies in which we live'.

Gentrification through Heritage-Led Resistance

Sandra Annunziata reveals a two-fold process of heritage-led gentrification in the neighbourhood of San Saba in Rome. Motivated by regional policy reform and the growth of modern tourism, the government prompted the neighbourhood into a process of heritagization through which new architecture and design aspects have been added to the neighbourhood, causing the market value of real estate properties to rise. Facing possible gentrification, to escape skyrocketing rent levels and claim their right to stay put, the inhabitants demanded that the government allow them to buy the properties they had inhabited for many years. While the tenants resisted the official forms of heritage-led gentrification, and associated destruction of social commons and places of memories, Annunziata problematizes the argumentations of such resistance, questioning whether the 'right to stay put' mobilized through heritage discourses from below brings broader benefits outside those for the present residents themselves.

In addition to the cases of normalized and legitimated situations of gentrification in the name of 'heritage', the contributors explore the heritage-inspired responses to the injustices produced through top-down processes of urban change. Martire and Skoura explain how rapid urban regeneration in inner-city areas of Belfast often neglects the grain, detail, activities and users of local mixed streets and runs the risk of destroying their authenticity. Focusing on inner-city areas, Martire and Skoura demonstrate how 'the dynamic authenticity of mixed-use streets relies on the continually changing fabric and activities of the street, balancing the fragile ecosystem they create. By prioritizing an idea of future that is detached from a sense of heritage and history, large developments abruptly disrupt the continuities of the ecosystem of these streets' which constitute a significant part of their heritage. In their analyses of the social responses

to these violent urban changes, Martire and Skoura show how local resistance was anchored in the exploration of alternative urban development plans and the explanation of the social and spatial impacts of the proposed development. How 'heritage discourses are mobilized to naturalize' socio-economic development in Belfast has been further explored by Daniel Jewesbury in this volume. Areas are named and categorized so that those that fall within the narrative of value are protected and others that are described as dirty, old, former-industrial, or physically dilapidated are erased to make way for new development that meets the vision of the neoliberal city. As Jewesbury explains, 'What is significant about the widely circulated image of contemporary Belfast as a post-conflict city is not only that it masks the reality of entrenched ethnoreligious segregation becoming accentuated by newly spatialized class division. More crucially, it naturalizes … neoliberal restructuring … with a spurious "morality"'.

These three contributions problematize the often taken for granted ideas of resistance to gentrification. In the case of San Saba in Rome, Sandra Annunziata explained how the struggle of San Saba's community to protect their history and places of memories as well as to claim their right to stay put through the purchase of their housing units can be viewed as a resistance to gentrification but also as an unnoticed process of gentrification from within. Jewesbury critically reflects on art and activism in neoliberal Belfast to reveal the opportunities that dissident aesthetic practices can provide for unlicensed production of meaning and unauthorized modes of being-in-public. These heritage from below forms of activism are further developed by Martire and Skoura when they illustrate the ways in which the social campaigns SaveCQ and StreetSpace could disrupt and / or transform the insensitive economic development in Belfast.

Opening Questions

The complementary disciplinary backgrounds of the authors, and their theoretical and empirical analyses of urban change in different contexts, helped to unsettle the stability of the concepts of heritage, gentrification, resistance and borders, and to uncover neglected dynamics and technologies of gentrification and other forms of legitimated injustice. Generally, all contributors subscribed to the argument that modernization, urbanization, migration, urban branding, and other forms of urban neoliberalization are usually associated with changes in urban density, mobility, temporality and diversity. These changes bring a significant impact on people's social networks, commons, sense of place and memory. Although these changes are often debated as inevitable and vital for modernization, the contributors

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demonstrated how, in the course of these changes, people may become excluded, alienated or displaced according to their income, ethnicity, state and class. Some also discuss specific cases when people create closure and borders for themselves in favour of protecting their history and identity or of protecting the self at the expense of others. Furthermore, and by using heritage as a lens, the analysis reported in this book revealed the role that heritage may play in producing and legitimating gentrification, but also as a site and tool of resistance. Researching the different resistant practices that interrupted urban change in different contexts provides new insights on the potential that heritage practices may have to provide new possibilities for justice-making. In the light of the different debates that have taken place in the course of putting this book together, a number of questions have been put forward for further investigation. We begin exploring some of these questions in the Epilogue of this book, looking at these specific themes: relatedness, detemporalization, deterritorialization, logistical capital and disciplinarity.

Feras Hammami is associate professor of conservation at the Department of Conservation, University of Gothenburg. His research concerns the politicization of cultural heritage within urban planning and development, with a specific interest in the purposeful practices of heritage in the conduct of societies and geographies. His current research projects include reconciliatory heritage, urban marginality and resistance, and heritage and peacebuilding in relations to sites located in Palestine and Sweden.

Daniel Jewesbury is a senior lecturer in Fine Art at HDK-Valand Academy of Art & Design, University of Gothenburg, Sweden. He lived for over twenty-five years on the island of Ireland, where he conducted extensive research on the instrumentalizations of professional and community art practices, by both state, public and private actors. He is a practising artist, whose film and video works explore the limits of human agency in the neoliberalizing city.

Chiara Valli is a social and economic geographer and assistant senior lecturer at the Department of Urban Studies, Malmö University. Chiara's research deals with housing, gentrification, housing financialization, socioeconomic and ethnic urban segregation, displacement, social movements and resistance, with empirical research in Sweden, Italy and the US.

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