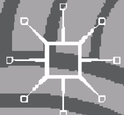
palgrave▸pivot

URBANIZATION AND THE MIGRANT IN BRITISH CINEMA

Spectres of the City

Gareth Millington



Urbanization and the Migrant in British Cinema

Gareth Millington

Urbanization and the Migrant in British Cinema

Spectres of the City

palgrave
macmillan

Gareth Millington
University of York
York, UK

ISBN 978-1-137-47398-1 ISBN 978-1-137-47399-8 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-47399-8

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016954324

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016
The author(s) has/have asserted their right(s) to be identified as the author(s) of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.
This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.
The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.
The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made.

Cover illustration: Mono Circles © John Rawsterne/patternhead.com

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Pivot imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company Macmillan Publishers Ltd. London
The registered company address is: The Campus, 4 Crinan Street, London, N1 9XW, United Kingdom

Acknowledgements

Thanks to everyone who has supported me while I was writing this book. Special thanks to David Beer who has been encouraging of this project from its inception. I owe a great deal to the fantastic students on my cinema and cities module over the last four years. I have been lucky enough to read some wonderful assignments and been tipped off about many excellent films on cities. Thanks especially to Vladimir Rizov who, in the very first year of the course, suggested to me the possibility of studying the 'absence' of the city in movies. Vlad also pointed me in the direction of a great quote from *Valences of the Dialectic*, so thanks also for that. Thank you to Hannah Pinsent, who suggested some useful references for the sections in the book that deal with cinema and romantic love. Thanks to Judith Allan at Palgrave Macmillan for her patience. Thanks to MoMA and SCALA for the rights for the Giacometti image. Finally, and most importantly, the book would not have been possible without Anya's unwavering love and support and the daily joys of smiles and cuddles with Edie and Isabel. The book is dedicated to them.

Contents

1 Introduction: Cinema and Urban Society 1

2 Cinema, Cities and Urbanization 19

3 Urbanization and Migration: From City to Camp? 45

4 Dissolving City 75

5 Horizontal Distributions 107

6 Conclusion: Contra *Brooklyn*: Dissensus and the Limits of Realism 137

Bibliography 147

Index 149

List of Figures

Fig. 3.1 The inner city and outer–inner city (adapted from Millington 2012) 68
Fig. 4.1 *Beautiful People* A Multicultural Housing Estate in London 78
Fig. 4.2 *Ghosts* 'London' 84
Fig. 4.3 *Somers Town* Tomo, Maria and Marek in Paris 86
Fig. 4.4 *Last Resort* Stonehaven 90
Fig. 4.5 *Ghosts* Thetford 93
Fig. 4.6 *Ghosts* Thetford from an upstairs window 94
Fig. 5.1 *It's a Free World* Super-diversity 110
Fig. 5.2 *In This World* A football match in a Kurdish Village, Iran 120
Fig. 5.3 *Ghosts* Morecambe Bay 123
Fig. 5.4 Alberto Giacometti, *City Square (La Place)*, 1948, New York, Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) ©Photo SCALA, Florence 124
Fig. 5.5 *Last Resort Mondialisation* 127

CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Cinema and Urban Society

Abstract This chapter begins by considering the importance of cultural questions in the critical study of planetary urbanization. After introducing the aims of this study, the chapter provides a brief sketch of each of the seven films analysed here. This is followed by a discussion of realism and a short summary of the key arguments made in this book. The chapter then introduces the notion of spectrality, focusing in particular on how the 'spectre of the city' haunts the films analysed here. The chapter closes by providing an outline of the structure of the book.

Keywords Planetary urbanization • Urban culture • Spectres of the city • Social realism • Migration • Cinema and cities • Aesthetics

Cinematic urbanism refers to the critical study of how cinema captures and processes images of the city and then projects these to the public, in the process making a contribution to the 'making of the modern' (AlSayyad 2006). There has been resurgent interest in this field recently, from both urban and film studies. The history of the modern city and cinema are deeply intertwined. As Koeck and Roberts (2010: 1) put it, the metropolis and the moving image are inseparable constituents of the modern urban imaginary. Yet, renewed interest in the cinematic city does beg the question *why now*? This question is especially pertinent when the city and cinema have, separately and together, been viewed as on their way to extinction

© The Author(s) 2016

G. Millington, *Urbanization and the Migrant in British Cinema*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-47399-8_1

(Donald 1999; Robins 1996; Brenner 2013; Merrifield 2014). Interest in the cinematic city may then be due to the need to understand the rapid urban change that many cities have experienced in the last 40 years since the hegemonic rise of neoliberalism, to visualize transformations that are connected to processes such as gentrification, securitization, widening inequality, the rise and fall of financial markets, and global migration. Attentiveness to the cinema may also be linked to the desire to see images of a more authentic city, to remember or reconnect with what is now imagined to be a richer, more organic urban experience. As Gilloch (2015: 200) puts it, '[f]ilm presents to us, and redeems, the very soul of the city on screen, the modern metropolitan soul in these most soulless times'. This wish to revel in the perceived soulfulness of the twentieth-century metropolis seems reasonable, especially during an age when it has been argued that '[t]he image of the city no longer works so readily as a topographical projection. No longer does it function as a transitional space for the collectivity' (Robins 1996: 132). Nostalgia for images of the city is indicative too of the entanglements of the city with 'postmodern culture', especially in the sense that cities are obvious sites where the past is very much part of the present. Cities are layered with meaning over time. We read cities as palimpsests of space, where '[t]he strong marks of present space merge in the imaginary with traces of the past, erasures, losses, and heterotopias' (Huyssen 2003: 7). The enmeshing of the material and the hermeneutic explains AlSayyad's (2006) conviction that distinctions between the real city and the 'reel' city are being eroded; that the actual and virtual may be seen more productively as mutually constitutive. While this is not *exactly* the position adopted here, the point is an important one. How we imagine or feel about the city has always been a part of the 'reality' of the city.

While the cinematic city is often an object of nostalgia, it is also the case that urban sociologies and/or geographies of film are being developed more reflexively to advance critical understanding of the *ongoing* development of urban modernity. This book begins from the premise that British cinema during the late 1990s and 2000s offers a rare, sustained examination of urbanization and migration, in relation not only to both the city (London) but also to the transformation of sites 'outside' the city, such as suburbs and small cities and towns that occupy subordinate positions within London's 'power geometries' (Massey 2005).[1] It takes as its theoretical focus the problematic that Henri Lefebvre identifies between the planetarization of the urban—which he views as economically and technologically driven—and a global urban society based upon 'the re-appropriation by human beings of their conditions in time, in space and

in objects—conditions that were, and continue to be, taken away from them […]' (Lefebvre 2003: 179). The contradiction is that urban society is made possible by the same processes that threaten to diminish urban life. In practice, contemporary expansive urbanization 'entails the ongoing sociospatial transformation of diverse, less densely agglomerated settlement spaces that are being ever more tightly linked to the major urban centres' (Brenner 2009: 205). Indeed in all the films discussed here, London is the 'centre' around which urbanization unfolds.

The seven films examined here—*Beautiful People* (Jasmin Dizdar, 1999), *The Last Resort* (Pawel Pawlikowski, 2000), *In This World* (Michael Winterbottom, 2002), *Dirty Pretty Things* (Stephen Frears, 2002), *It's a Free World* (Ken Loach, 2007), *Ghosts* (Nick Broomfield, 2006) and *Somers Town* (Shane Meadows, 2008)—are usually treated separately or in pairs as 'contemporary' films about migration or 'new communities' (e.g. Loshitzky 2010; Sargeant 2005). Although some of these films have been commented upon in relation to how they represent London (e.g. Brunsdon 2007; Mazierska and Rascaroli 2003), generally speaking, they have not been examined in terms of how they relate to critical urban theory and concerns with planetary urbanization, the dissolution of the city and the right to the city. They have not previously been recognized or analysed as a 'cycle' of films that acts as an 'art of exposure' (Sennett 1990) in redeeming the material and human realities of urbanizing space/s that hitherto lacked an image. Of course, it is usually only with hindsight that a selection of films is recognized as a film cycle, that is, 'a historically circumscribed group of films sharing common industrial practices, stylistic features, narrative consistencies, and spatial representations' (Dimendberg 2004: 11).

This chapter begins by considering the importance of cultural questions in critical attempts to understand planetary urbanization. It then makes a comparison between the study contained here and Brunsdon's (2007) much broader study of London in cinema. The purpose of this exercise is to identify the distinct intellectual (and geographical) space in which this book sits rather than act as critique of Brunsdon's study. The chapter then acknowledges why the late 1990s and 2000s were a remarkable period in the history of London—the period when London was truly realized as 'global London'—before providing a brief sketch of each of the seven films analysed here. This is followed by a discussion of realism and a summary of the key arguments made in this book. There follows an introduction to the notion of the spectral, suggesting how the 'spectre of the city' haunts the films analysed here in three different ways. The chapter closes by providing an outline of the structure of the book.

Urbanization and Culture

Cultural questions have thus far been sidelined in discussions of planetary urbanization. One gets the sense that questions of culture are viewed as secondary or somehow decorative: that culture is not as important as 'real' urban issues such as infrastructure, networks or industry, or that culture is derogated as an instrument of ideology rather than expression. However, from reading Lefebvre's work on the city and the urban—especially his insistence on the role of spatial practice and representational spaces in the production of space (Lefebvre 1991)—it is clear that culture should be understood as both political and productive. Culture is ideological and a site of struggle and creation. Culture has the potential to evade 'the science of the city' (Lefebvre 1996: 156). Lefebvre argues that 'apart from the economic and political revolution [...] the right to the city also demands [...] a permanent cultural revolution' (ibid.: 180). In attempting to understand urbanization through the lens provided by cinema this book still very much aligns with Brenner et al.'s (2011: 235) definition of a critical urban theory which holds 'that capitalism and its associated forms contain the possible as an immanent, constitutive moment of the real—as contradiction and negation'. Cinema, it is argued here, is a primary cultural form where 'the possible' is explored and communicated to a wider audience. As part of the real, rather than existing in parallel to it, cinema can be an instigator or medium of negation.

London (or Not)

At this early stage, it is worth drawing boundaries between this exercise and other approaches to studying the city in cinema. One useful way of doing this is to draw comparisons between this study and Brunsdon's (2007) cinematic study of London. Brunsdon's excellent book is on a par with other comprehensive cinematic studies of cities, such as New York (see Sanders 2003; Blake 2005; Pomerance 2007; Corkin 2011) and Los Angeles (see Fine 2004; Shiel 2013). London, Brunsdon convincingly argues, is a special case because it is an old imperial city, the capital of a nation that was dominant in a pre-cinematic era and already imagined through poems, paintings, novels and so on. Cinema evokes these meanings, thereby accounting for the continuing influence of horror and Victorian gothic in London cinema over, say, modernist aesthetics such as noir. Cinema makes visible these Londons of the past, whilst overlaying and projecting a variety

of new meanings. Brunsdon is interested in 'whole' films rather than the ways that a collection of cinematic representations mediate a city over a particular period. She aims to uncover the many different Londons found in cinema and the ways in which London is invoked by a film (ibid.: 5). Ultimately Brunsdon finds London is cinematically illimitable; it 'exceeds all attempts to exert "some kind of epistemological authority over it", to render it knowable' (ibid.: 12). Brunsdon draws clear lines between her own project and Iain Sinclair's reading of London films, which she argues, is primarily about London; his assertion being that cinema helps reveal the 'essence' of the city. What is at stake is whether London in cinema tells us about cinema and how it is able to render the city in different ways (which is Brunsdon's position) or whether cinema helps us learn about the real, actual city, with this latter approach focusing upon the qualities or adequacies of 'representation' (Sinclair's standpoint).

The present study is less ambitious. Whereas Brunsdon's book focuses on the entire post-World War II (WWII) period, this present work concentrates on a relatively small cycle of films made between 1999 and 2008. Some of these films are set in London but others reveal urbanizing spaces and flows of migration that exist *because of* London's novel form of contemporary super-centrality. Consequently, this both *is* and is *not* a book about London. The focus here lies in how the urbanization that emanates from London is shown and made sense of in cinema, and how these images of urbanization constitute an active moment in urbanization processes themselves. In this sense, this study is more integrated with critical urban theory; it is interested in urban spaces that are emerging within the sphere of influence of London and their relation or non-relation with the cinematic image. In addition, this study is much less interested in the significance of individual films than is Brunsdon's study. In this book, analysis will coalesce on themes that are expressed, sometimes in a contradictory manner, across the cycle. It is hoped that what follows here is bolder in scrutinizing the boundaries between the 'cinematic city' and the actual or real city, focusing in particular upon the relation between aesthetics and politics. Nevertheless, as well as much admiration for the scope and detail of Brunsdon's endeavour, there is much agreement on the point that cinema never simply offers a 'representation' of the city. Neither can it ever be cinematically grasped in its totality.

This book is written by an urban sociologist for, primarily, an urban studies and/or sociological audience. It is hoped though that scholars and students of film studies with an interest in cities and urbanization will

find it useful and/or thought provoking. The same applies to students or scholars in migration or race and ethnic studies. Interdisciplinary study is the most rewarding and enriching of scholarly activities but it is also risky in the sense that, the author not being thoroughly initiated in all relevant disciplines, it is possible to miss the nuances of some debates, or—worst case scenario—to miss debates in their entirety. It is hoped that the voids that will no doubt be detected here are not *too* glaring.

Whilst this book has an ambivalent relationship with London, it is fully acknowledged that the pre-crash London of the 1990s and early to mid-2000s was a remarkable period in the history of the city in terms of the growing dominance of financial markets; the election of London's first mayor (the socialist Ken Livingstone); widening wealth inequalities and the growing presence and influence of the global super-rich; increases and widening diversity in immigration; the continued selling-off of social housing; intensified processes of gentrification and then 'super-gentrification' (Butler and Lees 2006); and finally growing securitization following 9/11 and then the 7/7 bombings (for a full discussion of these transformations, see Imrie et al. 2008). Since the 1986 deregulation of the City of London's financial markets, London has evolved from a major Western metropolis to one of a select few 'transnational market spaces' (Sassen 2000: xii) or 'command points in the organization of the world economy' (ibid.: 4). In terms of London's transformed urbanity, observers have wistfully claimed, 'authentic London […] has gone forever […]' (Kerr 2012: 18), with others stressing how London's recent evolution has involved 'processes akin to abjection, proceeding from the desire for a cleaner and more orderly city […]' (Campkin 2013: 165). With all this going on, the London cultural historian may be frustrated with the marginal or esoteric obsessions contained here. Yet without these historic shifts, the films studied here would not have been made (or possible to imagine). In each case, and in specific ways, their narratives are configured by London's remarkable transformation.

Social Realism and Aesthetics

The first film in the cycle, *Beautiful People*, directed by the British–Bosnian Jasmin Dizdar, was released in 1999. It was Dizdar's first film and was produced by the British Film Institute (BFI). It was partly distributed by Channel Four films. The film is set in London during the 1990s at the time of the Bosnian conflict. The plot involves many interweaving strands. Events begin when a Serb and a Croat from the same village run into each other on a London bus and begin to fight. Meanwhile an overworked

doctor comes across a Bosnian couple who want the doctor to abort the baby they are expecting (the woman is pregnant because she has been raped during the war). In the same hospital, a nurse whose father is an MP meets and falls in love with a young Bosnian basketball player recently arrived in London. Elsewhere, a Scottish journalist working for the BBC is sent to Bosnia as a war correspondent. Another narrative concerns a football hooligan who unwittingly becomes stranded in Bosnia after failing to return home from an England away game. The film homes in on how English lives—in various states of turmoil—are transformed by their encounters with asylum seekers and refugees from the war.

Pawel Pawlikowski's *Last Resort* was released in 2000. Tanya (Dina Korzun) arrives in London with her 10-year-old son, expecting to be met by her English boyfriend. He does not turn up to meet them at Heathrow and immigration authorities want to send her back to Russia. Tanya requests political asylum and she and her son are transferred to an immigration 'holding centre', an abandoned seaside resort called Stonehaven (the movie was shot on location in Margate, Kent). Once there she realizes that she has been duped by her boyfriend. However, she is befriended by Alfie (Paddy Considine), a local bingo caller, who helps her in her quest to escape Stonehaven and make it to London. The film is produced by BBC films. Pawlikowski, the Polish–British director, has also directed *The Woman in the Fifth* (2011) and *Ida* (2013) (an academy award winner in 2015).

Dirty Pretty Things (2002) is directed by Stephen Frears with cinematography by Chris Menges. It is produced by BBC Films and Celador Films. The film is a realist neo-noir (Leary 2009; Wayne 2015) based on the experiences of Okwe (Chiwetel Ejiofor) and Senay (Audrey Tautou) who are illegal immigrants from Nigeria and Turkey, respectively. They live together and work together at a hotel in central London. The plot focuses on their need to remain invisible to authorities which, in turn, is shown to be the cause of their exploitation. The film shows how they survive within London's many informal economies, a city that Loshitzky (2010: 62) argues is depicted in the film as 'the heart of (capitalist) darkness'. The film depicts Okwe and Senay as pure and moral characters who fight against the corruption embedded in the economies of 'global London' (Brunsdon 2007). Frears has directed many acclaimed films including *My Beautiful Laundrette* (1985), *Sammy and Rosie Get Laid* (1987) and *The Grifters* (1990).

In This World, directed by Michael Winterbottom, was also released in 2002. The film follows two young Afghan refugees, Jamal Udin Torabi

and Enayatullah, as they leave a refugee camp in Peshawar, Pakistan for London. Their journey is fraught with danger. Relying on smugglers, bribes and a series of local fixers, they make their way through Iran, Turkey, Italy and France on their way to London. The film is a mixture of documentary and fiction. The two stars of the film Jamal and Enayat were untrained actors and were cast in the camp in Peshawar. Jamal actually did gain asylum to the UK when the film was finished. Improvisational dialogue is used throughout the film. *In This World* is a BBC Films, Film Council and The Film Consortium production. Winterbottom has directed another acclaimed London film *Wonderland* (2000).

Ghosts, directed by Nick Broomfield, was released in 2006. The film received UK Film Council lottery funding and Channel Four films were also involved in the production. Broomfield's career has generally been in documentaries. *Ghosts* is a docudrama that tells the story—or rather *a* story—of how 23 Chinese migrants died in the 2004 Morecambe Bay disaster. The lead Ai Qin Lin plays Ai Qin, an illegal migrant from China who pays smugglers to get to London. The casting of migrant non-actors and the predominance of improvisational dialogue makes *Ghosts* similar to the documentary realism of *In This World*. Indeed, the critic and academic Sukhdev Sandhu (2007) suggests that *Ghosts* makes a compelling companion piece to Winterbottom's movie.

Just a year after *Ghosts*—a harrowing story of the exploitation of migrant workers—came another such film, Ken Loach's (2007) *It's a Free World*. The film was produced in co-operation with Channel Four films. Set in East London, the film is about Angie (Kierston Wareing) and Rose (Juliet Ellis) who set up their own recruitment agency for migrant workers. In line with the title of the movie, the film offers a critique of the moral vacuum of neoliberal or 'global' London. Loach is well known for his naturalistic, social realist directing style, his socialism and his attention to pressing social issues of the day. He has directed many well-known films such as *Kes* (1969), *Riff-Raff* (1991), *Sweet Sixteen* (2002) and *The Wind That Shakes the Barley* (2006).

Somers Town (Shane Meadows, 2008) is actually 'an extended [feature length] advertisement for Eurostar, the rail services provider that financed its £500,000 budget and had a light hand in its conception and execution' (Brouillette 2009: 829). For the most part, the film is shot in black and white (apart from the later scenes in Paris). It is filmed on location in Somers Town in central London, close to the Kings Cross St. Pancras Eurostar terminal. The narrative, again featuring considerable amounts of

improvized dialogue, tells the story of a friendship between two teenage boys: the mischievous Tomo (Thomas Turgoose), a runaway from the East Midlands, and Marek (Piotr Jagiello), a sensitive Polish immigrant who lives with his construction worker father. Meadows is best known for his 2006 film *This is England* (later developed as a highly acclaimed TV series).

All seven films discussed are examples of social realism. That cinematic engagement with urbanization and migration takes a social realist form is not surprising when it is taken into account that social realism is especially prominent in filmmaking during times of social crisis (Lowenstein 2000). In social realism, character and place 'are linked in order to explore some aspect of contemporary life in a similar way to naturalism' (Lay 2002: 9). Yet social realism is not simply about filming social life in its naked form. As Isaacs (2013: 15) explains,

> [c]inematic realism is crafted out of the mechanics of the medium: space and time, unfolding on screen, are crafted out of the instruments of the camera, of actual physical space, of the paraphernalia of production. These instruments are put to use by the filmmaker in orchestrating an *aesthetic of reality*. (added emphasis)

In this way realism is not the same as reality, but rather a 'way of making visible' that is based upon imagined notions of what 'the real' consists of.

There is a great deal of discussion regarding what constitutes a realist cinematic text and what the different kinds of realism may be (e.g. Lay 2002). The most useful definition of realism is provided by Raymond Williams (1977/2014). Williams (2014a) distinguishes realism from naturalism, stating that '[n]aturalism was seen as that which merely reproduced the flat external appearance of reality with a certain static quality, whereas realism [...] was that method and that intention that went below this surface to the essential historical movements, to the dynamic reality' (ibid.: 212). According to Williams, there are four criteria common to all forms of realism. The first is a conscious movement towards social extension. Realist texts attempt to include marginal or under-represented groups. Second, realist texts are grounded in the contemporary with regard to settings, characters and social issues. The third characteristic is that in realist texts there is an emphasis on secular action. This involves the 'dropping' of religious, mystical or metaphysical causality within narratives and replacing it with action that is understood in exclusively human terms.

The final characteristic is that realist texts are 'consciously interpretative in relation to a particular political viewpoint' (ibid.: 215). Realism articulates the political intent of the artist. Events are not offered to the audience simply to induce feelings of empathy. The aim is to convey a certain interpretation of events.

Discussions about social realism have origins in the famous exchanges about politics and aesthetics that critics such as Adorno, Benjamin, Bloch and Lukács contributed to (see Adorno et al. 2007). The pivotal issue of the exchanges was the relationship between art/aesthetics and social reality with, for example, Bloch defending expressionist art and Lukács rejecting any 'irrational' contamination of art. Whilst the debate is still not easily settled, scant attention was paid then to the fact that capitalist reality always exists in contradiction, meaning there is no 'unity' of the social for the artist or writer to capture (ibid.: 10). From these discussions, it was Brecht who offers the richest understanding of the aspirations of realism:

> Realistic means: discovering the causal complexes of society/unmasking the prevailing view of things as the view of those who are in power/writing from the standpoint of the class which offers the broadest solutions for the pressing difficulties in which human society is caught up/emphasising the element of development/making possible the concrete, and making possible abstraction from it. (Brecht 2007: 82)

Here Brecht does not suppress the complexity of social reality. The final lines in this passage about making possible both the concrete and the abstract are crucial and take us into an often neglected facet of realist aesthetics, revealing why realism has different aims to naturalism. Art in the aesthetic regime is autonomous from social life (it is art after all) but it also carries the promise of emancipation, which is the point where art aims to transform into a form of life (Tanke 2011: 84). The aesthetic quality of the image transcends the local and particular—its subject matter—and works to reconfigure a whole way of seeing, thinking and doing.

In discussing British social realist films from the 1960s, Higson (1996) points to the strain between the drabness and ugliness of the urban reality they depict and the seductive or poetic 'something more' that visually escapes the narrative. Certainly, all the films discussed here reveal of 'a tension between sociological and poetic impulses' that is evident within the tradition of British social realism (Lay 2002: 22). Sociological realism privileges the documenting of situations and events, while poetic realism

foregrounds aesthetics, thereby working 'as a kind of antidote to the distance created by the cold and analytical documentary "look"' (ibid.). In the cycle examined here, at the more sociological end of the spectrum can be found *It's a Free World*, while *Last Resort* might be offered as the most poetic. Films such as *Ghosts* and *In This World* are where the tension between the sociological and poetic is most keenly felt, but this in no way diminishes the films. It is also important to deliberate whether the realism of the cycle is entirely British, considering the input of European directors such as Dizdar and Pawlikowski. Even from the British contingent there are divergent influences from established figures of social realism such as Loach to Frears, who have been drawn equally in his career towards a noir aesthetic; to Broomfield's long-term investment in documentary making and Meadows' close affinities with the more poetic strains of New Wave art cinema (Forrest 2009).

This book advances two broad arguments. These are outlined fleetingly here. The detail is added during the course of the discussions that follow. First, it is suggested that this cycle of films presents an incipient aesthetics of planetary urbanization, a revised distribution of the (urban) sensible that, in turn, reveals how art can 'inscribe a [new] sense of [urban] community' (Rancière 2004: 9). Aesthetics is understood here neither as art theory nor as the discipline that takes art as its object of study, but rather as

> [...] a delimitation of spaces and times, of the visible and the invisible, of speech and noise, that simultaneously determines the place and the stakes of politics as a form of experience. Politics revolves around what is seen and what can be said about it, around who has the ability to see and the talent to speak, around the properties of spaces and the possibilities of time. (Rancière 2004: 9)

For Rancière (ibid.), the aesthetic regime creates a terrain where art is no longer held at a 'representational' distance from social life. It is no longer tied to the 'sensible' as it is presented to us. Art is an autonomous and singular practice ('it is a regime of the sensible that has become foreign to itself') (ibid.: 18) but art is invigorated by being brought into contact with heterogeneity, with the social world, which itself, is now believed to be able to be reformed under the influence of aesthetic values. As such, these films divulge not only the changing physical and human landscape of urbanization but—in establishing vital links between spectators and otherwise isolated subjective experiences (Isaacs 2013: 12)—they also

participate in the becoming of a new urban imaginary; that is, an urban (political) aesthetic that amounts to a reconfiguration of urban space and time *without the city*. The second argument is that in providing images of urbanization—in screening a barely perceived urban form back to spectators who may themselves be experiencing various forms of urban dislocation—cinema constitutes an active determinant in what Lefebvre (1991) refers to as the production of space. Cinema, or rather *the image*, is, in this sense, a constituent essence of urbanization.

Spectres of the City

The aim of this exercise in cinematic urbanism is to recover and pore over a series of urbanizing spaces—in and around London—that are occluded from dominant political narratives. It is in such spaces that our collective urban futures will be located and fought over. And yet, despite this emphasis in the cycle examined here, the spectre of the city is rarely far away. As Lefebvre (1996: 74) puts it, 'the urban core (an essential part of the image and the concept of the city) splits open and *yet maintains itself* [...]' (Lefebvre 1996: 74). As the city gives way to planetary urbanization, 'the city' maintains a presence through its image rather than its actuality. Even where the city is not visible on screen, we might still be able to 'make out' its shadowy presence. The understanding of the spectre developed in the work of Derrida (1994) and Jameson (1999/2008) is useful here. For Derrida (1994: 6) the spectre is the body of *someone* as *someone other*. In typically suggestive language he argues, 'we feel ourselves being looked at by it, outside of any synchrony, even before and beyond any look on our part' (ibid.). The spectre disturbs historical time. It is unsettling. It bears over our actions and thoughts. As Jameson explains:

> Spectrality does not involve the conviction that ghosts exist or that the past (and the future they offer to prophesy) is still very much alive and at work, within the living present: all it says, if it can be thought to speak, is that the living present is scarcely as self-sufficient as it claims to be; that we would do well not to count on its density and solidity, which might under exceptional circumstances betray us. (Jameson 2008: 39)

It is suggested here that 'the city' (or a particular idea or image of it) haunts the cinematic scenes of 'global London' and also those of urbanizing space on the periphery. Neither of these urban sites feels solid.

Sennett (2007) writes, for example, of the 'Brittle City', explaining how modern urban environments decay much more quickly than urban fabric inherited from the past. The present and future of many city and non-city urban settlements is by no means secure or predictable. This also has social implications. For example, what is the future for global London when working people can no longer afford to live there? Yet, what the spectre communicates is that contemporary forms of centrality and peripheralization always owe something to 'the city'. Neither can conceive of themselves nor be understood by others, without recourse to the notion or image of 'the city'.

The spectre of the city appears first in these films as *the city of the past*. This refers specifically, in relation to this cycle and its distinct subject matter, as the 'zone in transition' or 'inner city': the space where migrants may once have expected to reside and contribute to the life of the city. Yet, as Jameson (2008: 43) reminds us, one should always be wary of the spectre because, 'we scarcely know whether it [in this case, "the city"] really happened at all in the first place. [The spectre of the city] calls, to be sure, for a revision of the past, [...]; but it does so by way of a thoroughgoing reinvention of our sense of the past altogether'. The city of the past, it is suggested here, is often remembered through the emotion of loss. In this way, the city of the past is reinvented in mourning. This is also linked to how the purpose of the spectre is 'to express the fear of modern people that they have not really lived, not yet lived or fulfilled their lives, in a world organised to deprive them of that satisfaction' (ibid.: 40). Residents of London today often imagine a more authentic, open city that would make them feel more at home: a London that is pre-gentrification, pre-displacement and dispersal; a city that is full of all the things that global London lacks or has banished. Jameson continues, '[...] yet is this suspicion not itself a kind of spectre, haunting our lives with its enigmatic doubt that nothing can dispel or exorcise [...]?'. In this regard, despite the melancholy (or anger) that is summoned whenever the spectre of the city is raised, the question demands to be asked: did this city that is missed so much *ever* exist? Can this yearning—a yearning that Lefebvre (1996) would understand as a 'cry and demand' for the right to the city—be turned towards a movement that is future oriented? The appearance of the city as spectre can prevent cinema from re-distributing the urban 'sensible' in the sense that it affirms *history as it has been told* (that everything is lost or that everything to gain has already been gained). However, the spectre of the city can have an alternative fashion effect, causing cinema

to coincide with acts of political dissensus, to support critiques of the city and reconfigurations of the urban. The past is not only a constraining or conservative influence.

Second, the spectre appears as the *city of the present*. This refers to the spectre of the city that is sensed in one's displacement from the city. This is the London that is present in spaces such as camps or dispersal centres. It is the spectre of the city and urban life that always lies out of reach.

Third, the spectre appears as the *appearing city* or the new urban places being actively produced by migrants and other displaced peoples. Just like the spectre of communism that haunts Europe in the opening pages of the Communist Manifesto, the spectre of the city here references to a 'future-to-come' (Derrida 1994: xix). Jameson (2008) argues the common reading of Marx is that use-value is behind us, that it was a feature of pre-capitalist societies that we need to return to. Jameson's interpretation, which is especially relevant here, is that use-value lies *before* us; it is to be discovered in the future (ibid.: 55). The same therefore goes for the appropriation of time, space, body and desire that Lefebvre (1996: 173) extols in his notion of the right to the city.

In many instances, it is difficult to tell in which guise the spectre of the city appears. The spectre therefore raises further questions: is the spectre an ideology? Or a fetish? At least in part, the latter must be the case. Cultural fascination with and promotion of 'the city' has long helped to draw a veil over processes of urbanization and the production of space (see Lefebvre 1991; Harvey 1996; Millington 2016a). But Jameson argues for something else, that the spectral offers a new kind of solution to 'the false problem of the antithesis between humanism (respect for the past) and nihilism (end of history, disappearance of the past)' (Jameson 1999: 41). In other words, the spectre does not signal that the past was better and should be mourned and revered, nor does it confirm the hyper-sceptical postmodern view that the past is finished and future has been cancelled. Rather, the spectre is a reminder of the contingency and non-linearity of time, space and social process. It asserts the non-predictability of the future. The spectre raises the possibility of 'turning [...] a corner in which an altogether different present happens, which was not foreseen' (ibid.: 62). In the sense that it grounds the cinematic text in an elaborated and open sense of the contemporary, the spectre turns out to be surprising realist. Of course, the fact that the spectre appears where it should not—that it is always an *unintentional* effect of the text—is something a little more 'magical'.

Conclusion

This chapter began considering the notion of cinematic urbanism and by arguing for the importance of asking cultural questions in relation to the expansive urbanization that scholars have recently called planetary urbanization. It then offered a short summary of the films that comprise the cycle of British films analysed later in this book. It was argued that the shared social realism of these texts, in addition to their shared subject matter, analogous concerns with spatiality and temporality and comparable production environment helps constitute these films as a distinct cycle. After introducing the core arguments of the book, there followed a discussion of the importance of the spectre of the city in these films. Here it was suggested that despite the aesthetic of planetary urbanization provided by the films they are all haunted—albeit in different ways—by the 'spectre of the city'.

The remainder of the book is structured as follows. Chapter 2 takes the cinema–city nexus as its subject matter, arguing that cinema is an active constituent in the production of space, that the visual is vital to the human or social dimensions of urbanization. Chapter 3 focuses on the nexus of planetary urbanization and migration, suggesting the two are intertwined more than is commonly stated. Chapters 4 and 5 offer a thematic discussion of the films. Chapter 4 considers how the films depict what Lefebvre (2014a) calls the 'dissolution of the city' and how migrants are 'placed' within this crisis. Chapter 5 begins by exploring the figure of the migrant before moving onto a discussion of the social, cultural and political meaning of the images of urbanization that this film cycle provides. Finally, there is a short conclusion that expounds upon the central arguments of the book.

Note

1. This project began with four questions: (1) How does this cycle of films 'make sense' of contemporary urbanization (2) How does this cycle of films create an image and/or aesthetic for contemporary urbanization that is distinct from that of the image of the city? (3) What role does the figure of the migrant play in this image and/or aesthetic? (4) How might this cycle of films make an 'active' contribution to the production of space and processes of urbanization? The first three questions are answered through a combination of theoretical and empirical work, while the final question is more a matter of theoretical development. The method used in this study was soci-

ological. A thematic analysis of the films was drawn from an interpretation of the visualization, mise en scène, characterization and plot of each film. Coding relied on a combination of extant concepts relating to the research questions such 'image of the city', 'mobilities', 'dwelling', 'the figure of the migrant' and 'images of urbanization'. These were saturated with content as the films were viewed. An inductive approach whereby themes such as 'spectrality' and 'the death of the social' were permitted to emerge from the viewing of the films was deployed in conjunction with the deductive use of extant concepts. This approach was designed to treat the seven films as a cycle, part of a sustained examination of urbanization and migration. Detailed notes on specific scenes, characterization, dialogue and plot were compiled and then added to a standard 'table' for qualitative data analysis. In addition, 170 stills relating to both extant and emergent codes were captured and saved for analytical purposes (some of these appear in Chaps. 4 and 5).

References

Adorno, T., Benjamin, W., Bloch, E., Brecht, B., & Lukács, G. (2007). *Aesthetics and politics*. London: Verso.

AlSayyad, N. (2006). *Cinematic urbanism: A history of the modern from reel to real*. London: Routledge.

Blake, R. A. (2005). *Street Smart: The New York of Lumet, Allen, Scorsese, and Lee*. Lexington, KT: University Press of Kentucky.

Brecht, B. (2007). Against Georg Lukács. In T. Adorno, W. Benjamin, E. Bloch, B. Brecht, & G. Lukács (Eds.), *Aesthetics and politics*. London: Verso.

Brenner, N. (2009). What is critical urban theory? *City, 13*(3), 198–207.

Brenner, N. (2013). Theses on urbanization. *Public Culture, 25*(1), 95–113.

Brenner, N., Madden, D. M., & Wachsmuth, D. (2011). Assemblage urbanism and the challenges of critical urban theory. *City, 15*(2), 225–240.

Brouillette, S. (2009). Creative labour and auteur authorship: Reading Somers Town. *Textual Practice, 23*(5), 829–847.

Brunsdon, C. (2007). *London in film*. London: BFI.

Butler, T., & Lees, L. (2006). Super-gentrification in Barnsbury, London: Globalization and gentrifying global elites at the neighbourhood level. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 31*(4), 467–487.

Campkin, B. (2013). *Remaking London: Decline and regeneration in urban culture*. London: IB Tauris.

Corkin, S. (2011). *Starring New York: Filming the grime and glamour of the long 1970s*. New York: Routledge.

Derrida, J. (1994). *Specters of Marx*. London: Routledge.

Dimendberg, E. (2004). *Film noir and the spaces of modernity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Donald, J. (1999). *Imagining the modern city*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
Fine, D. M. (2004). *Imagining Los Angeles: A city in fiction*. Reno, NV: University of Nevada Press.
Forrest, D. (2009). Shane meadows and the British new wave: Britain's hidden art cinema. *Studies in European Cinema, 6*(2), 191–201.
Gilloch, G. (2015). *Siegfried Kracauer: Our companion in misfortune*. Cambridge: Polity.
Harvey, D. (1996). Cities or urbanization. *City, 1*(1–2), 38–61.
Higson, A. (1996). Space, place, spectacle: Landscape and townscape in the "Kitchen Sink" film. In A. Higson (Ed.), *Dissolving views: Key writings on British cinema*. London: Cassell.
Huyssen, A. (2003). *Present pasts: Urban palimpsests and the politics of memory*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
Imrie, R., Lees, L., & Raco, M. (Eds.) (2008). *Regenerating London: Governance, sustainability and community in a global city*. London: Routledge.
Isaacs, B. (2013). *The orientation of future cinema: Technology, aesthetics, spectacle*. London: Bloomsbury.
Jameson, F. (2008). Marx's purloined letter. In M. Sprinker (Ed.), *Ghostly demarcations: A symposium on Jacques Derrida's specters of Marx*. London: Verso.
Kerr, J. (2012). London: From Blair to Boris. In J. Kerr & A. Gibson (Eds.), *London: From Punk to Blair*. London: Reaktion Books.
Koeck, R., & Roberts, L. (2010). Introduction: Projecting the urban. In R. Koeck & L. Roberts (Eds.), *Urban projections: The city and the moving image*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Lay, S. (2002). *British social realism: From documentary to Brit grit*. London: Wallflower.
Leary, M. E. (2009). Seeing the invisible noir: Dirty pretty things. In C. Knowles (Ed.), *Street signs*. London: Goldsmiths.
Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The production of space*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Lefebvre, H. (1996). *Writings on cities*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Lefebvre, H. (2003). *The urban revolution*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
Lefebvre, H. (2014a). Dissolving city, planetary metamorphosis. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 32*(2), 203–205.
Loshitzky, Y. (2010). *Screening strangers: Migration and diaspora in contemporary European cinema*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Lowenstein, A. (2000). Under-the-skin horrors: Social realism and classlessness in peeping Tom and the British new wave. In J. Ashby & A. Higson (Eds.), *British cinema past and present* (pp. 221–232). London: Routledge.
Massey, D. (2005). *For space*. London: Sage.
Mazierska, E., & Rascaroli, L. (2003). *From Moscow to Madrid: Postmodern cities, European cinema*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Merrifield, A. (2014). *The new urban question*. London: Pluto Press.
Millington, G. (2016a). Urbanization and the city image in Lowry at Tate Britain: Towards a critique of cultural cityism. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*.
Pomerance, M. (2007). *City that never sleeps: New York and the filmic imagination*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
Rancière, J. (2004). *The politics of aesthetics*. London: Bloomsbury.
Robins, K. (1996). *Into the image: Culture and politics in the field of vision*. London: Routledge.
Sanders, J. (2003). *Celluloid skyline: New York and the movies*. New York: Alfred a Knopf.
Sandhu, S. (2007). Dark heart of a bruised monster. *The Daily Telegraph*, available at: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/film/filmreviews/3662487/Dark-heart-of-a-bruised-monster.html [accessed 15.6.14].
Sargeant, A. (2005). *British cinema: A critical history*. London: BFI.
Sassen, S. (2000). *Cities in a world economy*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.
Sennett, R. (1990). *The conscience of the eye: The design and social life of cities*. London: Faber and Faber.
Sennett, R. (2007). The open city. In R. Burdett & D. Sudjic (Eds.), *The endless city: An authoritative and visually rich survey of the contemporary city*. London: Phaidon.
Shiel, M. (2013). *Hollywood cinema and the real Los Angeles*. London: Reaktion Books.
Tanke, J. J. (2011). *Jacques Rancière: Philosophy, politics, aesthetics*. New York: Continuum.
Wayne, M. (2015). British neo-noir and reification: Croupier and dirty pretty things. In M. Bould, K. Glitre, & G. Tuck (Eds.), *Neo-noir*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Williams, R. (2014a). A lecture on realism. In J. McGuigan (Ed.), *Raymond Williams on culture and society*. London: Sage.

CHAPTER 2

Cinema, Cities and Urbanization

Abstract This chapter critically examines the relationship between cinema and cities. It establishes a sociological position whereby cinema is integrated into Lefebvre's (*The production of space*, 1991) theory of the production of space. The conceptual and theoretical work in this chapter is an attempt to develop an understanding of the relationship between the 'real' and the 'reel' that is grounded within a dialectical materialism that gives due credence to the creative, artistic and poetic aspects of production. First, the chapter introduces recent scholarship on cinematic cities. Second, it outlines how the relationship between cinema and cities has been theorized. Third, the chapter considers the potential political implications of urban cinema. Finally, the role that the image of the city plays in organizing urban space and our experience of it is considered.

Keywords Cinematic urbanism • Cinema and cities • Production of space • Chronotopes • City image • Benjamin • Kracauer

This chapter critically examines the relationship between cinema and cities in an age of so-called planetary urbanization, an era where there is no longer a non-urban 'elsewhere' against which the city can properly define itself. It aims to establish a sociological position whereby cinema—as a lived, subjective and often dreamlike aspect of social reality—can be integrated into Henri Lefebvre's (1991) theory of the production of space.

© The Author(s) 2016

G. Millington, *Urbanization and the Migrant in British Cinema*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-47399-8_2

As such, the conceptual and theoretical work in this chapter is part of an attempt to develop an understanding of the relationship between the 'real' and the 'reel' that is grounded within a dialectical materialism that gives due credence to the creative, artistic and poetic aspects of production (see Lefebvre 2009a).

The chapter is structured as follows. First, the chapter introduces recent scholarship on the relationship between sociology and cinema. It also introduces Castoriadis' understanding of the social imaginary, a notion that is returned to at several points in the chapter. Second, it outlines how the relationship between cinema and cities has been theorized. This discussion begins in a general sense before considering specific issues such as narrative and mobility, space and history. It also synthesizes work on cinema and cities with Lefebvre's (1991) theory of the production of space. Third, the chapter considers the ability of cinema to reveal (and revel in) what Benjamin famously calls the 'optical unconscious'. The importance of Kracauer's notion of the redemption of physical reality is also considered here. Finally, the chapter presents an understanding of the cinema–city nexus that connects with broader discussions around the role that the image of the city plays in organizing urban space and our experience of it. Questions are raised regarding whether this relationship can be maintained in an era of planetary urbanization.

Sociology and Cinema

Slavoj Žižek (2008: xi) argues that 'films are never "just films"'. He continues: '[e]ven when films lie, they tell the lie which dwells in the very heart of our social edifice'. This admission is important since it allows for the unreality of cinema—'the lie' or myth—to be understood as *part of* reality. Fantasy, Žižek argues, is not an escape from reality, but rather the *very basis* for social life (Žižek 1989: 45). This is comparable in some senses with Castoriadis' (1987) notion of the imaginary, referring not to an 'image of' but to the 'creation of figures/forms/images, on the basis of which alone there can ever be a question *of* something' (ibid.: 3 original emphasis). Cinema only comes into being from the premise—the belief—that there is something 'out there' in the social world that is worth providing an image of, worth screening back to the spectator. As Rancière (2006) puts it, cinema is the art of the twentieth century conceived in the nineteenth century. Its aspirations and techniques are predetermined by the categories of aesthetic thought. This

position entails that 'social reality', in all its dimensions, is always already a work of the imaginary.

Diken and Laustsen (2008) argue that the most remarkable experience of cinema is that it allows one to deviate from oneself, to become another, to travel, to become a 'nomad on the spot'. Cinema is dreamlike; it produces dreams that not only constitute but also deepen the social imaginary. These dreams may even be *ahead* of social reality, allowing one to imagine the consequences of actions not yet taken. Cinema is an indicator of the virtual; it provides forewarning of a coming society. Cinema blurs boundaries between two kinds of 'being': the *actual* (reality, society) and the *virtual* (the copy, the cinematic image). The common understanding is that the actual is the original and cinema attempts to mirror the social. Diken and Laustsen (ibid.: 2) argue instead that 'they each tell the truth of each other'. Social life is never *fully* actualized. It never exhausts all its possibilities or potentials. Cinema opens up some of these potentials by making them virtual. It articulates things (events, actions, characters etc.) that *could* or *might* happen. These cinematic 'dreams' are then a significant part of social *reality* even if they are not actualized. They belong to the subjective dimension of social life that interpretative sociologists have always been concerned with understanding. So, rather than the crux of the matter being a relationship between 'reality' and 'representation', the more important and interesting issue concerns the relationship between the *actual* and the *virtual*. Cinema, Diken and Laustsen argue, reveals a virtual society, a dimension of society which persists *alongside* actual society (ibid.: 3). Films, in this sense, do not have to be actualized to become real. Cinema and sociality should be understood as a mutual process based on *virtualization* (the production of images of the social) and *actualization* (the socialization of the image, inclusion of the symbolic element or image 'within reality'). Cinema has the potential to offer a transcendental analysis of the social whereby virtual entities transcend the domain of the empirical, but should still be considered social facts in themselves.

Despite the recent fictional turn in social science (see Bottici et al. 2011; Beer 2015), some scholars remain sceptical of the sociological value of cinema. Indeed, Ben Highmore, an urban sociologist and cultural theorist, argues that the reflex within sociology has always been to insist upon the 'second-orderedness' of cultural texts (Highmore 2005: 18). The widely held conviction is that sociologists should not treat accounts of urban life such as James Joyce's *Ulysses* as transparent but inquire into questions of representation. Highmore's point, however, is that it is not clear at all

whether it is possible at all to find accounts of urban life that do not have an obvious 'second-orderedness'. For Highmore, foregrounding the issue of representation (i.e. judging how close to 'reality' a depiction may be) tends to prevent an appreciation of the 'thickness' and 'force' of urban culture. Thickness refers to the active struggles over the meaning of cities and urban life that are found in cultural texts as diverse as cinema, literature and hip-hop. Highmore explains how, 'material that is heavily allegorical or symbolic is probably more likely (or at least as likely) to be as "thick" as more passively naturalistic material' (ibid.: 20). The dramatization of city life found in cultural texts provides them with the 'force' that makes them meaningful, sense-making aspects of a *living* physical and imaginary urban culture.

Cinematic Cities

This section examines some of the work that explores the relationship between cities and cinema. Penz and Lu (2011) assert that the study of cities must continue to build on 'hard facts' garnered through traditional social research methods but that the cinema is an important medium for providing access to the city 'as we imagine it [the city] of illusion, myth, aspiration, and nightmare' (Raban 1974 cited in ibid.: 2). This city, Raban argues, is real, maybe more real than the hard city one can locate on maps, in statistics, in urban sociology, demography and architecture.

Cinema is related to the social imaginary in complex ways. Penz and Lu (ibid.: 9) argue that 'through the framing process and subsequent screening, even the most anonymous and banal city location will be transformed from an unconsciously recorded space—or *naïve space*—to a consciously recorded space that becomes an *expressive space*' (emphasis added). The act of capturing urban space on film enables that space to be inserted into existing socio-historical narratives and to be generative, usually through their combination with other images, of new narratives. However, in Castoriadis' (1987) terms, the expressive cinematic image should not be seen as an imaginary in and of itself. The social imaginary exists rather in the belief that the cinematic image of an urban space can tell us something; ergo that it is *worth* capturing on film in the first place. Expressiveness is produced in the creation of the image and the moment when the image enters the public realm of already existing thoughts and ideas. In these terms there is no 'naïve space'. The range of urban spaces that are waiting to be captured by cinema is infinite. But, like our knowl-

edges of them, these spaces are already *given*; they are part of an already existing social world. There is then no possible urban image that could exist outside of '[e]very thought of society and of history itself' (ibid.: 3). Cinematic images of the city therefore always *express* properties of space that we (in the broadest sense possible) are at least *partially* (or unconsciously) aware of. The process, though, is an active one, in terms of both creation and reception. It is possible to learn from the cinematic image because it either confirms or repudiates *what we already know*. Moreover, for Castoriadis there always exists the will to expand the social imaginary (to see and understand the city in new ways, or even to challenge the very idea of the city), which, in turn, influences how society itself is instituted. Our new knowledges or understandings are turned into 'thoughtful doing'. Taylor (2004) points to how competing social imaginaries provide a dynamic whereby innovation or change is always possible. A subtly reordered imaginary can cause us to act upon the world differently. This is why for Castoriadis (1987: 372) the imaginary and society exist in a mode of 'perpetual self-alteration'.

This understanding of the expressive qualities of cinema has clear political implications. For example, Shiel (2001: 4) argues that cinema should be seen not only as a text but also as a set of practices and activities. Cinema never ceases to intervene or participate in the maintenance, mutation and subversion of systems of power (the imaginary of course is a vital site of power). This ability to intervene is related to how relations of power are inscribed into the apparently innocent spatiality of urban life: 'cinema is the ideal cultural form through which to examine spatialisation precisely because of cinema's status as a peculiarly spatial form of culture' (ibid.: 5). Cinema is intensely spatial because it is so integrated within what Shiel calls the 'organisation' of space. In other words, cinema is part of the cultural process through which the spaces of the city are organized.

Other authors have focused more on how cinema captures otherwise elusive dimensions of urban experience. AlSayyad (2006) suggests that cinematic urbanism is the art form that best captures the experience of modernity. Mennel (2008) makes a similar point, suggesting that trains, timekeeping and moving pictures came together at the beginning of the twentieth century to create a new image of modern time and space. Indeed, the birth of cinema arises out of the 'material and imaginative conditions' that the modern city itself created (Webber and Wilson 2008: 5). For AlSayyad (2006), a fundamental part of the project of modernity involves the reconstruction—and reordering—of cities. Haussmann's boulevards

and the cinema are both capable of *capturing* the modern, while at the same time *creating* its distinctive texturing of time, space and experience. The ability of cinema to capture images of the city and urban life and project these to the public contributed substantially to the making of the modern (AlSayyad's argument is influenced by T.J. Clark's (1984) famous book on Manet and Paris, *The Painting of Modern Life*). For most of the twentieth century, modernism was depicted in and delivered from screen to city, defined in architectural style, city form and urban sociological 'types'. For AlSayyad (ibid.: xii), 'reel' space is *generative* as well as representational. He suggests that the '[r]eal and reel become mutually constitutive to a point that renders the study of one without the other incomplete'. Cinema is then an integral constituent of the urban. Realization of this fact has been hastened by postmodernism which has awakened us to the fact that there is 'no longer a stable, neutral, outside place', or that it is not possible 'to differentiate between the real and simulated' (ibid.: 9). For AlSayyad, cinematic urbanism 'is not only about analysing cities as they appear on film [...] it is also about the new theories of the urban that emerge from cinematic space [...]' (ibid.: 4). Urban theory, in this way, is not only to be derived from favoured or privileged domains of the real such as the empirical.

There is then much agreement that cinema is a product of the modern social imaginary. Cinema is able to screen back to the viewer the real and imagined spaces, times and experiences of the modern world in which they are immersed. Cinema is a product of the modern imaginary but it also contributes—through the mutual self-alteration that occurs between society and its imaginaries—to the 'making of the modern' (AlSayyad 2006).

Concretizing Representation: Space, Narratives and Mobility

Cities may be bestowed or 'given' to the filmmaker as raw materials but they are not static objects. Webber and Wilson (2008) point to how cities are not only composed of a fixed system of spaces and places but also of 'the motions or transitions that traverse that structure' (ibid.: 2). Narratives within film plot maps that reveal the city as a place of movement, 'a place of assignation and appointment, but also of random encounter and traumatic accident' (ibid.). In addition, spatial transit is dialectically bound up with temporal transition, as geographical and historical development intertwine. Urban space folds into narrative time (ibid.: 4). Webber and Wilson suggest that Bakhtin's notion of the chronotope—a representative

scene of conjunction between time and space—is useful in understanding the dynamics of urban cinema. Beginning with the earliest footage of street life in Paris or London, it is the chief characteristic of the urban cinematic chronotope to be on the move: *in transition*.

For Bakhtin, the term chronotope, literally meaning 'time space', refers to the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature (Bakhtin 1981: 84). The chronotope is a constitutive element of literature. In the novel 'the epoch becomes not only graphically visible (space) but narratively visible (time)' (ibid.: 241). Massood (2003) deploys Bakhtin's notion of the chronotope in understanding the African American urban experience in cinema. The chronotope, she writes, is 'a *topos* (a place, person, figure) that embodies (or is embodied by) *chronos* (time)' (ibid.: 4). Urban spaces function as materialized history, while temporal relationships are literalized by the objects or persons with which they interact. In this way, the chronotope offers a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between the actual world and the spatio-temporal systems that generate cinematic genres (ibid.: 6). Concerned with prising apart the reel and the real, Bakhtin explains how there is a distinct relationship between the world outside the text and the cinematic world created by the text. Out of the *actual* chronotopes of our world, which serve as the source of all representation, emerge the created chronotopes of the world that are represented in cinema, in the text (Bakhtin 1981: 253). As Massood (2003: 6) points out, while the actual world and the text are intricately linked, Bakhtin was wary about confusing one for the other. To blur the distinction would, according to Bakhtin, be to fall for a 'naïve realism' in this sense that representation would equate to reality (which is the mistake that empiricism also falls into). The point, rather, is that external reality—a 'force giving body' (Bakhtin 1981: 250)—guides the text but the text itself is always a self-conscious, highly mediated artistic construction, a refraction of, and a dialogue with the actual material world.

As with many accounts of the city–cinema nexus, Bakhtin expresses the view that 'the work and the world represented in [cinema] enter the real world and enrich it' (Bakhtin 1981: 254). Cinema re-enters the world from which it is a product. There is then, a creative process of 'continual renewing', or 'fulfilment' of both text and context. This implies that cinema never loses contact with 'changing historical space' (ibid.). The result is that the spatio-temporal structures of cinema produce a virtual world that exists in dialogic tension with the actual world.

Massood (2003) explains how in Bakhtin's theory chronotopes can co-exist and may be interwoven or shown to contradict each other. In terms of understanding African American cinema this is helpful because the cinematic relation to social and urban history is about understanding

> [...] the ways in which African American cinema [...] engages with the world around it. Whether the films are 'saturated with historical time' [...] or with the immediate moment [...] they are political acts in which the city becomes the symbol of—sometimes the synecdoche for—African American political life. (ibid.: 7–8)

The urban setting of much post-War African American cinema is crucial because it provides what Bakhtin (1981: 250) calls a 'concretizing representation'. In other words, the city provides a material and symbolic medium through which filmmakers can explore and comment upon African American history more broadly. In this sense, the 'reel' uses the 'real' to contest the meaning of history. As Massood continues,

> [i]n their often conflicted attitudes towards the city as promised land or dystopian hell, African American texts (film, literature, music, painting) explore themes of hope, mobility and escape. [...] These extradiegetic circumstances ripple out from the texts, at various times and in different forms, and remind us that the city is never, simply, the city. (ibid.: 8–9)

Here then, the city is used cinematically to acknowledge, develop or dispute enduring themes of the African American experience. Of course, such themes pre-exist the film itself; they are already felt in the world outside the film (they have already been thought about, written about, sung about etc.). As such, cinema uses the city in order to reference a broader set of experiences than those which immediately constitute the text.

Architectural spaces and urban landscapes possess narrative qualities which then link them with cinema (Koeck 2013). This is similar to how Massood (2003) understands the presence of the ghetto in Blaxploitation movies of the 1970s and 'hood movies of the 1990s. However, it also the case that narratives *create* space within the city by giving space coherence in time; a process that also sutures the subject, or viewer (Koeck 2013: 21). Seemingly ordinary and unconnected urban sites, arranged as nodes in a narrative, are used to tell a story. These sites subsequently become expressive narrative spaces that are 'stitched into real urban landscapes' (ibid.: 47). For the duration of a film, the viewer becomes 'at one' with the

spatio-temporal and cinematic narratives that overlap and merge on the screen. In this way, the viewer becomes both a witness and a participant in meaningful place making.

This section has focused on the connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships in urban cinema. It points to how the chronotopes of the social world—which contain many possible narrative qualities—are 'fulfilled' on screen. At this point, cinema then re-enters the social world from whence it was derived. As Bakhtin (1981: 254) understands it, the relationship between text and the actual world is one of 'uninterrupted exchange' rather than unity. As such the chronotopes of the 'real world' are able to be translated into competing cinematic chronotopes, some of which are used to 'move' us emotionally (Koeck 2013: 5) while others serve more overtly political motives.

Urban History and Cinema

Cinema can be used in a more conventional fashion to study the historical transformations of cities and urban life. Dimendberg (2004: 9) argues that treating the city in cinema as an expression of an underlying myth has stifled the study of spatiality as a historical content. Certainly, cinema offers enormous potential for those seeking to understand the spatiality of urban change. The urban environment revealed on screen contains the remnants of previous 'moments' of urbanization. These are interweaved, of course, with the contemporary city: the city as it stands at any particular moment. This is why urban cinema is so consumed with what Walter Benjamin calls a 'dialectical image'. This notion, developed in the *Arcades Project*, refers to an image in which the past and present moment flash into a constellation. When we watch an old film about the city we encounter the city at the moment the film was made but also the visible aspects of the history of that city *up until* that moment i.e. the buildings, bridges, thoroughfares etc. that were already in existence at the time the film was made. Moreover, we also encounter the city on screen with the knowledge of what the city is like at the *present* moment. As Jameson (2010: 26) puts it, 'the dialectic moves jerkily from moment to moment like a slide show'. A dialectical image is to be found wherever the tension between dialectical oppositions is greatest. It depicts a moment when history becomes saturated with tensions (Frisby 1985: 221). The dialectical image belongs not to a specific time; rather it only becomes legible at a specific time. In this sense, the dialectical qualities of urban cinema may not be immedi-

ately apparent. A film may only come to develop this fullness of meaning years after its production. The historical *urban* content of a film or a cycle of films may remain buried for decades. Penz and Lu (2011) suggest that learning from the filmic spaces of the past offers a holistic approach to the understanding of cities, in order to better anticipate not only the present but also the future. The cinematic analysis of cities also allows us to see how the present may have turned out differently. This is why they advocate a mode of analysis called 'cinematic urban archaeology' (ibid.: 12). A cinematic archaeology of the city can potentially render visible the *becoming* of the modern city and can help identify its key transformations. Retrospectively longitudinal cinematic studies of cities are now more possible because of the relatively easy availability of older films.

Koeck and Roberts (2010: 2) also stress the need to situate the textual and representational geographies of film within the existing material and symbolic fabric of historical urban spaces. Part of this endeavour involves a reconsideration of where we might draw the structural, cognitive and geographic boundaries of the urban and how it is represented in film (ibid.: 3). Indeed, a focus on urbanization processes 'engenders a problematic that calls into question the conceptual efficacy of "the city" as a geographical entity' (ibid.: 4). This does not mean, for Koeck and Roberts, that cinema cannot continue projecting a politics or aesthetics of the urban. Rather, cinema can be used to explore the deterritorialization and reterritorialization of urbanization and urban experience. Deleuze and Guattari use the terms deterritorialization and reterritorialization to characterize processes of (capitalist) transformation. Deterritorialization occurs in order to undo what has already been done; to wrestle control from places that have already been established. This is followed by reterritorialization, an attempt to redo what has been undone but to incorporate new forms or regimes of power. Drawing upon the work of Marxist geographers such as Harvey, Jameson and Soja, Koeck and Roberts argue that space and spatiality are far from marginal concerns within contemporary global or neoliberal capitalism. As they put it, '[c]ine-spatial urban engagement highlights the extent to which […] symbolic, affective and material experiences of the city can play equally important roles in constructions (or indeed reconstructions) of the collective urban imaginary' (ibid.: 9). As such, during an age of planetary urbanization and the dissolution of the city, cinema—alongside literature and other forms of art—have a potentially important role in altering an urban imaginary that continues to remain fixated upon the territory of the city.

Urban cinema often contributes to historical narratives that may, themselves, not be referenced explicitly in the film. Corkin (2011) argues, like Dimendberg, that cinema acts as a prism through which vital moments of historical transition may be apprehended. Films are valuable documents for their images of the urban landscape but they also act as powerful expressions of a particular cultural moment (ibid.: 8). Drawing on Frederic Jameson, Corkin suggests that urban cinema contributes to a project of 'cognitive mapping'. Corkin understands this not necessarily as an emancipatory practice but one that can equate to a practical reconquest of place (ibid.: 9). There are two crucial issues involved in this conquest; first, is the relationship between representational strategies and shifts in networks of exchange and modes of production (shifts within capitalism); and second, how cinema participates in processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization, such as—and this is Corkin's example—the becoming of New York City as a 'global city' (ibid.: 9). Cinema provides a frame through which to capture the flow of significant historical change. But Corkin also argues that '[…] films represent and participate in economic, demographic, and geographic shifts, as they show the ways in which this powerful aspect of popular culture participates in articulating, anticipating and enabling change' (ibid.: 11). Corkin's analysis focuses on New York in cinema during the 'long' 1970s, suggesting that films such as *The Godfather I and II* (Francis Ford Coppola, 1972, 1974), *Taxi Driver* (Martin Scorsese, 1976) and *Serpico* (Sidney Lumet, 1973) help to consolidate a set of dominant meanings through which the colonization of Manhattan by the interests of capital, following the fiscal crisis of the mid-1970s became possible. Cinema inscribes images of the city within narratives that are then used to make sense of these images. Meanings are projected onto images, or rather, 'their meaning is reconfigured within the synergistic body of relationships that constitute that text' (ibid.: 13). The crucial point for Corkin, and for this analysis, is that 'as images that mediate between the world and the text, *they also have a significance within the contours of other historical narratives*' (ibid. emphasis added). Cinematic narratives refer not only to the world on screen—the city that is depicted—but also refer to this world's broader 'moment of origin' (ibid.: 15). They may not make explicit reference to every aspect of their contemporary economic, social and political context but may work allegorically and metaphorically in engaging with this world.

Cinema and the Production of Space

There is general agreement on the issue that cinema helps its audiences see and understand the city. It is widely accepted that cinema enters the life-world of the city; the reel and the real become blurred. At times it could read as if the relationship between cinema and city is symmetrical, that the city makes cinema possible and that the cinema, in turn, makes the city. Or, as is more likely, we acknowledge the cinema is 'active' in shaping the city, but are left unsure as to *how* active or weighty this role is. As such, a more nuanced theorization of the 'relations' of production in relation to urban space—and where cinema fits within this—is necessary. A useful way of conceptualizing this is to insert cinema within Lefebvre's (1991) conception of the production of space.[1] This involves viewing cinema primarily (but not exclusively) as a 'representational space' (see also Dimendberg 2004). It entails comprehending how cinema 'can be both a symptom and a catalyst of [socio-] spatial transformations' (ibid.: 12), but attempts to add clarity to the 'catalyst' side of this equation. What is presented below is very much a dialectical materialist understanding of the cinema–city nexus, where production is viewed from a broad standpoint that takes into account the poetic and creative aspects of production (Kipfer 2009: xxii); but which also works from the premise that 'every space is already in place before the appearance in it of actors […]' (Lefebvre 1991: 57). Space has, according Lefebvre, an 'objectality' (ibid.) in the sense that it cannot be re-imagined in a form that has no precedent.

Lefebvre traces the production of space through the use of a 'triad' or 'three dimensional dialectic' (Schmid 2008). This is a heuristic device that identifies three facets of the process of production. As Stanek (2011: 129) explains, Lefebvre's triad combines a Marxist critique of alienation, ideology and everyday life with phenomenological accounts of the experience of space and semiological analysis of the production of meaning. That there are three elements is critical because 'relations with two elements [a dialectic] boil down to oppositions, contrasts or antagonisms' (ibid.: 39). The problem is that '[s]uch a system can have neither materiality nor loose ends: it is a "perfect" system […]' (ibid.). In contrast, Lefebvre's three 'levels of determination' point explicitly to how space is rarely coherent or a 'finished' product. The triad therefore demonstrates how space is always contested and open to the possibility of change.

The first element of the triad is 'spatial practices' (or space as it is *perceived*). The notion of practice captures the moment of connectivity

between objective and subjective states. An inherited space conditions the subject's presence and action, but never entirely determines them. Spatial practices deliver everyday reality through the routes, networks and patterns of interaction that link places or sites set aside for home, work, consumption, leisure and so on. Practices provide a sense of societal cohesion and continuity, with each member of society deploying what Lefebvre calls a 'spatial competence'. While the 'performance' of spatial practices gives the impression of order this does not entail that spatial practice is rational; rather 'the spatial practice of a society secretes that society's space; it propounds and presupposes it [...] it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it' (ibid.: 38). Practice always involves 'overcoming' or 'going beyond'. Practice (re)produces space; it is 'at once theoretical and practical, real and ideal, it is determined by both past and present activity' (Lefebvre 1982: 5). Lefebvre (1991: 38) claims that '"modern" spatial practice might be defined—to take just one example—by the daily life of a tenant in a government-subsidized high-rise housing project'. Spatial practice is a form of situated material production, but it also provides the basis for the production of knowledge about space and the less coherent meanings of experienced or lived space. Cinema, of course, is a spatial practice itself—the making of a film involves a complex set of spatial practices—though, primarily, its art is to make an image and narrative from the historically layered spatial practices of others.

The second and most dominant element in any mode of production is 'representations of space' (or space as it is *conceived*). This is space as it is conceptualized by technocrats such as planners, developers, architects, estate agents and others of a scientific bent. It is, to use the language of Rancière, where we find the distribution of the urban 'sensible': 'what is visible and audible as well as what can be said, thought and done' (Rancière 2004: 89). In fact, representations of space may be said to be an important part of the 'factory of the sensible' (ibid.: 39). Invariably, ideology, power and knowledge are embedded in representations of space. Since representations of space are the space where capital is able to exert most influence—that is, space is conceived by planners and technocrats in ways that benefit capital and maximize surplus value—they exert more direct or intended influence than other concepts within the triad. Representations of space set out how space should be organized in order to advance capitalist accumulation but they may also be designed to ameliorate the core contradictions of this process. For example, in London during the 1960s high-rise tower blocks were built by local authorities to ease the city's

ongoing post-WWII housing crisis. This building programme was incentivized by central government (Power 1993). These days, however, the potential for space to be conceived in technocratic forms to meet social needs is subjugated by neoliberal tendencies to conceive of space *only* in abstract terms, where the ultimate arbiter is exchange value. As such, government today seeks to bulldoze remaining local authority towers in London before selling the high-value land to developers who in turn will seek to maximize financial reward. Lefebvre's emphasis on *abstract space* as the dominant space of advanced capitalism entails that 'value, money (the universal measure of value), and exchange value (price) all, by hook or by crook set the tone of the structural conception of abstract space' (Merrifield 2000:176). This is why Lefebvre (1991: 90) warns that 'left unchecked, a market and for-profit system always and everywhere flourishes through the abstract conceived realm'. Representations of space are therefore allied closely to the relations of production and to the spatial organization those relations require.

The final concept in the triad is 'representational space' (or space as it is *lived*). This is where we find art, literature and cinema. It is this deeply subjective, experiential and creative realm into which *conceived space* increasingly intervenes in capitalist societies. It does this by attempting to impose order upon or interfere with the inherent unruliness found within the representational realm. This occurs similarly to how Habermas (1987) explains the 'colonisation of the lifeworld' by techno-capitalist system imperatives. Representational space is the space of everyday experience and is often passively experienced in the sense that it is dreamt rather than 'thought about'. Lived space is the space of the imagination. It makes symbolic use of the objects distributed in space (of course, the presence of many of these objects may be attributed to the 'designs' or 'representations' of technocrats and capitalists). Lefebvre is adamant that we understand representational space as containing the potential to resist rules of consistency and cohesiveness and the capability to oppose the rationalistic conceptions of space purveyed by architects, planners and developers. He explains: '[r]epresentational space is alive. It speaks. It has an affective kernel or centre' (Lefebvre 1991: 42). To return to the example already given, people may have little choice to reside in a local authority high-rise but they will experience and imagine this space in way that are not intended, or that are unforeseen by planners and authorities. The meanings of this space are continuously being negotiated and always fought over. Representational space is accessed through symbolic, artistic

and aesthetic works: '[t]hese are often unique; sometimes they set in train "aesthetic" trends and, after a time, having provoked a series of manifestations and incursions into the imaginary, run out of steam' (ibid.). This point is critical for comprehending the place and fate of cinema. Cinema *is* a productive force in relation to urban space but there is no symmetry in its influence on production if compared with how space is conceived by powerful interests. Cinema and other representational spaces make—relatively speaking—a modest contribution to the production of space.

Cinema is always a historically inserted practice. For example, cinema that engages with urban space, as is the case with the cycle of films analysed here, works imaginatively with a given city—a material environment—that has, in large part, been bestowed by capitalists, planners and so forth. Cinema cannot do otherwise. It cannot invent a city. There is no naïve space. In this way cinema maintains 'close contact' with the historical reality of the city. As Rancière (2006) explains it, cinema is a profound meeting of representational and aesthetic logics. Cinema can never wholly be one or the other. How a pre-existing milieu is approached artistically is always through a synthesis of the artistic codes, discourses and practices that already exist (e.g. realism, expressionism and so forth). But, cinema makes creative and aesthetic decisions regarding *how* these inherited urban spaces should be depicted. There is always plenty of scope for innovation, for cinema to portray cities and urban life in novel or contradictory ways. In turn, cinematic spaces can—if they set in train one of the aesthetic trends that Lefebvre mentions—influence how space is conceived in the future. Aesthetic trends may be confined to artistic practise (such as filmmaking) but cinema can provide an image, a depiction of social possibilities or a mood that can be emulated by planners and their ilk. It can also raise awareness of social problems or inequalities that governments or other institutions may seek to address. Cinema can also inspire protest, or at least the *style* of protest (which can be performed for the camera as much as it is addressed to authority). Of course, filmmakers have no control over how their representational spaces will be interpreted or acted upon by those responsible for designing or conceiving the future spaces of the city, just like planners have no ultimate control over how urban space itself is experienced (see Borden 2001). Generally speaking though, cinema's productive influence is more tacit. It persists through how people imagine cities and urban space, in how people see the city, how they live their daily lives or how they appreciate the relative merits of urban life from one city to another. The productive capacity of cinema is not easily quantified. It remains elusive.

Of course, the picture is much, much messier than all this might suggest. As Lefebvre (1991: 46) states, 'relations between the three moments of the perceived, the conceived and the lived are never either simple or stable […]'. The permeations that exist between the triad of production are complex. For example, it is clearly the case that cinema is never purely a representational realm. Cinema is always infiltrated by abstract logic and/or representations of space. For example, films enjoy different degrees of financial backing; their budgets and practical constraints vary enormously. They may be influenced directly or indirectly by the ideology of powerful interests. There are relations of production within cinema itself which determine what kind of films gets made. Lefebvre (ibid.: 40) is clear that the perceived–conceived–lived triad loses force if it is treated merely as an abstract model. It tells us nothing in itself; it can only be used to make sense of concrete, historical urban forms. In addition, distinctions between realms of production must be treated sensitively; the aim, after all, is to 'rediscover the unity of the productive process' (ibid.: 42) rather than to insist upon abstraction and fragmentation.

Benjamin, Kracauer and the 'Optical Unconscious'

It is now necessary to consider how cinema instigates alterations or adaptations in the urban imaginary (and therefore also in concrete practice). While Lefebvre provides us with a sense of the 'why' (in terms of understanding the forces and relations of production), he is less useful in explaining 'how' (understanding the precise work that urban cinema does). Cinema is adept at corresponding to profound changes in the perceptive apparatus; changes that are historical in a broad sense but also perceived individually. Cinema sensitizes people to aspects of the world that had previously gone unnoticed or were not recognized as important aspects of reality (Clarke 1997: 2). The cinematic image captures the city in so much detail that it reveals more than the director intends or the audience assumes to be there. There is always a visual 'excess'. These unexpected or unplanned for qualities of the cinematic image can challenge our assumptions or awaken us to new urban realities.

Walter Benjamin's (1999) understanding of the 'optical unconscious' refers to how the mimetic qualities of visual media rely less upon an ability to resemble the real than its ability to render the familiar strange, 'to store and reveal similarities that are "nonsensuous," not otherwise visible to the human eye' (Hansen 2012: 155). For Benjamin this involves a psychoanalytic quality referenced in Freud's *Psychopathology of Everyday Life*.

Benjamin (1999: 229) explains how this book 'isolated and made analysable things which had heretofore floated along unnoticed in the broad stream of perception'. Benjamin differs from Freud in that he locates the unconscious as much in the material world as existing within or inside the human subject. Benjamin's point is that it is 'another nature which speaks to the camera rather than to the eye [...] a space informed by human consciousness gives way to a space informed by the unconscious' (Benjamin cited in Hansen 2012: 156). Photographic apparatus captures, stores and releases aspects of reality inaccessible to the human eye. Moreover, the mimetic capacity of cinema depends upon the element of chance and contingency inherent in machinic vision; however, carefully the image may be humanly constructed (ibid.). Rancière (2006: 9) explains this as cinema's 'double power of the conscious eye of the director and the unconscious eye of the camera'. A crucial passage from Benjamin's famous essay *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Production* is included here:

> By close-ups of the things around us, by focusing on hidden details of familiar objects, by exploring commonplace milieus under the ingenious guidance of the camera, the film, on one hand, extends our comprehension of the necessities which rule our lives; on the other hand, it manages to assure us of an immense and unexpected field of action. Our taverns and our metropolitan streets, our offices and furnished rooms, our railroad stations and our factories appeared to have us locked up hopelessly. Then came film and burst this prison-world asunder by the dynamics of the tenth of a second, so that now, in the midst of its far-flung ruins and debris, we calmly and adventurously go travelling. With the close up, space expands; with the slow motion, movement is extended. (Benjamin 1999: 229)

What we see in cinema—our expanded vision—encourages us to think about the different ways we should or could act. Rather than increasing passivity, the cinematic image promotes critical understanding, commitment and action. Cinema exists, in part, to enable the city to (finally) see itself, which is a necessary pre-condition for the people of the city to begin to *make* the city for themselves.

In a similar vein, Kracauer (1960) suggests that the camera disturbs habitual conditions, familiar things and spaces that might appear 'natural'. It rediscovers them as arbitrary and contestable social constructions. Cinema opens up expanses of reality which we have explored at best previously only in dreams. With an entity like New York City '[w]hat we want, then, is to touch reality not only with the fingertips but to seize it and

shake hands with it' (ibid.: 297). Images of urban life are seductive. They make us want to be there; to participate in the rhythms and practices of the city. They arouse the desire to grasp in full the dimensions of reality that are available to us (and which often elude us). Gilloch (2015: 175) argues that for Kracauer the true subject matter of film is the modern itself: the ephemeral, the fugitive and the contingent. Cinema has an unrivalled and unprecedented capacity for capturing the 'real', for creating what he calls 'camera reality' (Kracauer 1960: 303), a notion that is analogous with the 'optical unconscious'. Cinema, Kracauer suggests, is the art form that best does justice to the materialistic interpretation of the universe. In an important passage, Kracauer (1960: 303) explains how:

> A face on the screen may attract us as a singular manifestation of fear or happiness regardless of the events which motivate its expression. A street serving as a background to some quarrel or love affair may rush to the fore and produce an intoxicating effect. Street and face, then, open up a dimension much wider than that of the plots they sustain.

Cinema is particularly attuned to the flow of the street and, at the same time, rediscovers the viewer as witness. It is these excess qualities of the image that have the most transformative impact on the viewer. Beyond the plot they are immersed in, camera reality has the capacity to move us; to make the viewer see things from another angle or even to think of *other things that are not on the screen at all*. Kracauer's point is a simple one, but very important to the discussion here. In hostile urbanizing environments cinema points the way home. With its restoration of the colours and qualities of everyday life it leads us through 'paths that wind through the thicket of things' (ibid.: 309). Kracauer's theory reveals how cinema provides for a new and vivid aestheticization or enchantment of the everyday. As Gilloch (2015: 198) construes, '[t]his should be understood not as some reactionary de-politicization or spurious mystification but rather as a critical recuperation, rejuvenation and replenishment of human appreciation and sensitivity'. The capacity of cinema to provide an aesthetic of everyday urban life that, in turn, has potentially transformative effects is one of the critical issues explored in this current study.

As seen above, many of the most influential accounts of the visual potentials of cinema make fairly modest claims about the 'political' impacts of cinema. More recently, Rancière (2014: 2) states that 'the greatness of cinema lay not in the metaphysical high-mindedness of its subject or the visual impact of its plastic effects, but in an imperceptible difference in

the ways of putting traditional stories and emotions into image'. Cinema restores links between art, narrative and emotion. It not only arranges actions into a meaningful fable but also discovers 'the splendour that the most commonplace objects could acquire on a lighted screen [...]' (ibid.: 3). In this way, cinema is not an ironic or disillusional art form. In a positive sense, it reveals the impurity of art, the idea that art could ever exist as pure form. According to Rancière, the technical side of cinema vanishes in the moment of projection. Its effects are transformed through memory and words to make cinema a shared world beyond the materiality of its projections. Rancière (2007: 34) claims that images have the power to create a *common history;* that cinema can be an operation of communalization. And yet at the same time, cinema is a means of 'confronting the unshareable, the fissure that has separated an individual from himself' (Rancière 2014: 139). In this respect, cinema provides a surface from which the experiences of the marginalized, the uncounted or the invisible may be ciphered in forms that are comprehensible by the many. Rancière's conclusion, however, is that moving images of a social situation are not sufficient to comprise a political art (ibid.: 127). Cinema cannot instigate radical change on its own. It always seems to say '[t]hese are the limits of what I can do. The rest is up to you.' (ibid.: 15).

Belief in the transformative power of urban cinema may nowadays seem somewhat tragic. This is especially the case when 'the city' itself is under erasure. Donald (1995: 92) suggests that 'the city' is better understood as a 'historically specific mode of seeing, a structure of visibility [...]' (ibid.). This mode of seeing, for such a long time a staple of the social imaginary, is being challenged by a contemporary urban reality that no longer conforms to expectations. The 'cityist' mode of seeing that Donald invokes incorporates analytical notions of the city such as those espoused by Benjamin or De Certeau, but also the fantastic visions of the city created by cinema. In fact, Donald goes as far as to suggest that both 'the city' and 'cinema' are slipping into history: '[s]patial organisation is increasingly determined by global information flows; the analytics and oneirics of cinema are becoming less powerful than the apparatus of visibility inscribed in and by television, video and multimedia' (ibid.: 93). These are provocative and interesting theses returned to in later chapters.

To summarize, the politics of cinema—its ability to project the material world back to the spectator in ways that have not been achieved previously—are played in a minor key. The strength of cinema is to alert viewers to aspects of the world that had previously gone unnoticed or were not

recognized as important aspects of urban reality. One important outcome is that the urban spaces that we are accustomed to, space appear to hold us back in our daily lives, are re-enchanted and suddenly appear full of possibilities. In its ability to circulate such images of the urban to wide audiences, cinema overcomes the urban fragmentation that negatively impacts upon social life. Despite increasing scepticism as to whether the city–cinema nexus is nowadays historically valid, cinema arguably still remains the art form most able to create a common urban culture and history.

The City Image

There exists a separate branch of literature that, while not explicitly concerned with the cinema, takes as its object of scrutiny the image of the city. Discussions about 'city image' these days are usually concerned with city branding (e.g. Avraham 2004; Richards and Wilson 2004). Cinema itself is sometimes imbricated in such discussions with regard to raising the profile and marketability of a city within a competitive urban environment. As Harvey (1989: 293) points out, in neoliberal capitalism, 'the image of places and spaces becomes as open to production and ephemeral use as any other'. Nostalgia for the modern city can be positioned against boosterism or it can support attempts to market the city. Rapid urban change can result in the reversion to images of a lost past, hence the growing importance of 'city' museums or an intensifying fascination with urban ruins (ibid. : 286). Yet progressive city images are *not only* oriented towards the past. They also project towards the future by striving to 'attain something not yet present' (Lefebvre 2014b: 582). Images are prospectors in the 'distant territory of what is possible and what is impossible' (ibid.). Images of the city should not only be considered illusory but rather as a constitutive part of future urbanization processes.

As has been established, the symbolic dimensions of the city are very much entangled with its materialized social relations (Balshaw and Kennedy 2000: 5). Prakash (2010: 2) argues that even if we do not always realize it, visuality is integral to our knowledge and practice of everyday life. City images make the city 'present', even where it may be absent; they also make the city mobile, allowing it to 'communalize' beyond its actual territory. Images shape how cities feel and how we feel about cities (Pile 2005: 2). As Bender (2007: 219) explains, visual representations of cities are also representations of a 'public' or civic culture. Lefebvre (2003: 116) captures this when he explains:

> If the city is always a spectacle for itself, viewed from on a terrace, a tower, a hilltop, a vantage point (a high point that is the *elsewhere* where the urban reveals itself), it is not because the spectacular perceives a picture that is outside reality, but because her glance is consolidating. It is the very form of the urban, revealed.

This passage is not explicitly concerned with the image of the city as such, but it is about 'seeing' the city from a particular vantage point where the city, the form of urban, becomes visible. This view—an image of the city no less—is a spectacle in the sense that the living city 'below' is separated from it. It is impossible for this image of the city to be lived *as a whole*. But the image, in this instance, is not a source of alienation. It is not 'unreal' or illusory. The image of the city reveals the forms of centrality that urban life is composed around and in so doing *consolidates* a sense of cityness. It generates a sense of belonging or purpose. It can instil the desire to be a part of something and to act in ways that enhance rather than derogate the form. As Castoriadis (1987: 373) argues, society is not only concerned with knowing itself; the ultimate goal is for society (or the city) to escape the self-alienation of the imaginary and to *make* itself. In this sense, the image can act similarly to the dis-alienating effects identified by Jameson in his concept of 'cognitive mapping'. Through its attempt to 'capture' the form of the urban, the image of the city captured from a vantage point where the form of the urban reveals itself can also be understood as a utopic view, a view that *makes sense* of the fragmentation of urban life, urban knowledges and forms of exchange (Lefebvre 2003: 72).

Dimendberg (2004) writes about the importance of images of the city in relation to the production and maintenance of centripetal urban space in the mid-twentieth century. His analysis is more historically grounded, focusing on the crisis of centripetal space that can be detected in the nostalgia for public urban space in film noir of the 1940s. Dimendberg states, '[a]lthough parks and other public gathering places had not altogether disappeared, their ability to foster genuine collective life could no longer be taken for granted in an age of mass media, decentralization, and automobility'(ibid.: 109). The urban core, acting as a physical gathering point and a place of exchange, is offered as an antidote against the ills of 'alienation, boredom, and a lack of civic consciousness' (ibid.: 113). According to Dimendberg, the fearfulness over the loss of the city centre that gripped urbanists culminated in Kevin Lynch's (1960) famous book *The Image of the City*. Lynch (ibid.: 2) explains how '[…] a clear image enables one to move about easily and quickly […] But an ordered environ-

ment can do more than this; it may serve as a broad frame of reference, an organizer of activity or belief or knowledge'. Dimendberg argues that faced with a metropolis that appeared to be dissolving, 'a spatial practice of urban "cognitive mapping" grounded in the level of the pedestrian, become ubiquitous in both theoretical statements and film noir' (Dimendberg 2004: 109). In terms of the latter, this is evidenced by the many movies set in Times Square (New York City) or Bunker Hill (Los Angeles), or films that feature recognizable landmarks such as train stations or bridges. The image of the city is therefore important in bringing legibility not only to cinematic narrative but also to urban space itself.

All of the above appears to focus on the benefits of the image of the city for the individual, especially the anxious individual who is seeking refuge from complexity or impending urban change. But, as Lynch (1960: 2) also argues, '[a] vivid and integrated physical setting, capable of producing a sharp image, plays a social role as well'. Lynch's social role appears on the face of it to be a conservative one; to promote *group solidarity*. Sennett (1990), however, suggests that images of the city can also be part of a process of 'opening up' and 'opening out'. He warns that an over-riding focus on centrality can inhibit urban life:

> To care about what one sees in the world leads to mobilizing one's creative powers. In the modern city, these creative powers ought to take on a particular and humane form, turning people outward. Our culture is in need of an art of exposure; this art will not make us one another's victims, rather more balanced adults, capable of coping with and learning from complexity. (Sennett 1990: xiv)

Images of the city can then—or rather *ought*—in the age of planetary urbanization, not to search for a centre or to visually fabricate one where it does not exist. The artist or director need not be concerned with looking 'inward', with maintaining an illusion of centripetal space. This is to fall foul of cultural cityism. Greater social gains can be made by exposing spaces that audiences did not know existed, by turning urban people and urban places outwards.

Conclusion

This chapter began by examining recent scholarship that is useful in understanding the relationship between sociology and cinema. Scholars such as Diken and Laustsen and Highmore reject hasty dismissals of

the relevance of cinema for sociology on the grounds that it only provides a fictional depiction of reality. Rather, it is suggested that cinema is a useful mode of analysis in (urban) sociology, especially in terms of accessing multiple readings of the city, readings that contribute to the *thick* meanings and experiences of cities and urban spaces. A large part of the chapter dealt with cinema–city nexus and the various ways this has been theorized. This discussion began by examining how the imaginary and actual aspects of the city exist in relation to each other, before considering specific issues such as narrative and mobility and space and history. This exposition culminated in an attempt to insert cinema into Lefebvre's (1991) production of space triad. The purpose of this exercise was to add some clarity regarding the 'productive' powers of urban cinema (and representational spaces, more generally). In the next section, it was suggested—following Benjamin, Kracauer and Rancière—that while cinema's contribution to the production of space is relatively modest (though not insignificant), cinema should be recognized for its ability to reveal the details of urban space in ways that throw open the viewers' sense of the possible. Cinema can (re)enchant the overfamiliar and unfamiliar sights and sites of our everyday urban lives, revealing them to be full of forms of practical engagement not previously considered possible. The chapter concludes by considering the role that the image of the city plays—beyond cinema—in organizing urban space and our experience of it. Again, political questions come to the fore regarding whether such images can or indeed should strive for an out-moded centripetal 'wholeness' that, whilst reassuring, can no longer be assumed to be the spatial form that consolidates or directs our contemporary urban experience.

Note

1. There is certainly some irony to developing a Lefebvrian approach to the productive relationship between cinema and cities considering Lefebvre's argument that visual imagery is used to maintain the illusion of the transparency of space. Indeed, Lefebvre (1991: 96) argues that '[w]here there is error or illusion, the image is more likely to secrete it and reinforce it than to reveal it'. This position is tempered, though, by the suggestion that it is always possible for the tenderness or cruelty of an artist (or director) to transgress the limits of the image (ibid.: 97).

References

AlSayyad, N. (2006). *Cinematic urbanism: A history of the modern from reel to real*. London: Routledge.

Avraham, E. (2004). Media strategies for improving an unfavorable city image. *Cities, 21*(6), 471–479.

Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). *The dialogic imagination*. Texas: University of Texas Press.

Balshaw, M., & Kennedy, L. (2000). *Urban space and representation*. London: Pluto.

Beer, D. (2015). Editorial introduction. *Theory, Culture and Society (E-Special Issue: Fiction and Social Theory)*, doi:10.1177/0263276415595912, 1–11.

Bender, T. (2007). *The unfinished city: New York and the metropolitan idea*. New York: NYU Press.

Benjamin, W. (1999). *Illuminations*. London: Pimlico.

Borden, I. (2001). *The unknown city: Contesting architecture & social space*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Bottici, C., Challand, B. T., & Challand, B. (Eds.) (2011). *The politics of imagination*. New York: Routledge.

Castoriadis, C. (1987). *The imaginary institution of society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Clark, T. J. (1984). *The painting of modern life: Paris in the art of Manet and his followers*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Clarke, D. (Ed.) (1997). *The Cinematic City*. London: Routledge.

Corkin, S. (2011). *Starring New York: Filming the grime and glamour of the long 1970s*. New York: Routledge.

Diken, B., & Laustsen, C. B. (2008). *Sociology through the projector*. London: Routledge.

Dimendberg, E. (2004). *Film noir and the spaces of modernity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Donald, J. (1995). The city, the cinema: Modern spaces. In C. Jencks (Ed.), *Visual culture*. London: Routledge.

Frisby, D. (1985). *Fragments of modernity: Theories of modernity in the work of Simmel, Kracauer and Benjamin*. Cambridge: Polity.

Gilloch, G. (2015). *Siegfried Kracauer: Our companion in misfortune*. Cambridge: Polity.

Habermas, J. (1987). *The theory of communicative action* (Vol. 2). Boston: Beacon Press.

Hansen, M. B. (2012). *Cinema and experience: Siegfried Kracauer, Walter Benjamin, and Theodor W. Adorno*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Harvey, D. (1989). *The condition of postmodernity: An enquiry into the origins of cultural change*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Highmore, B. (2005). *Cityscapes: Cultural readings in the material and symbolic city*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Jameson, F. (2010). *Valences of the dialectic*. New York: Verso.
Kipfer, S. (2009). 'Introduction' in Lefebvre, H. *Dialectical Materialism*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
Koeck, R. (2013). *Cine|scapes: Cinematic spaces in architecture and cities*. London: Routledge.
Koeck, R., & Roberts, L. (2010). Introduction: Projecting the urban. In R. Koeck & L. Roberts (Eds.), *Urban projections: The city and the moving image*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Kracauer, S. (1960). *Theory of film: The redemption of physical reality*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Lefebvre, H. (1982). *The sociology of Marx*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The production of space*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Lefebvre, H. (2003). *The urban revolution*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
Lefebvre, H. (2009a). *Dialectical materialism*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
Lefebvre, H. (2009b). *State, space, world: Selected essays*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
Lefebvre, H. (2014b). *Critique of everyday life*. London: Verso.
Lynch, K. (1960). *The image of the city*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Massood, P. (2003). *Black city cinema: African American urban experiences in film*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
Mennel, B. (2008). *Cities and cinema*. New York: Routledge.
Merrifield, A. (2000). The dialectics of dystopia: Disorder and zero tolerance in the city. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 24*(2), 473–489.
Penz, F., & Lu, A. (2011). *Urban cinematics: Understanding urban phenomena through the moving image*. London: Intellect Books.
Pile, S. (2005). *Real cities: Modernity, space and the phantasmagorias of city life*. London: Sage.
Power, A. (1993). *Hovels to high rise: State housing in Europe since 1850*. Abingdon: Psychology Press.
Prakash, G. (2010). *Noir urbanisms: Dystopic images of the modern city*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Raban, J. (1974). *Soft city: What cities do to us, and how they change the way we live, think and feel*. London: Hamish Hamilton.
Rancière, J. (2004). *The politics of aesthetics*. London: Bloomsbury.
Rancière, J. (2006). *Film fables*. London: Bloomsbury.
Rancière, J. (2007). *The future of the image*. London: Verso.
Rancière, J. (2014). *The intervals of cinema*. London: Verso.
Richards, G., & Wilson, J. (2004). The impact of cultural events on city image: Rotterdam, cultural capital of Europe 2001. *Urban Studies, 41*(10), 1931–1951.

Sennett, R. (1990). *The conscience of the eye: The design and social life of cities.* London: Faber and Faber.

Schmid, C. (2008). Henri Lefebvre's theory of the production of space: Towards a three-dimensional dialectic. In K. Goonewardena, S. Kipfer, R. Milgrom, & C. Schmid (Eds.), *Space, difference, everyday life: Reading Henri Lefebvre* (pp. 27–45). London: Routledge.

Shiel, M. (2001). Cinema and the city in history and theory. In M. Shiel & T. Fitzmaurice (Eds.), *Cinema and the city: Film and urban studies in a global context.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Stanek, L. (2011). *Henri Lefebvre on space: Architecture, urban research, and the production of theory.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Taylor, C. (2004). *Modern social imaginaries.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Webber, A., & Wilson, A. (Eds.) (2008). *Cities in transition: The moving image and the modern metropolis.* London: Wallflower Press.

Žižek, S. (1989). *The sublime object of ideology.* London: Verso.

Žižek, S. (2008). Projector in the heart of the social. In B. Diken & C. B. Laustsen (Eds.), *Sociology through the projector.* London: Routledge.

CHAPTER 3

Urbanization and Migration: From City to Camp?

Abstract This chapter examines the notion of planetary urbanization, from its roots in the work of Henri Lefebvre through to more recent scholarship. It aims to consider how migration is connected with urbanization; to pick through different ways of conceptualizing this relationship. By examining the urbanization–migration nexus closely it becomes possible to scrutinize the role that *the migrant*, both as figure of the imagination and actualized individual, plays in contemporary urbanization and to contemplate the degree whether they are victims of urbanization, active producers of the urban or both. This chapter also introduces what Mikhail Bakhtin would call the 'real world' 'chronotopes of threshold' that are increasingly characteristic of the contemporary urban experience for migrants. These chronotopes of expansive urbanization, it is suggested here, are expressions of *breaks* or *crises* in urban experience.

Keywords Planetary urbanization • Migration • Camp • Inner city • Migrant • Cities • Dispersal

The first aim of this chapter is to examine the concept of planetary urbanization, from its roots in the work of Henri Lefebvre to more recent scholarship. The second aim is to consider how migration is connected with urbanization; to find a way of conceptualizing this relationship. It remains surprising that still relatively little work explicitly connects urbanization (and especially so-called planetary urbanization) with migration. Urbanization these days is

© The Author(s) 2016

G. Millington, *Urbanization and the Migrant in British Cinema*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-47399-8_3

often viewed as a techno-capitalist process or a series of interconnecting networks rather than as a process that is dependent (at least in part) upon human movement. By examining the urbanization–migration nexus more closely, it becomes possible to scrutinize the role that *the migrant*, both as figure of the imagination and actualized individual, plays in contemporary urbanization and to contemplate the degree to which whether they might be seen as victims of urbanization, active producers of the urban or both. This chapter does not deal explicitly with cinema but rather serves as an introduction to the contested nature of what Bakhtin (1981: 248) would call the real-world 'chronotopes of threshold' that are increasingly characteristic of the contemporary urban experience, especially for migrants. Such chronotopes—with sites such as the camp and the 'outer–inner city' considered in detail later in this chapter—may be considered expressions of *breaks* or *crises* in urban experience, in the materialization of time in space. Most importantly, they form the 'concretizing representations' for the narratives of each of the seven films analysed in Chaps. 4 and 5.

The chapter begins by examining the vexed relationship that exists between urban sociology and the city, ostensibly its prime analytical focus or object of enquiry. It then looks in considerable depth at Lefebvre's urban theory, focusing on his dialectic between the planetarization of the urban and urban society; his theories of implosion–explosion; centrality and differential space; and the dissolution of the city. The following section considers neo-Lefebvrian work on the topic of planetary urbanization. Within this discussion is a consideration of how changes in urban form—namely the dissolution of the city—necessitate a new urban politics that, at least in part, must flourish without the city and/or beyond any fondly held ideas of a central *agora*. From this point, the chapter moves on to consider the relationship between urbanization and migration. This section also introduces the spaces—or chronotopes—of contemporary, expansive urbanization such as the camp and outer–inner city.

Urban Sociology and the City

Recent questioning of the social scientific validity of the concept of 'the city' is not entirely unprecedented. In fact, urban sociology has long had a problem defining its proper theoretical object of study and identifying a social substance that is intrinsically urban. Famously, Castells (1977) bulldozed the intellectual basis of urban sociology as a scientific field of inquiry (see also Saunders 1981). Heavily influenced by Althusser's structuralism, Castells argued the

city is an ideological rather than scientific construct. All existing urban sociology lacked rigour he suggested, because it was premised upon common-sense notions such as 'community' or 'the city' or because it focused upon state-defined social problems. The argument ran that, if there is nothing socially distinctive about the urban, there is no reason to distinguish it analytically from the countryside or any other social milieu. Yet Castells did not wish to abandon urban sociology altogether. Cities are remain important, he argued, because they play a distinctive role in the organization of late capitalism. Cities function as centres of 'collective consumption'. In other words, they are the sites where public goods such as housing and education, hospitals and transport are consumed collectively in the greatest numbers. Castells argued it was around the fairness of the distribution of public services that urban politics and urban social movements could be formed. As Merrifield (2014: xii) explains, urban politics for Castells concerns how people organize into movements that express different agendas to official political parties. Such movements should exist to raise issues of neighbourhood resources, concerns about affordable housing and so forth. Yet almost as soon as the ink had dried on Castells' thesis, the state began its withdrawal of many 'necessary' services, heralding in the new 'lean' era of reduced public provisions in government that would later be recognized as neoliberalism. Nevertheless, following the influence of Castells, during the 1980s the so-called new urban sociology (see Saunders 1981; Pahl 1984) led a serious challenge to the ecological orthodoxy[1] that had previously dominated urban sociology and urban studies.

There were other aspects to this crisis of urban sociology. As Zukin (2011: 5) explains, if 'the city' had been at the centre of urban sociology from Simmel through to the Chicago School then the implicit relevance of the city and the urban became cut adrift from mainstream sociology by the population shift that occurred throughout the twentieth century—but especially in the post-WWII decades—as millions left the city for newly developed residential and industrial suburbs. The assumption that cities should be studied because they were the undisputed centres of social life was no longer valid.

Other than Castells structuralism, another 'way out' of the crisis of urban sociology for Marxism-minded scholars was the revelation that came via David Harvey's *Social Justice and the City* (1973) and *Limits to Capital* (1982) that urban space in capitalist societies was—just like any other commodity—*a product*. Urban space was not *simply space* (and nor was any kind of space for that matter). Rather than a given, it was produced. Indeed, it was these texts that prompted renewed interest in Lefebvre's work from the

1970s on the production of space (see also Soja 1989). Rather than being incidental to capitalist accumulation strategies, space is to be understood as an active 'moment' in this process; in Lefebvre's words, urban space is a 'product-producer', both a product and an instrument or site of struggle in the reproduction of class relations. As Merrifield (2014: 105) explains, Harvey's view is that '[u]rban struggles […] represent the most intense and amplified of class struggles: the arena of the social factory has now enlarged onto the whole productive plane of city itself'. The city then is not simply the location of struggle. Rather, due to its centrality to the whole process of accumulation within capitalism, it becomes a source of struggle in itself.

In a strong sense, it can be suggested that Marxist urban geography saved urban sociology. It's insistence on the role of urban space within a globalizing capitalist economy provided ample justifcation for the continued study of cities and urban life. Saskia Sassen, for example, demonstrates how the largest Western cities continue to operate as strategic sites where macro-sociological trends materialize. With echoes of Castells, Sassen (2001) suggests that globalized capitalism requires and consequently creates points of physical concentration for its centralized functions. Sassen views 'global cities' such as London, New York and Tokyo as command and control centres for global capitalism. Contrary to many assumptions, in a globalised economy and society location increases rather than decreases in importance. At the turn of the millennium, she argues, '[t]he city emerges once again as a strategic lens for the study of major macrosociological transformations as it was in the origins of urban sociology' (ibid.: 143). The city can no longer be located in a scalar hierarchy beneath the national, regional and global. Rather, the city 'is one of the spaces of the global, and it engages the global directly, often bypassing the national' (ibid.: 146). Sassen suggests that a select number of cities across the globe are now intimately connected with each other through flows of people, money and information without being geographically proximate. A defining feature of the global city is the polarization of occupational and wealth structures. This is accompanied by a sharpening of centralization and peripheralization. The global city has effectively become de-coupled from nation, region and also the majority of its residents. It is no longer governed to meet the social needs of inhabitants. As Brenner and Theodore (2002: 372) concur, the post-Fordist era has witnessed the destruction of the ideal of the liberal city in which all inhabitants can expect basic civil liberties, social services and political rights and the creation of a city dictated by measures such as zero-tolerance policing, discriminatory forms of surveillance and the coercive insertion of individuals into the labour market.

Henri Lefebvre and the Urban Revolution

Zukin (2011: 15) argues that we have come a long way from the point when the Chicago School believed the city was, in itself, 'a world'. Nowadays, we are more likely to view *the world as a city*, or at least to recognize the existence of an increasingly urban planet. As Madden (2012: 2) explains, there are 'no longer discrete urban islands [but rather a] sprawling worldwide urbia, massively uneven and unequal [...]'. Merrifield (2014: xi) states this is an urban world 'that knows no real borders yet seems everywhere to build walls'. Among critical scholars there seems to much agreement that capitalist urbanization produces paradoxical spaces that both open and close the potentials of the social world. The discussion proceeds by examining Lefebvre's foundational contribution to recent debates around planetary urbanization.

The Urbanization of the Planet/Urban Society

The Urban Revolution is an energizing book but it evades easy comprehension. It needs to be read alongside Lefebvre's other writings on the city and the urban if one is to gain a full sense of its meaning and force. Lefebvre's (2003) central hypothesis is that society has become completely urbanized (ibid.: 1). Urbanization is fundamentally a techno-capitalist process (practised by professional *urbanists*) that homogenizes, fragments and creates hierarchies within urban space. Urbanization is also a process of complexification that creates a series of conflicts and tensions (ibid.: 167). However, the critical point, which is Lefebvre's problematic, is that the spread of urbanization to the scale of the planetary lays the ground or sets a series of challenges through which an 'urban society'—a development that, on the whole, Lefebvre believes is a *good* thing—may emerge. Urban society therefore refers to 'tendencies, orientations and virtualities rather than any preordained reality' (ibid.: 2). Expansive urbanization raises urban society as a spectre or an 'illuminating virtuality' (ibid.: 16). In this way, the relationship between the two is dialectical. Urbanization and urban society contradict and presuppose each other.

It is worth being reminded why Lefebvre is so enamoured with urban life. Growing up in the medieval town of Navarrenx, in the Pyrenees, he appreciated the organic unity of his town's functions and the intimacy of its street life, which he saw slowly, over centuries, as shaping the 'shell' of the town: 'building and rebuilding it, modifying it again and

again and again according to its needs' (1962/2012: 116). He returns to these themes in *The Urban Revolution*, explaining how 'the conception of the urban [...] strives for the re-appropriation by human beings of their conditions in time, space, and in objects [...]' (Lefebvre 2003: 179). The urban, for Lefebvre, is not just a *space* but a set of social relations premised upon simultaneity, gathering, convergence and encounter (Lefebvre 1996: 131); it is a form of centrality that contains a 'kind of imaginary transcendence' (ibid.: 103). A fully realized urban society is a 'possible object' rather than a fact (Lefebvre 2003: 3). And yet, urban society cannot take shape until 'the end of a process during which the old urban forms [i.e. the city] burst apart' (ibid.: 2). The crux is that Lefebvre believes it is only within urban society, within everyday urban life, that a dis-alienated, productive, total humankind can be realized. For Lefebvre, urban society serves as a movement towards the concrete, towards an urban practice and an urban revolution. Urban society is a 'goal of action' (ibid.: 16), but 'to realise it—we must first overcome or break through the obstacles that make it impossible' (ibid.: 17). The growth of urbanization often acts as a hindrance to the development of urban society as *praxis* (ibid.: 3), yet it does not preclude this possibility.

Implosion–Explosion

Urbanization is a result of the concentrations or agglomerations of population and activity that necessarily accompany the capitalist mode of production. Since the industrial period, large cities have grown, or rather *concentrated*, to the point that they have exploded; a motion that gives rise to suburbs, industrial complexes and satellite cities (Lefebvre 2003: 4). In turn, this causes the 'urban fabric' to grow and extend its borders (ibid.). As Lefebvre (ibid.) explains, 'a vacation home, a highway, a supermarket in the countryside are all part of the urban fabric'. Lefebvre develops the notion of 'implosion-explosion' to describe how as cities achieve greater concentrations of property, speculation and (post)-industrial activity the traditional urban centre (existing throughout the eras of the political and merchant city until the industrial era) implodes, acting as a spur to the expansion, or 'explosion', of urban society causing 'the projection of numerous, disjunct fragments (peripheries, suburbs, vacation homes, satellite towns) into space' (ibid.: 14). The logic of centrality means that centres are inevitably also points of exclusion, 'the place of sacrifice [...] where accumulated energies, desirous of discharge, must eventually

explode' (Lefebvre 1991: 332). 'Full' centres exude an aura of finitude, promulgating a series of repressions that limit the potential of urban society. The city loses its sense of organic totality and its 'uplifting image' that had been developed over time. As the city undergoes dissolution, it becomes home instead to stipulative, authoritarian and repressive signs and codes (Lefebvre 2003: 14). One of the many problems created by expansive, explosive urbanization becomes how to build, or even imagine, the '"something" that replaces what was formerly the city?' (ibid.: 15). How—without the city—can urban society be born? Lefebvre (ibid.: 169) states that urban society cannot be constructed upon the ruins of the city. Rather it is upon the 'shaky foundation' provided by expansive urbanization that the urban must persevere (Lefebvre 1996: 129).

The effects of implosion–explosion are most felt during the age that we are currently living through; the era of the dissolution of the industrial city and the planetarization of the urban. Lefebvre (2003: 14) even has a name for this interregnum, which he calls 'the critical zone'. What is occurring, and which happens behind our backs so to speak, is that industrialization itself has become the dominated reality; dominated by its own product: the urban. This results 'in tremendous confusion during which the past and the possible, the best and the worst, become intertwined' (ibid.: 16). The city itself, with all its exclusions and privations, disappoints us. It has lost its vitality; it has become 'an historical entity' (ibid.: 57). The city is becoming a museum of itself. We are obsessed with the image of the city, with cityness, only because our actual urban reality—the ugly, uneven, divisive spread of technocratic and market-driven urbanization—is so socially and culturally impoverished.

Wachsmuth (2014) argues that in the absence of the historical reality of the city, intensified attraction to the concept of the city should be considered a fetish: 'the city-as-a-representation is not neutral or innocent, but rather is ideological, in the sense that its partiality helps obscure and reproduce relations of power' (ibid.: 76). The city, or at least what now appears to be the city, exists merely as an ideological form. In Lefebvre's (2003: 57) words, the city has become a 'pseudoconcept'. Yet the decline of the city is by no means a simple matter; rather, 'the urban core (an essential part of the image and the concept of the city) splits open and yet maintains itself [...]' (Lefebvre 1996: 74 emphasis added). The core, the centre—the very image of cityness—is maintained through monuments, museums, commerce and bureaucracy. There are also an abundance of cinematic images of the city that extend the 'life' of the city. The point

though, which coheres well with earlier discussions of the spectre of the city, is that as the historical form of the city is superseded by a more expansive urbanization, the city becomes a phantom, or shadow of urban reality (Lefebvre 2003: 35): '[…] An image or representation of the city can perpetuate itself, survive its conditions, inspire an ideology and urbanist projects. In other words the "real" sociological "object" is an image and an ideology!' (Lefebvre 2003: 57). If we are looking for an appropriate *urban sociological* object, then look no further than the image or ideology of the city.

Centrality and Differential Space

For Lefebvre the essential aspect of the urban is 'a centrality that is understood in conjunction with the dialectical movement that creates or destroys it' (2003: 116). Any point in space can become a centre. Yet centres require content. Centres attract a heterogeneous array of people and objects: '[p]iles of objects and products in warehouses, mounds of fruit in the marketplace, crowds, pedestrians, goods of various kinds, juxtaposed, superimposed, accumulated—this is what makes the urban urban' (ibid.). Centres require '[…] objects, natural or artificial beings, things, products and works, signs and symbols, people, acts, situations, practical relationships' (Lefebvre 1991: 331). Centrality implies simultaneity; it is the result of 'everything' susceptible of accumulating around a point, at a moment in time (ibid.: 332). Centrality also creates a certain kind of experience: a feeling of exhiliration, of being part of an ongoing and unceasing 'event'. Lefebvre (2003: 117) suggests that '[…] centrality, an aspect of mathematics, is also an aspect of drama'. The urban centre is a place of encounter, assembly, simultaneity; it is a source of 'attraction' and 'life' (ibid.). It is for these reasons that cinema has remained so fascinated with cities. In drawing events, objects, characters, setting into its frame, cinema mimics and communicates the essential drama of the city.

Integral to any emancipatory understanding of the urban is the notion of 'differential space'. This refers to how:

> [T]he differences that are established in space do not come from space as such but from that which settles there, that which is assembled and confronted by and in the urban reality. Contrasts, oppositions, superpositions and juxtapositions replace separation, spatio-temporal distances. (Lefebvre 2003: 125)

This passage establishes how space contains no essential properties of its own, but rather the character of space emerges from how different elements make sense of each other and themselves within this milieu. This is not necessarily a harmonious process—in fact it is far more likely to result in conflict—but it is certainly the case that the urban transforms whatever it brings together (ibid.: 175). This is why Lefebvre (1996: 109) believes the rhythms of the urban can be 'heard' as music. Difference also defines the urban as a place of both desire (need) and culture, with the two acting alternately together and in opposition, a process that results not only in self-criticism but also impassioned dialogues (Lefebvre 2003: 176). Always acting against the realization of differential space are 'urbanist' or technocratic attempts at separation and segregation. Such attempts are made in the name of instilling order or managing the anxiety that comes from heterogeneity, but their result is always to mitigate against the development of urban society, that which encourages 'the regrouping of differences in relation to each other' (Lefebvre 1996: 151).

Ash Amin (2012) is sceptical about the belief that the co-presence of strangers in urban space deepens self-knowledge. This is not because such forms of belonging are unimportant or impossible but because the sharing of urban public space does not, in itself, result in strong social ties or a deep understanding of the other. Moreover, he argues, the progressive city is forged more through co-operation between strangers. It is only then, through *doing things*—by engaging in productive activity together—that a deep sense of trust between strangers can be forged. The opportunities for migrants and 'hosts' to (re-)make urban places *together*—in the fragmented sites of the outer–inner city—are therefore fundamentally important for the realization of the urban society that Lefebvre pins so much hope on. Such a programme of activity necessarily relies upon *circulation* rather than segregation. This is why Amin is so taken with the metaphor of 'ventilation'. Urban spaces, he suggests, should be 'breathable'. Oxygen needs to enter, but something must be released into the open too. People need to work together to produce urban spaces that draw others towards them; to create spaces that *communicate*. Urban places need to see themselves 'as part of a wider public culture which imagines community as open and heterogeneous' (ibid.: 81).

The Dissolution of the City

In 2014, one of Lefebvre's last ever essays—originally published in *Le Monde Diplomatique* in 1989—was translated into English and repub-

lished. The article, titled 'Dissolving City, Planetary Metamorphosis', begins on a melancholy note, with Lefebvre stating: '[s]everal decades ago, the urban—viewed as the sum of productive practices and historical experiences—was seen as the vehicle for new values and an alternative civilization. Such hopes are fading […]' (Lefebvre 2014a: 203). As urban centres are gentrified or simply become the property of an elite, global bourgeoisie (with exchange value dominating over use value), as they are turned over to power and decision-making, consumerism, monumentality and museumification, this acts as a spur to a more expansive urbanization, an explosion of urbanized space that destroys analytical distinctions between city, town and rural life. Echoing his thesis in *The Urban Revolution*, Lefebvre is adamant that 'the more the city has extended, the more its social relations deteriorate'. There was a time, he laments, when centres *were* active and productive and belonged to the workers. This, regretfully, is no longer the case. Those workers and immigrants banished to the periphery and those dispossessed of the centre—to uniform 'new towns' or anonymous suburbs—return to the city only as tourists, experiencing the city during empty and unscheduled leisure time. The peripheries to which they return after a day or evening of leisure are homogenous yet always fragmented according to social class (or 'racial', or ethnic) hierarchies. The upshot of all this is rather depressing; that 'the urban, conceived and lived as social practice, is in the process of deteriorating and perhaps disappearing' (ibid.: 204). For Lefebvre, cities are no longer up to the task of providing a cradle, or morphological base, for urban life. Lefebvre is an intensely dialectical thinker so it is no surprise that his analysis does not end here. He is also concerned with thinking through the possibilities of overcoming the constraints of everyday life in this expanding, urbanized—yet *non-urban*—milieu. Developing our productive potentials as human beings in this fragmented landscape is, for Lefebvre, a central political issue of our time.

This section has examined the detail and consequences of the aspects of Lefebvre's urban theory that are relevant for this project. It began by examining how the urbanization of the planet produces conditions through which a more social and culturally rich global urban society may be forged. It then discussed how urbanization is composed of moments of implosion and explosion. This not only involves the expansion of the urban but also, potentially, the creation of yet more, alternative forms of urban centrality. The critical question, for Lefebvre, is whether these emergent spaces are permitted to become differential spaces that communicate and connect with each other to forge an *urban society*. Explosion

also entails that the image of the city becomes more and more important in organizing our perception of the urban world. Perhaps it is a symbol of what we miss; what we long for. Fascination with the image and concept of the city can increasingly be considered, within the context of expansive urbanization, as a fetish.

Planetary Urbanization

Recent work on planetary urbanization builds from Lefebvre's original thesis, although it is fair to say that certain aspects of his thesis have been explored at the expense of others. Much work has scrutinized the continued, and at times uncritical, focus on 'the city' as the primary unit of analysis that has continued in urban studies. As Brenner (2013) argues, the urban—and indeed urban theory—no longer has 'an outside' against which it can be defined. Meili (2014: 103), for example, claims that the regions of Switzerland once categorized as 'nature' have now become part of the city. In suggesting the Matterhorn has become an 'urban mountain', he claims that '[…] the overlapping of different things as well as the multiplication of the functional and symbolic meaning of the Alps give much of this region a complexity that is equivalent to the urban context'. Brenner and Schmid (2014: 161–2) point to the creation of new scales of urbanization and the blurring and rearticulation of urban territories of the past. One of the major consequences of this is the 'disintegration of the hinterland' and/or the 'end of the wilderness'. They argue:

> […] the world's oceans, alpine regions, the equatorial rainforests, major deserts, the arctic and polar zones and even the earth's atmosphere itself, are increasingly interconnected with the rhythms of planetary urbanization at every geographical scale, from the local to the global. (ibid.: 162)

There is much insistence that such spaces should rightly be considered urban. A great deal of effort has gone into locating ostensibly 'non-urban' spaces across the planet that need to be reassessed as 'urban'. This, it is suggested here, has often been at the expense of identifying the social, cultural and political challenges posed by contemporary forms of expansive urbanization.

Brenner (2013: 102) explains implosion–explosion in terms of two dialectically intertwined moments of concentration and extension. He argues that urban theory has tended to be preoccupied with the former, with agglomeration, whereas less attention has been devoted to how agglom-

eration is premised upon, and contributes to global transformations of socio-spatial organization. This occurs in the construction of dense webs of relations between concentrated centres (global cities, megacities etc.) and other places, territories and scales such as peripheral cities, towns and villages, transportation corridors, transoceanic shipping lanes, underground landscapes of resources extraction and so on. The product of intensified agglomeration is therefore a radiated, extended and intensely interconnected form of urbanization that implodes back into sites of concentration as it unfolds. Centres and peripheries of urbanization are, in this sense, dialectically related, woven together in a dense urban fabric 'that manifests itself in undergrowth as well as overgrowth, in abandonment as well as well as overcrowding, in underdevelopment as well as overdevelopment' (Merrifield 2014: x). Within this fabric, distinctions between inner city and suburb and city and countryside have become increasingly redundant.

With reference to the moment of extension, scholars concur that urbanization is increasing its reach. Urban society can no longer be organized solely around 'the city'; rather this new urban fabric 'outstrips our cognitive and sensory facilities; the mind boggles at the sensory overload that today's urban process places upon us' (Merrifield 2013: 911). For Brenner (2013: 92) the fragmentation and dispersal of urban realities is replicated uncritically within urban studies. Concrete investigations of city phenomena such as culture, diversity or housing continue to be written but these constitute a 'blind field' in the sense that the underlying process of planetary urbanization remains obscured from view (ibid.: 91). This line of argument is taken up by Angelo and Wachsmuth (2015: 24) who argue that urban studies is beset by the problem of 'methodological cityism', a research agenda in which the city implicitly (but erroneously) remains the privileged lens for studying contemporary processes of urbanization that are not limited to the city.

The most cogent articulation of Lefebvre's essential problematic comes from David Harvey (1996) in his article 'Cities or Urbanization?' Here, Harvey argues that an obsession with seeing the city as 'a thing' marginalizes our sense of urbanization as a *process* (and arguably cinema has been just as guilty of this as urban studies). Harvey argues that the simple 'doughnut' form of inner city decay surrounded by suburban affluence has been replaced by a 'complex checkerboard of segregated and protected wealth in an urban soup of equally segregated impoverishment and decay' (ibid.: 39). The problem, he suggests (ibid.: 49), is that we lack an adequate language or conceptual apparatus to comprehend contemporary urbanization.

Unlike more recent work on planetary urbanization Harvey is absolutely clear that the movement of people is integral to the urbanization process.

The driving force behind movement is globalizing capitalism. Hence, the forces that made cities grow in the past still need to be understood if there is to be any comprehension of contemporary expansive urbanization. The most pertinent question of all is what were the constraints to urban growth that limited the size of cities in the past and what happened to release urbanization from these limitations? Here, Harvey points to how capitalism as a mode of production has always been concerned with the overcoming of spatial barriers and the restraints of particularities of location. Capitalism has long sought to annihilate space through time, resulting in waves of technological innovations designed to provide new possibilities for expansion or 'growth'. As such, it is not surprising that the restraints to urbanization have been eroded.

Harvey agrees with Lefebvre that urbanization is an uneven process. The manner and style of urbanization varies greatly and depends upon contingent factors such as how urbanization is proposed, opposed and eventually realized. There are two ways, he suggests, to view urbanization. These are not necessarily antithetical. The first is in terms of capital accumulation, whereby urbanization is the product of 'accumulation for accumulation's sake' and 'production for production's sake'. Urbanization is simply the unthinking, unfettered realization of the technological possibilities created by capitalist forces. This process includes 'the dialectic of attraction and repulsion' that capital accumulation demonstrates for different sites within the fabric of urbanization. Different forms of capital (e.g. financial capital, industrial-manufacturing capital, statist capital, agro-business capital) have radically varying needs and forage the uneven web of urbanization for purposes of capital accumulation. This leads to acts of creative destruction whereby old, devalued markets are revisited for a more thorough exploitation. Or, as Marx explained, old productive forces are destroyed and new markets are identified for conquest. This should be understood as an internal contradiction that is intrinsic to the dynamics of capital accumulation; a contradiction that as it is played out creates the process of urbanization.

The second way of understanding urbanization is in terms of 'the popular [...] seizure of the possibilities that capitalist technologies have created' (ibid.: 48). This involves 'the vast historical migrations of labour in response to capital, from one region to another if not one continent to another' (ibid.). Such movements are often prompted by the desire to take advantage of capitalist-produced opportunities. Usually this is because people have little choice; in fact, they may have been dispossessed themselves by waves of capital investment or disinvestment. Sometimes though people move simply out of hope, even if they run the risk of experiencing

'economic conditions that are just as, if not more appalling than, those left behind' (ibid.). Movements of people across the globe contribute to informal economies that function as feeding grounds for more conventional forms of capitalist exploitation and accumulation. Population flows into major Western cities produce some 'wonderfully instructive contrasts' at the very heart of the capitalist city:

> [w]ithin earshot of Bow Bells in London […] one finds the extraordinary power of international finance capital moving funds almost instantaneously rounds the world cheek by jowl with a substantial Bengali population (largely unemployed in any conventional sense), which has built a strong migratory bridge into the heart of capitalist society in search of new possibilities in spite of rampant racism and increasingly low wage, informal and temporary working possibilities. (ibid.: 48)

Written a decade later, and revealing Harvey's analysis to be incisive, May et al. (2007) explore the emergence of a new 'migrant division of labour' in London, revealing how in 'global' London a disproportionate number of London's low-paid jobs are now filled by foreign-born workers. In outlining the relationship between migration and urbanization, Harvey (1996) points out how the reserve army of labour created by movements of people becomes an active vehicle for capital accumulation by lowering wages, but that the movements of people develop a momentum all of their own (despite the attempts of authorities to 'control' immigration). In evaluating capital and migration as contradictory 'drivers' of urbanization, Harvey (ibid.: 48) argues that movements of people 'have as much if not greater significance in shaping urbanization in the twenty first century as the powerful dynamic of unrestrained capital mobility and accumulation'.

At the heart of Harvey's analysis is the point that 'the thing' we call the city is the outcome of a process that we call 'urbanization' (ibid.: 51). This raises the epistemological and ontological problem of whether we prioritize 'the process' or 'the thing' and whether or not it is possible to separate the process (urbanization) from the things embodied in it (the city). Urbanization must be understood 'not in terms of some socio-organizational entity called "the city" but as the production of specific and quite heterogeneous spatiotemporal forms embedded within different kinds of social action' (ibid.: 53). Harvey's proposal is a dialectical way of thinking in which (a) processes are regarded as more fundamental than things; and (b) processes are always mediated through the things they produce, sustain and dissolve.

The influence of Harvey's article is considerable, not least on Brenner (2013: 98) who also argues that urbanization should be understood as a socio-spatial process rather than a specific site or settlement type. Brenner's quest is to conceive of an investigation of the 'constitutive essences' of urbanization, 'the processes through which the variegated landscapes of modern capitalism are produced' (ibid.: 99). And yet, despite the influence of Harvey's paper on Brenner and other 'planetary urbanizationists' and the emphasis that he places in this paper on migration as an urbanizing kind of *social action*, there is scant consideration in the existing literature on planetary urbanization as to how migration might still be considered a fundamental constitutive essence of urbanization.

Urban Society and Praxis: Emancipatory Potentials

Planetary urbanization produces new vectors of inequality and social struggle. These not only concern class, 'race' and gender but also involve contestations around citizenship and space. This has implications for Lefebvre's (1996) influential notion (and contemporary rallying cry) of the 'right to the city': a 'superior right' concerned with inhabiting, appropriating and actively contributing to the city as *oeuvre*. The right to the city also implies the right to difference (or unity through difference) and the right to expression and play. And yet, if the city really is at the point of dissolution, then what point or value is the right to it? As Stanek (2011: 234) explains, in his later work Lefebvre began to theorize a new concept of citizenship that conceives difference and equality together, along with changes to the structure of the labour force, urbanization on a global scale and the theory of self-management (*autogestion*). Lefebvre (2014a) notes how the city dweller exists in constant motion; how urban relations have become increasingly internationalized, not only in terms of immigration but also due to the emerging sense of globality that emerges through technology and telecommunications. Given these shifts, Lefebvre calls for a reformulation of our notion of the right to the city, concluding that '[t]he right to the city implies nothing less than a revolutionary concept of citizenship'. In the absence of the city, but in light of the emergence of urban society on a global scale, the right to the city implies a radical transformation of everyday life; it implies the production of new urban spaces and alternative forms of centrality.

Other theorists have also pointed to how generalized urbanization alters the basis of urban politics. As urban spaces emerge, change or

decline, so does their potential significance as pivot for the practice of radical forms of citizenship. As Harvey (1996: 53) suggests, 'the production of spatio-temporalities within social processes is perpetually changing the horizon of social possibilities'. Soja and Kanai (2014: 157) point to how as urbanization spreads across the globe, new struggles and new movements emerge to deal with local effects such as poverty and inequality as well as environmental issues. These struggles, *in themselves*, are productive of space. This is why Madden (2012: 11) interprets Lefebvre's right to the city not as a return to the historic centre but as a challenge 'for urban inhabitants to develop new spaces, institutional forms, and political frames'. Merrifield (2012: 918) is also willing to reconfigure Lefebvre's formulation, explaining: '[…] the more urbanization continues to carpet over the whole world, the more encounters are likely to take place, and the more a politics of the encounter will punctuate and define our urban landscape of the future' (original emphasis). Moreover, 'In encountering one another, people produce space, urban space; *they become urban people*' (ibid.: emphasis added). In the tradition of critical theory these writers suggest, like Lefebvre, that negation is always an immanent possibility of urbanization.

An important issue to consider is that Lefebvre's vision of a polycentric urban society that privileges other forms of centrality than those that espouse only wealth and power, remains, during the current ambivalent stage of uneven planetary development, a distant dream (see Millington 2016b). Global financial 'supercentres' such as London are increasing in their dominance. Their influence on global power geometries far exceeds their liveability as cities. Effectively, the global city becomes a 'gilded ghetto', of which 'London is an instructive, perhaps the pre-eminent, exemplar given its highest concentration per capita of billionaires and super-wealthy households' (Atkinson and Burrows 2014). While cities like London or New York City concentrate all forms of capital to historically unprecedented levels (economic, symbolic, cultural and political, to use Bourdieu's formulation), the periphery, hinterlands or slums become examples of heterotopy, referring to 'the other place, the place of the other, simultaneously excluded and interwoven' (Lefebvre 2003: 128). These transformations result in a bland politics of consensus in the metropolis—as opposed to the dissent which writers such as Swyngedouw (2009, 2011) assert is essential for a truly political city to flourish—while also denying *other*, or heterotopic, urban spaces the visibility and recognition they require for a revolutionary urban citizenship and politics to emerge.

Urbanization and the Migrant

In this section, attention moves away from literature concerned solely with urbanization and/or urban politics to consider how uneven geographical development, and the distinct localities produced through such a process, provides a range of stimuli to migration and human movement. As Perrons (2009: 219) suggests, 'individuals, families or households, sometimes aided by government migration schemes at origin or destination, respond to "push-pull" factors, wage differences, or more broadly to the relationship between their specific circumstances and differential spatial opportunities'. Inequalities between global regions and within nations and even cities are wide and increasing. Geographical differentiation has increased at the same time that capital has become more and more centralized. This inequality creates both opportunities and restrictions to movement as people search for an affordable, welcoming place in the world. In particular, global city regions such as London act as magnets for both skilled and unskilled workers. Vertovec (2007) has devised the term 'super-diversity' to describe the novel characteristics of migration into London since the 1990s and to differentiate these flows from migration from the Caribbean and Indian subcontinent in the post-WWII decades:

> In the last decade the proliferation and mutually conditioning effects of additional variables shows that it is not enough to see diversity only in terms of ethnicity, as is regularly the case both in social science and the wider public sphere. Such additional variables include differential immigration statuses and their concomitant entitlements and restrictions of rights, divergent labour market experiences, discrete gender and age profiles, patterns of spatial distribution, and mixed local area responses by service providers and residents. Rarely are these factors described side by side. The interplay of these factors is what is meant here […] by the notion of 'super-diversity'.

The historical novelty of migration in the 2000s is not only concerned then with ethnic diversity, but concerns other issues too, such as a new diversity in patterns of spatial distribution and settlement.

In understanding the relation between cities, urbanization and migration, Çağlar and Glick Schiller (2015) argue that much past and current research places migrants outside of city making or locality making. Segregation, dispersal or ghettoization are viewed as mechanisms that marginalize migrants and exclude them from participating as actors in a range of local dynamics (ibid.: 3). Their argument is that by 'highlighting

processes of capital accumulation that currently are *encompassing people everywhere* within mechanisms of dispossession, displacement and emplacement allow us to set aside the assumptions of binary difference between migrants and non-migrants' (ibid.: 4 added emphasis). Everybody, they suggest, is now caught up within the churn of capitalist urbanization. For Çağlar and Glick Schiller, it is the three concepts of dispossession, displacement and emplacement that provide the analytical tools with which to situate the relationships between migrants and cities/urban localities of varying power (ibid.: 5). These concepts are entangled with—no less *products of*—the restructuring and positioning of localities and the accumulation of capital. In breaking away from the migrant/native binary, it is important to acknowledge how all of us 'are subject to the forces of dispossession and displacement and it is by being part of these processes that people in various localities search for ways to construct sociabilities of emplacement' (ibid.). This latter term—emplacement—refers to 'the relationship between the continuing restructuring of place within multiscalar networks of power and a people's efforts, within the barriers and opportunities of a specific locality, to settle and build networks of connection' (ibid.: 5–6). Emplacement is therefore a fragmented, localized experience. Çağlar and Glick Schiller argue that 'urban restructuring and migrant displacement and emplacement are part of a single globe spanning process [that produces] instances of [...] the neoliberal process of the destruction and reconstitution of capital' (ibid.: 6). This reintroduction of migration into an understanding of planetary urbanization, along similar lines to those envisaged by Harvey, is long overdue.

Thomas Nail (2015: 1) states that the twenty-first century will be the century of the migrant. There are over one billion migrants and each decade the percentage of migrants as a share of the total population will continue to rise. Migration is increasingly necessary because of environmental, economic and political instability. All migration, Nail suggests, involves expulsion (which may be composed of the deprivation of territorial, political, judicial or economic rights), yet not all migrants are alike in their movement. For some, movement is about opportunity, recreation and profit with only a temporary expulsion. For others, movement is both hazardous and constrained. Their social expulsions are more severe and permanent. Nail (ibid.: 2) offers that 'most people fall somewhere on this migratory spectrum between the two poles of "inconvenience" and "incapacitation"'. Some migrants choose to move but they do not get to decide the social conditions of their movement or the degree to which they might be expelled from certain social

orders as a consequence. In this sense, migration is never *entirely free* or *entirely forced*. Rather than understanding the migrants through his or her *stasis*, as a figure who is denied place-bound social membership, the migrant should be understood through his or her own defining feature: movement. Recognizing the primacy of movement should not be mistaken for any kind of glib celebration (ibid.: 4), the kind that one sometimes detects in discussions of transnational urbanism (e.g. Smith 2000).

Since the ancient world migrants have been forced to move because of their dispossession from the land. In capitalism, this is more likely to take the form of 'accumulation by dispossession' or the plundering of rights to land, resources and products of labour (see Harvey 2003). Nail admits that each dispossession is historically unique but all share a common social kinetic function:

> Today, migrant farmworkers are expelled by industrial agricultural indigenous peoples are expelled from their native lands by war and forced into the mountains, forests or 'wastelands'; and island peoples are expelled from their territory by the rising tides of climate change. [...] [W]hat all these migrants share is a specific social kinetic form of territorial expulsion that first rose to prominence in early historical nomadism. (Nail 2015: 6–7)

Expulsion is a centrifugal movement that drives out; it involves the deprivation of social status. But expulsion is also a form of expansion, a 'process of opening up that allows something to pass through'; moreover, it signals 'both an intensive and extensive increase in the conjunction of new flows and a broadening of social circulation' (ibid.: 36). Nail is careful to explain how expulsion is—or at least can be—negated by the capacity of the migrant to actively create an alternative to the logic of expulsion. The migrant has his or her own forms of social motion in 'riots, revolts, rebellions, and resistances' (ibid.: 7). Displacement is not simply 'a lack' but can also be a 'positive capacity or trajectory' (ibid.: 12). Migrants are agents of urbanization in addition to being its 'victims'. For Nail (ibid.: 17) the figure of the migrant prefigures an emerging model of citizenship and subjectivity: 'there are empirical migrants, but their meaning and potential extend beyond their empirical features under the current conditions of social expulsion'. As Mezzadra (2011: 136) puts it, migrants act as citizens, independent of their legal status of citizenship. A similar point is made by Papadopoulos and Tsianos (2013: 185) who argue that migration nurtures the belief in the possibility to be free to move; it 'exists as

potentia and virtuality that becomes actualised and materialised through the diverse movements of people'. Certainly, the 'subjective practices, the desires, the expectations and the behaviours of migrants' (Mezzadra 2011: 121) can easily get lost in the language of migration and diversity.

Not all sociological accounts are so willing to acknowledge the agential or autonomous capacities of the migrant in a globalizing, urbanizing world. In an influential thesis, Zygmunt Bauman (2004) argues that the statement 'the planet is full' (now almost a cliché in political and public discourse) signals, imaginatively at least, 'the disappearance of "no man's lands", territories fit to be defined and/or treated as voids of human habitation […]' (ibid.: 5). This sentiment also heralds, perhaps, the demise of the famous 'zone in transition' or 'inner city' that throughout the twentieth-century functioned as an informal reception centre for migrants. Bauman's argument is that for the greater part of modern history such unencumbered or underdeveloped territories performed the function of 'dumping grounds' for the human waste turned out by the parts of the globe that are undergoing processes of modernization. These sites fulfilled the purpose of absorbing the excess populations of developed countries. They were the 'natural destinations for the export of "redundant humans"' (ibid.). For Bauman, the production of human waste or 'wasted humans'—meaning the excess or redundant that are not recognized or allowed to stay—is an inevitable outcome of modernization, a necessary accompaniment of order building, of *modernity itself*. Each order, Bauman argues, casts some parts of the extant population as out of place, unfit or undesirable (ibid.). Of course, this relationship is a product of the power differentials which allowed modern parts of the globe to seek global solutions to locally produced 'overpopulation' problems (ibid.: 6). The difference, now, is that modernization is generalized, causing a crisis in the human waste disposal industry:

> As the triumphant progress of modernization has reached the furthest lands of the planet and practically the totality of human production and consumption has become money and market mediated, and the process of commodification, commercialization and monetarization of human livelihoods have penetrated every nook and cranny of the globe, global solutions to locally produced problems, or global outlets for local excesses, are no longer available. Just the contrary is the case: all localities (including, most notably, the highly modernized ones) have to bear the consequences of modernity's global triumph. They are now faced with the need to seek (in vain, it seems) *local* solutions to *globally* produced problems. (ibid.)

There is a movement then from global solutions to the waste management problems of the West towards the need for local solutions to waste management issues that now have *global* geopolitical origins. Nowadays everywhere takes its share of waste. In a more restrained and nuanced analysis, Beck (2002) calls this process 'cosmopolitization', whereby societies undergo a multi-layered, multi-scalar process of internalization. According to Beck we are entering a global milieu where there is 'no other'.

Even with misgivings over his choice of metaphors (e.g. 'waste' and 'wasted'), Bauman's thesis is compelling. The problem is that he implies the global spread of modernization (ergo urbanization) no longer results in *uneven* development. Bauman (2004: 66) claims—just as some theorists of planetary urbanization seem to imply—that distinctions between centre/periphery and developed/undeveloped have corroded. Yet clearly some urban spaces—such as gentrified heritage spaces of the global city or elite semi-rural commuter villages—*do not* share the same consequences of modernization and/or urbanization as other spaces. It is not the case that everywhere accepts its share of so-called 'waste'. Bauman's formulation misses a vital characteristic of urban space in advanced capitalism, which is that the terrain is at once homogenized, fragmented and *hierarchized* (Lefebvre 2003). Urbanization (or modernization) continues to result in uneven development that acts as a spur to both expulsion and 'voluntary' human movement (see also Smith 2010). Just as it did in the mid-twentieth century with the emergence in the UK context of the 'inner city', uneven development continues to provide devalued sites where those on the move are able to settle.

Globalization causes much uncertainty and anguish. As nation-states, especially those in the West, appear to be losing power over their borders it can feel as if no one is in control. Yet globalization conveniently also offers up its own sacrificial lambs. As Bauman (ibid.: 66) explains,

> [s]tate powers can do nothing to placate, let alone quash uncertainty. The most they can do is refocus it on objects within reach; shift it from the objects they can do nothing about to those they can at least make a show of being able to handle and control. Refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants—the waste products of globalization—fit the bill perfectly.

Refugees and immigrants are spectres of the mysterious 'global forces' that impact upon localities. This is what makes them a focus for fear and resentment. Unlike the global elites who rarely appear as actors in the quotidian urban world, immigrants 'epitomise the unfathomable "space

of flows" where the roots of the present-day precariousness of the human condition are sunk' (ibid.). It may also be suggested that the migrant symbolises the difference, encounters or simultaneity that might be associated with urbanization. As Beck (2002) suggests, as the globe becomes more cosmopolitized, anti-cosmopolitan forces also grow stronger.

While Bauman may be correct in pointing to how migrants may be resented because they are symbols of the distant forces that threaten the sovereignty of the nation-state, his view of migrants and refugees as 'waste' jars with those perspectives that emphasize the active role that individuals and groups play in processes of emplacement, or the opportunities that are seized through the experience of displacement. In addition, the use of the term 'waste' can serve to reinforce the prejudices of those members of 'host' communities who are aggrieved because they perceive themselves to be 'dumped upon'. As is expressed in the chapters that follow, cinema allows for a richer, more sensuous and humanistic understanding of the urbanization-migration nexus.

Migrants and refugees often find themselves confined to camps that, confusingly, may be understood as both *integral to* and *excluded from* the fabric of planetary urbanization. In Agambenian terms, camps are 'spaces of exception' where the rule of law no longer applies. Diken (2004) argues that the existence of the camp signals 'the end of the city'. The camp problematizes the fundamental relationship between the city and politics that has existed for centuries. Nomadic power can now escape the agora. Yet, this is by no means a simple matter as the camp is also what holds the contemporary city together: 'thanks to it, one can [continue to] fantasize a non-antagonistic city!' (ibid.: 101). In terms of the migrant, 'society seems unable to decide whether the asylum seeker is the true subject of human rights, which it invites everybody to accept as the most sacred of the sacred, or simply a criminal, a thief, who threatens "us" with abusing "our" welfare system' (ibid.: 84). The refugee, Diken suggests, is a constant threat to the image of order, signalling the horrifying impossibility of occupying one pure and distinct position. The crucial point is that the refugee is excluded from the domain of the law but remains subject to it. This zone of indistinction between inclusion and exclusion, in which the life of the refugee borders on the life of the *homo sacer*—referring in its original Roman context to a sacred figure who can be killed by anyone yet not sacrificed as part of a ritual ceremony—is the very place of sovereignty. This explains why 'the fundamental categorical pair of Western politics is not that of friend/enemy but that of bare life/political existence [...], exclusion/inclusion'

(ibid.). Today's *homo sacer* receive 'humanitarian' care in the detention centre or camp but are destined to remain outside of the law.

Sovereign power always seeks to internalize excess. As Foucault argues, the foundation of sovereignty is to normalize or capture the 'outside'. In this way, the refugee represents the nomadic excess that the state seeks to normalize through panoptic confinement in detention centres or refugee camps. This entails that the origin of sovereignty itself is the state of exception, the abandonment of subjects to a condition of bare life, the stripping of their political rights. Bare life consists first, in exclusion from the polis and, second, in the form of the unlimited exposure to violation, which does not count as a crime. The detention centre is a biopolitical zone of indistinction where detainees can be subjected to all kinds of physical and symbolic violence without legal consequences:

> Banned and excluded from society, the detainee is forced to survive in an open-ended period of incarceration, sealed off by barbed wire and the surveillance cameras. It is important, however, to bear in mind that this 'banopticon' does not exist outside society but is radically internal to it, just as the 'state of nature' does not exist prior to 'civilization' but is established through the ban [...]. (ibid.: 88)

Refugee spaces such as camps and detention centres are instantiations of what Marc Augé (2008) calls 'non-places'. These are sites that do not attempt to integrate other places, meanings or traditions within themselves, but remain non-symbolized and abstract spaces. In other words, they lack the 'ventilation' that Amin (2012) believes is essential for spaces of difference to flourish. Those entering such 'spaces of indistinction' are relieved of their past and stripped of all the 'usual determinants' of human life. The camp is 'a sterilised, mono-functional enclosure' (Diken 2004: 91). It is a paradox in that it contains difference but is designed to prevent mixing or circulation.

It is not only the camp where refugees, asylum seekers and migrants may be kept at distance from the metropolis. Domopolitics is a way of conceptualizing issues of international security and population management within the domestic, or national 'interior' (Walters 2004). It captures the ways that globally produced problems are managed 'locally' within an individual nation-state. Darling (2011) employs the notion of domopolitics to describe how the British state disperses asylum seekers away from London—in a compulsory, non-negotiable fashion—to other locations around the country (see also Bloch and Schuster 2005). Expulsion and

emplacement come together in the emergence of a series of fragmented sites on the periphery that together comprise an 'outer–inner city' (see Millington 2011, 2012). The outer–inner city is an ideal–typical formation that proposes to capture crosscutting historical transformations in migration and urban settlement patterns, between the Fordist city and the post-Fordist or neoliberal global city. It recognizes the historical legacy of the inner city as point of entry to the city—making a point of highlighting how cities *once did* fulfil this 'urban' function—but displays how this has now been 'outsourced' (to use post-Fordist terminology) to a collection of fragmented, devalued and dislocated sites found in the crevices of urban space between city, suburb and provinces. The outer–inner city concept rests upon Ferrarotti's (1995: 457) point that the split between the idea

Inner City (1950-1990)	**Outer-Inner City (1990-)**
Entry point to the city/ cheapest housing	Entry point to the city/ cheapest housing
Whole	Fragmented
Zone in transition; inner city	Dispersal zones; immigrant reception centres/ devalued sites on periphery of large metropolitan centres; informal dwellings; the camp
Segregation; 'trapped in space'	Displacement/ dispersal; 'trapped in motion'
Struggle for citizenship/ recognition	Bare life/ invisibility
Central: inner city as integral to form/ image/ aesthetic of the city	Peripheral/ marginal: lacking in form/ image/ aesthetic
Fordist labour market; high unemployment; economically surplus populations	Flexible labour market; casualization; informal economies; sweatshop labour
'Racial'/ ethnic tension: whites, blacks, the state (police)	'Racial'/ ethnic tension: whites, super-diverse migrants, immigration authorities, security forces (G4S, Jomast etc.)

Fig. 3.1 The inner city and outer–inner city (adapted from Millington 2012)

of the city and the specific historical reality of urban centres has grown to the point of becoming 'a contradiction and estrangement'. Figure 3.1 (below) outlines in more detail the distinction between the inner city and outer–inner city. It is also useful in terms of highlighting features of the 'real world' chronotopes that are discussed in Chaps. 4 and 5.

It is rare for migration studies to consider the social, political and symbolic forfeitures that are associated with the loss (or transplantation) of the inner city as entry-point to the city. Figure 3.1 points to some of these, focusing in particular around the dislocation, lack of visibility, lack of recognition and inability to create a viable politics of place that are features of life in the outer–inner city in comparison with the earlier inner city. None of this is born from a wish to establish or maintain a nostalgic view of the inner city—an agonistic and creative space certainly, but also a space of manifold racial injustices and poverty—though it does not shy away from identifying fundamental changes in the urban experience of migrants since the mid-twentieth century. The purpose of emphasising this temporal connection between the ideal-typical spaces of the inner city and outer-inner city is to avoid unnecessary 'presentism' (Inglis 2013) and also any possible 'naturalisation' of the current experience of migrants in an urbanizing world.

Although divergent in important ways, the camp and the outer–inner city are both contradictory spaces; they are forms of exception that are constitutive of the new 'normal' of the pacified central city from which 'would-be' residents of the inner city are dispersed or excluded: '[t]hey lie not at the extra-territorial periphery of city-space, but are instead the very modalities of statehood, subjectivity and space that produce the [global] city' (AlSayyad and Roy, 2006 cited in Flint 2009: 425). This point relates also to Lefebvre's (2003: 4) argument that as urbanization unfurls from the centre, 'small and mid-size cities become dependencies, partial *colonies* of the metropolis' (added emphasis). And so, this expanding urban fabric (and, more importantly, our experience of it) is constructed from the complex power-relationships, networks and patterns that are being established between not only between spaces but also temporalities.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the nexus of urbanization and migration. It began by looking closely at the vexed relationship that exists between urban sociology and the city, before focusing on Lefebvre's urban theory, especially his dialectic—so pivotal to the chapters that follow—between

the planetarization of the urban and a more emancipatory, emergent 'urban society'. The chapter then summarised recent scholarship on planetary urbanization. This included consideration of how expansive contemporary urbanization necessitates a new mode of urban politics *without the city*. Harvey's (1996) intervention was then located as critical in understanding how capitalist urbanization is both a cause and consequence of historical migrations of labour. Such movements may be caused by the desire to move in order to take advantage of (perceived) economic opportunities or by dispossession. The position taken up here, following Çağlar and Glick Schiller (2015) and Nail (2015) and the work of 'autonomy of migration' scholars, is that the migrant is not only a victim but also an agent of urbanization, seizing opportunities wherever they may be located to be actively involved in processes of emplacement or, as Nail suggests, resistance and revolt. Such a position repudiates aspects of Bauman's conceptualization of the migrant as 'waste' or as living out a 'wasted life'. The chapter analysed the somewhat neglected relationship between urbanization and migration, introducing also at this juncture some of the chronotopes of the 'real world'—such as the inner city and outer-inner city—that serve as a focal point for the seven films that form the basis of this study. Having now considered both the nexus of cinema and urbanization and the nexus of urbanization and migration, this study can now proceed with its critical analysis of this short cycle of British films that bring these themes together.

Note

1. In the UK, see also the 'community studies' tradition.

References

Augé, M. (2008). *Non-Places: An Introduction to Supermodernity*. London: Verso.

Amin, A. (2012). *Land of strangers*. Cambridge: Polity.

Angelo, H., & Wachsmuth, D. (2015). Urbanizing urban political ecology: A critique of methodological cityism. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 39*(1), 16–27.

Atkinson, R., & Burrows, R. (2014). A city in thrall to capital? London, money-power and elites. *Discover Society*, available at: http://discoversociety.org/2014/12/01/a-city-in-thrall-to-capital-london-money-power-and-elites/ [accessed 2.12.14].

Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). *The dialogic imagination*. Texas: University of Texas Press.

Bauman, Z. (2004). *Wasted lives: Modernity and its outcasts*. Cambridge: Polity.

Beck, U. (2002). The cosmopolitan society and its enemies. *Theory, Culture and Society, 19*(1), 17–44.

Bloch, A., & Schuster, L. (2005). At the extremes of exclusion: Deportation, detention and dispersal. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 28*(3), 491–512.

Brenner, N. (2013). Theses on urbanization. *Public Culture, 25*(1), 95–113.

Brenner, N. & Theodore, N. (2002). 'Cities and the geographies of "actually existing neoliberalism"', *Antipode, 34*(3), 349–379.

Brenner, N. & Schmid, C. (2014). 'Planetary Urbanization' in Brenner, N. (Ed.), *Implosions/Explosions: Towards a Study of Planetary Urbanization*. Berlin: Jovis.

Çaglar, A., & Glick Schiller, N. (2015). A multiscalar perspective on cities and migration. A comment on the symposium. *Sociologica*, doi:10.2383/81432.

Castells, M. (1977). *The urban question: A Marxist approach*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Darling, J. (2011). Domopolitics, governmentality and the regulation of asylum accommodation. *Political Geography, 30*(5), 263–271.

Diken, B. (2004). From refugee camps to gated communities: Biopolitics and the end of the city. *Citizenship Studies, 8*(1), 83–106.

Ferrarotti, F. (1995). Civil society as a polyarchic form: The city. In P. Kasinitz (Ed.), *Metropolis: Centre and symbol of our times*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Flint, J. (2009). Cultures, ghettos and camps: Sites of exception and antagonism in the city. *Housing Studies, 24*(4), 417–431.

Harvey, D. (1996). Cities or urbanization. *City, 1*(1–2), 38–61.

Harvey, D. (2003). *The new imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Inglis, D. (2013). What is worth defending in sociology today? Presentism, historical vision and the uses of sociology, *Cultural Sociology, 8*(1), 99–118.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The production of space*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lefebvre, H. (1996). *Writings on cities*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lefebvre, H. (2003). *The urban revolution*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Lefebvre, H. (1962/2012). *Introduction to modernity*. London: Verso.

Lefebvre, H. (2014a). Dissolving city, planetary metamorphosis. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 32*(2), 203–205.

Madden, D. J. (2012). City becoming world: Nancy, Lefebvre, and the global-urban imagination. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 30*(5), 772–787.

May, J., et al. (2007). Keeping London working: Global cities, the British state and London's new migrant division of labour. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 32*, 151–167.

Meili, M. (2014). 'Is the Matterhorn City?' in Brenner, N. (Ed.), *Implosions/Explosions: Towards a Study of Planetary Urbanization*. Berlin: Jovis.

Merrifield, A. (2012). The politics of the encounter and the urbanization of the world. *City, 16*(3), 269–283.

Merrifield, A. (2013). The urban question under planetary urbanization. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 37*(3), 909–922.
Merrifield, A. (2014). *The new urban question*. London: Pluto Press.
Mezzadra, S. (2011). The gaze of autonomy: Capitalism, migration and social struggles. In V. Squire (Ed.), *The contested politics of mobility: Borderzones and irregularity*. London: Routledge.
Millington, G. (2011). *"Race", culture and the right to the city: Centres, peripheries, margins*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Millington, G. (2012). The outer-inner city: Urbanization, migration and "race" in London and New York. *Urban Research & Practice, 5*(1), 6–25.
Millington, G. (2016a). Urbanization and the city image in Lowry at Tate Britain: Towards a critique of cultural cityism. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* doi:10.1111/1468–2427.12375.
Millington, G. (2016b). The cosmopolitan contradictions of planetary urbanization. *British Journal of Sociology,* doi:10.1111/1468–4446.12200.
Nail, T. (2015). *The figure of the migrant*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.
Pahl, R. (1984). *Divisions of labour*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Perrons, D. (2009). Migration: Cities, regions and uneven development. *European Urban and Regional Studies, 16*(3), 219–223.
Papadopoulos, D., & Tsianos, V. S. (2013). After citizenship: Autonomy of migration, organisational ontology and mobile commons. *Citizenship Studies, 17*(2), 178–196.
Sassen, S. (2001). *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Saunders, P. (1981). *Social Theory and the Urban Question*. London. Unwin Hyman Ltd.
Smith, M. P. (2000). *Transnational urbanism: Locating globalization*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Smith, N. (2010). *Uneven development: Nature, capital, and the production of space*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
Soja, E. W. (1989). *Postmodern geographies: The reassertion of space in critical social theory*. New York: Verso.
Soja, E.W & Kanai, J.M. (2014). 'The Urbanization of the World' in Brenner (Ed.), *Implosions/Explosions: Towards a Study of Planetary Urbanization*. Berlin: Verlag.
Stanek, L. (2011). *Henri Lefebvre on space: Architecture, urban research, and the production of theory*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
Swyngedouw, E. (2009). The antinomies of the postpolitical city: In search of a democratic politics of environmental production. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 33*(3), 601–620.

Swyngedouw, E. (2011). *Designing the post-political city and the insurgent polis.* London: Bedford Press.

Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 30*(6), 1024–1054.

Wachsmuth, D. (2014). City as ideology: Reconciling the explosion of the city form with the tenacity of the city concept. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 31*, 75–90.

Walters, W. (2004). Secure borders, safe haven, domopolitics. *Citizenship Studies, 8*(3), 237–260.

Zukin, S. (2011). *Naked city: The death and life of authentic urban places.* New York: Oxford University Press.

CHAPTER 4

Dissolving City

Abstract The chapter begins by examining how this cycle of films produces images of the city that both capture and anticipate social, spatial and economic transformations in London. Some images reveal a transition in terms of the cinematic register of the city, while others are of the dissolution of the city. The depiction of arcane sites on the periphery of the city as contemporary 'entry points' to the city offers a critique of the exclusions and privations of capitalist urbanization and the global city. The chapter then discusses how the cycle of films maintains dwelling and mobility in a state of tension. Finally, the chapter finally examines how the 'the death of the social' is intertwined with cinematic depictions of the implosion or dissolution of the city.

Keywords Dissolution of the city • Inner city • Cinema • Migration • Dwelling • Mobility • Death of the social

In this chapter and the next, the seven British films identified earlier as comprising a distinct 'cycle'—*Beautiful People* (1999), *The Last Resort* (2000), *In This World* (2002), *Dirty Pretty Things* (2002), *Ghosts* (2006), *It's a Free World* (2007) and *Somers Town* (2008)—are discussed, pointing to the various ways that these films anticipate and/or depict the social struggles that are at stake in expansive, planetary urbanization; focusing in particular on the cinematic construction of the figure of the migrant. The sociological value of this film cycle is understood also in relation to how

© The Author(s) 2016

G. Millington, *Urbanization and the Migrant in British Cinema*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-47399-8_4

it contributes representational spaces to the process that Lefebvre (1991) refers to as the production of space. Cinema does not simply reflect urban space, but constitutes an *active* moment in the process of urbanization, contributing 'imaginary and symbolic elements' (ibid.: 41) to the production of urban space. Many of the spaces featured in these films—even those in central London—have so far evaded cinematic attention. The imaging and imagining of these spaces—and how these are communicated to audiences—is argued to be integral to the re-making or *making urban* of these spaces. In this way, cinema is inserted, entangled within and inseparable from Lefebvre's urbanization of the planet/global urban society dialectic (which is discussed at length in the previous chapter).

Taken together, this cycle of films reveals an 'other' London to the much more renowned 'global' London. The optical unconscious of cinema exposes not only the fine material detail of mundane, everyday urbanization—in the process expressing its unlooked-for poetic dimensions—but cinema also dramatizes the struggles of migrants caught up in this process; that is, those who are active in practices of emplacement but suffer the effects of displacement, separation and xenophobia. Such narratives are closely connected to the spaces and times, or chronotopes, that provide their urban context. Each adds to the 'reality' of the other. While the realist aesthetic of these films is unmistakably 'political' in the sense that it reveals the leftish perspectives of their directors, it is suggested here, in line with Rancière (2004: 37), that the '"fictions" of art and politics are […] heterotopias rather than utopias'. In this way, the cinematic depictions of urban life contained within the cycle take the form of heterotopic spaces of otherness, difference and ambiguity. For Lefebvre (2003: 129), heterotopies exist in conjunction with, alongside, isotopies or places of identity, the kinds of spaces that we may associate with the 'classic' cinematic tropes of the city (e.g. verticality, density, social mixing). As Harvey (2012: xvii) explains,

> Lefebvre's concept of heterotopia […] delineates liminal social spaces of possibility where 'something different' is not only possible, but foundational for the defining of revolutionary trajectories. This 'something different' does not necessarily arise out of a conscious plan, but more simply out of what people do, feel, sense, and come to articulate as they seek meaning in their daily lives.

Heterotopia is concerned with the possibility of creating and experiencing *something different* within an inherited space. In this way, cinema explores

(and virtualizes) immanent ‘encounters’ or ‘openings’ in the urban fabric as pathways to the kind of urban society envisaged by Lefebvre.

There are four questions that implicitly guide the analysis contained in this chapter and the next: (1) How does this cycle of films ‘interpret’ or ‘make sense’ of contemporary urbanization? (2) How does this cycle of films create an image and/or aesthetic for contemporary urbanization that is distinct from that of the classic cinematic image of the city? (3) What role does the figure of the migrant play in both ‘sense making’ and the construction of an image and/or aesthetic? (4) How might this cycle of films make an ‘active’ contribution to the production of space and processes of urbanization? These questions are not, however, answered in turn. Rather, the discussion proceeds in accordance with themes. This chapter begins by examining how the cycle of films produces an *image of the city* (in this case London) that captures, in novel ways, social transformations in London as well as the centrifugal pressures that force migrants and the working-class away from its centre. It then proceeds with a series of discussions around two themes: *dwelling and mobility* and *the death of the social*. Two further thematic discussions, on *the figure of the migrant* and *images of urbanization,* are added in Chap. 5.

The Image of the City

In a very general sense, the cycle supports Lefebvre’s (2003: 57) assertion that the reign of the city is ending and that the city now exists only as a historical entity. In this cycle, the city is never viewed or grasped as a totality as is the case in, for example, the classic cinematic image of the city found in Jules Dassin’s (1948) *The Naked City* where the skyscrapers of lower Manhattan are pictured from a vantage point in the sky. This image reveals and helps create an era of centripetal urbanity where it appeared eminently possible to ‘see’ the city as a navigable whole. Dimendberg (2004: 42) explains thus:

> Consider the opening aerial cinematography sequence of *The Naked City*. […] Filmed from an oblique rather than a vertical perspective, the skyscrapers and buildings of Manhattan never congeal into total abstraction. It is always possible to ascertain the approximate location of the aerial cinematographers with respect to Manhattan’s urban geography. Despite highlighting the geometric grid, the orthogonal forms of individual buildings, and the shadowy trenches of long avenues, New York is rendered realistically in the tradition of a pictorial landscape, complete with a horizon line and the heroic connotations of romantic narrative.

Oblique aerial shots of the city are a classic technique used to denote 'the city' as the dramatic setting for cinema. However, in the cycle of British films examined here, the image of the city (London) is always fractured. The city is never visually 'mastered' in this manner. On one hand, this is surprising because London's new skyline apes Manhattan[1]—it just cries out to be considered cinematic—but on the other hand, this is a critical reflection of how what remains of the city is being '[…] rearranged over a much wider plane' (Lefebvre 1996: 127). This fragmentation of the city entails that the sense of drama, heroism and romance in the films is also disrupted and dispersed.

So, what kinds of images of the city can we find in this film cycle? The closest depiction to a 'classic' image of multicultural London—a cinematic trope that has roots in films such as *Pressure* (Horace Ové, 1976), *Babylon* (Franco Rossi, 1981) and *Young Soul Rebels* (Isaac Julien, 1991)—is found in the earliest film in the cycle, *Beautiful People* (1992). The film is set in 1993. Migrants from the Bosnian conflict (1992–1995) are shown living in centrally located housing estates (of the pre-WWII kind rather than the 1960s high rises). This kind of estate is evoked as an authentic, primal site of multicultural London (see Fig. 4.1). Its presence as a mise en scène in *Beautiful People* is untypical of this cycle of films. European migrants are shown to have black neighbours, some of whom may be migrants themselves; others are younger and likely British born. It is implied by this way

Fig. 4.1 *Beautiful People* A Multicultural Housing Estate in London

of seeing the city that white migrants from Europe can be understood within the frameworks of reference, or discourses, that accompanied successive waves of immigration into London post-1945; that they are the latest addendum to the same basic 'race relations problematic'.

Despite Mazierska and Rascaroli's (2003) assertion that the film depicts a fragmented and chaotic London, the scenes set on the estate in *Beautiful People* actually present what might *now* be recognised as an urban oasis. Residents tend to potted flowers and hang washing in the walkways of the estate. People leave their front doors open. Music and the smell of marijuana wafts across the estate. But, in contrast to the bitter divisions and struggle depicted in the multicultural London films of the 1970s and 1980s such as *Pressure* and *Babylon*, this is an urban pastoral. London is viewed here as heroic. It has overcome WWII and the 'racial' problems of the inner city. This is a city that is learning to become more at ease with itself; it is a playful, ironic city. Gilroy (2004) believes in this kind of conviviality to puncture its cultural counter-presence, the dead weight of English postcolonial melancholia. In fact, in anticipation of Gilroy's book *After Empire*, the film is premised around a contrast between the pomposity and melancholy claustrophobia of London's white middle-class suburban culture and the city's funky multiculturalism. It is significant, when viewed against more pessimistic films later in the cycle, how London is depicted as a post-racial, post-conflictual multicultural urban space that it is still possible to access, be a part of and share a stake in. Indeed, early in the film there is a sequence where Pero (Edin Dzandzanovic) exuberantly strolls around central London, apparently in disbelief that he is actually *here*, in this great metropolitan centre. He wears sunglasses, takes passport photos and laughs when he glimpses himself on a TV screen in a shop window; when he sees, for the first time, an image of himself *in the city* (with a red London bus and a Marks and Spencer in the background to add authenticity). This scene is reminiscent of those famous passages of 'modernist epiphany' in Sam Selvon's novel *The Lonely Londoners* when Sir Galahad—a recent West Indian migrant—recounts his visits to Oxford Street, Charing Cross and Piccadilly Circus. Simply *being* in the heart of the city had an enormous effect on one's self-esteem:

> Jesus Christ, when he say 'Charing Cross', where he realise that it is he, Sir Galahad, who is going there, near that place that everybody in the world know about (it even have the name in a dictionary) he feel like a new man. It didn't mater about the woman he going to meet, just to say he was going

> there made him feel big and important, and even if he was just going to coast a lime, to stand up and watch the white people, still, it would have been something. (Selvon 1956/2006: 72)

For migrants from the West Indies in the 1950s, London was not only a metropolis, but also the centre of the Empire. London was certainly a place of the imagination but it was also a city that was relatively accessible; a city where a migrant life could be lived (not that Selvon's novel is uncritical about mid-century London). *Beautiful People* suggests a continuity between the experiences of migrants in the early 1990s with those who entered London in the immediate post-WWII decades. Yet the sentimentality of the film, and its approval of peaceable solutions to interminable class or ethnic conflicts, unwittingly reveals what Bonnett (2010) senses to be the insubstantiality of the cordiality that Gilroy invests so much hope in.

With hindsight it can be taken that *Beautiful People* captures the moment when multicultural London cedes to 'super-diverse' London. In providing a dialectical image of the moment of tensions between historical periods of migration *and* urban change, this is where the historical value of the film lies. *Beautiful People* heralds a new era or age of migration, but because of the uncertainties of the transitional period the film is set, it cannot help but to situate its narrative within an inherited space, within a soon-to-be outdated (and commodified) representational trope (see Wallace 2016). The historical irony—which would scarcely be believable in the 1970s and early 1980s—is that the humble, maligned inner London housing estate appears in this cycle of films from the 2000s as a spectre of (forsaken) possibility.

Three years later Stephen Frears' *Dirty Pretty Things* (2002) portrays London in a radically different manner. The representational shift is staggering, signifying a genuine rupture in the urban imaginary. As Brunsdon (2007: 118) explains, the film is every much integrated within the discourse of London as a 'global city', with, for example, the polarized occupation and income structures hypothesized by Sassen (2001) placed under a great deal of scrutiny. *Dirty Pretty Things* instigates a narrative on London as an unequal, exploitative and inhospitable city that is elaborated throughout the cycle. The ideology of 'global London' as success story is unmasked. Rather, London is presented—in the words of the owner of the Mini-Cab firm where Nigerian migrant Okwe (Chiwetel Ejiofor) works—as a 'shit, dustbin city'. In comparing the London of *Dirty Pretty Things* with other London films of the period, Brunsdon writes that 'From *Notting Hill*

to *Dirty Pretty Things* is a move from a London of luxury hotels, private gardens, charming street markets and "boutique locality" to a London of rubbish-strewn alleys and "non-places"' (ibid.: 116). And yet, the luxury side of London *does* appear in movie in the form of the hotel where Okwe works (his second job) as a night-time receptionist. But, the wealth and respectability of the hotel is an illusion. Indeed, it is in this opulent milieu where the dirt 'gets done'. In comparison, the small flat that Okwe shares with Senay—a Turkish immigrant played by Audrey Tautou—is portrayed as an innocent space.

Dirty Pretty Things offers up a London of the margins, a hidden metropolis of sub-let rooms, Turkish cafés, sweat shops, gypsy cabs and hospital mortuaries. Okwe and Senay are forbidden from *being* in the city because they are 'illegal' immigrants. Okwe and Senay's home, where they sleep in shifts, is raided and they are also hounded by immigration authorities at work. If they are recognized, if their true identities are revealed, they will be deported. They cannot use their bodily presence in the centre of the city to claim citizenship rights or political recognition. This contradicts Holston's (2009) view of 'insurgent citizenship' where the city is argued to be a political space where altern social groups, empowered by their very *presence* in the city, are able to negotiate, nay demand citizenship rights. Presence in the city can no longer be assumed as a starting point for claims to citizenship (see Darling 2016 for a detailed discussion of the politics of presence). As Brunsdon (ibid.: 118) explains, in *Dirty Pretty Things*, '[t]here is no narrative of entitlement [...] and in many ways, there is no coherent or progressive narrative of identity. Identity [...] is something they have left behind'. Louis Wirth (1938) famously writes of the city as the centre of freedom and toleration, the home of progress and invention. *Dirty Pretty Things* calls this into question and induces a radical break, representationally, in terms of laying out the political potentials of the multicultural or cosmopolitan city. It provides cinematic expression for Huyssen's (2008: 15) argument that the democratic urban centre is 'a kind of urban formation that really belonged to [an] earlier stage of heroic modernity, rather than to our own time'.

The image of the city in *Dirty Pretty Things* is somehow of a false or hollow centre. In losing any kind of social connection with its inhabitants, London is masquerading here as a city. Maybe this is why Iain Sinclair (2002) disapproves of the movie 'using urban architecture as a backing track', objecting that 'using the city as asset diminishes it'. Sinclair, a great enthusiast of London, wants *Dirty Pretty Things* to articulate space, to ref-

erence the city and to engage with London's history and memories. Yet, while these criticisms are valid up to a point, it could also be argued that its 'thin' depiction of London is a deliberate strategy to convey its diminished urban properties, especially through the eyes of new arrivals who quickly learn to view the city with cynicism and disdain. Unlike Pero, Okwe and Senay are not bewitched by London. They are under no illusions as to the limits of citizenship extended to the migrant in global London. They realize they will not be inscribed into the history of the city in the same way that migrants were from previous decades. This is why they decide that to live fulfilling urban lives they must leave London.

Ken Loach's *It's a Free World* (2007) provides an image of the city that is even more marginal than *Dirty Pretty Things*. Whereas *Dirty Pretty Things* is unambiguously set in a hollowed-out, heartless central London, *It's a Free World* is 'trapped' out east. The only reference point is the towers of Canary Wharf, a development that itself is a symbol of the fragmentation of the city core (as well as a symbol for the deregulated capitalism that the film critiques). Though some early scenes are set in Poland, the film is mostly set in Leytonstone and (pre-Olympic) Stratford in East London, around a series of factories, caravan parks, pub carparks, burger vans and anonymous multicultural high streets. All of these settings (including the domestic domain of Angie and Rose's flat) are minor profit-maximizing operations that are shown to fluctuate in their economic fortunes. The 'local' London that is the focus of the film is never shown to be integrated with the life of the centre. Actually existing 'ordinary' London high streets are very often remarkable sites of ingenuity and cosmopolitan sociality—as Hall (2015) points out—but here these streets are portrayed as unhomely, impenetrable and threatening.

In terms of providing images of a dissolving city, a dying city or a centre in ruins, *Dirty Pretty Things* and *It's a Free World* accomplish important 'work' within the cycle in identifying and ontologizing the 'bodily remains' of the city; they 'localise the dead' as Derrida (1994: 9) puts it. They make the details of the loss known; not least, the location. This process is linked very much to mourning, where simply '[o]ne has to know. *One has to know it*. One has to have knowledge […] to know whose body it really is […]' (ibid., original emphasis). This process of mourning the city is advanced in *Last Resort* (2000) and *Ghosts* (2006) where the image of the city merely flickers, as a reminder that it was once alive (and that it was once possible to make a life there).

Last Resort is set in Stonehaven, a fictional, deserted seaside resort where asylum seekers are contained while they wait for their claims for refugee status to be assessed. Filming took place in Margate, Kent, a resort town, a modern relic. Margate is a reminder of past happiness and frivolity; a place of leisure for Londoners during the previous century who took trips to the seaside not to experience solitude and isolation but rather to indulge in gaiety, laughter and the thrill of the encounter. Yet Stonehaven is a myth. Detention/removal centres did not become widely used until the early to mid-2000s (see Schuster 2004; Bloch and Schuster 2005; Welch and Schuster 2005). There was, however, a policy of dispersal in place that prohibited asylum seekers from settling in London unless they had financial means to support themselves (see Robinson et al. 2003). Stonehaven also prefigures sociological studies of asylum seekers, refugees and immigrants in seaside towns close to London (Millington 2005, 2010; Burdsey 2013; Grillo 2005). It anticipates the extreme forms of exclusion from the city that dispersal and detention policies eventually heralded. Roberts (2002) argues that Margate and the 'non-place' of Stonehaven exist in a dynamic tension that helps to explicate the experience of displacement. It is also the case, however, that '[t]he coexistant and divergent narrative space-times of Margate/Stonehaven define an ontological "thirdspace" of hybridity and transnationality' (ibid.: 87). In this respect, cinema weaves the history of Margate into an altogether different fiction. Margate is reconnected with the world, in the process creating previously unforeseen openings through which the town may be realized as a different place, a heterotopia.

Tanya (Dina Korzun) and her son Artiom (Artyom Strelnikov) attempt to leave Stonehaven for London—Tanya wants to find her English fiancée Mark—but they find the train station indefinitely closed. When they try to escape the town on foot they are identified on CCTV by police and driven back into the town. London remains distant throughout; it is an impossible city. Eventually they manage to escape Stonehaven when local bingo caller Alfie (Paddy Considine), who has formed a romantic bond with Tanya, helps them escape around the coast on a boat. From here they manage to hitch a ride in a lorry. We are left not knowing whether they make it to London or not.

The closest Ai Qin and other illegal Chinese migrants in *Ghosts* get to London is a piece of waste ground (see Fig. 4.2). There is a caption on the screen to inform the viewer that this is 'London'. This anonymous location is the culmination of an arduous six-month journey for Ai Qin who

Fig. 4.2 *Ghosts* 'London'

has paid smugglers to bring her from her home in the Fujian province to London to work so she can send home money for her young son. There are no landmarks, just scrubland, a bricked-up industrial building, some rubble, nondescript trees, a few orange bollards and a couple of empty gasholders. Arrival in London is marked only by the terse instruction to call home to release her final payment to the smugglers. This is purely an abstract city, characterized only in quantities and margins. Once again, the lack of depth in the film's engagement with London seems deliberate. It appears intent on validating Robins (1996: 132) argument that, '[t]he city is no longer imageable. It is becoming lost from view'. In terms of an image of the city, this debris is all there is. The sparse aesthetic emphasizes Ai Qin's alienation and dislocation from the space where she stands. This space is absolutely pivotal in her life history but it feels like an affront to her humanity. By positing *this* space, cinematically, as the 'entry point' to the city is a profound comment about *what* and *where* constitutes the city for many of today's migrants. Indeed, London is a spectre throughout the film, a 'non-present present' (Derrida 1994: 5). Ai Qin and her companions get to see no more of the city than this. They circle London on the M25 in a beat up van before heading to Thetford in Norfolk, where they are able to find illegal work in industrial farming and agriculture.

Michael Winterbottom's *In This World* is an unusual film in the cycle because it offers countless images of the city and many vivid portrayals

of urban life. But, even with this abundance of images of actual cities, it the spectre of 'the city' that is the greatest presence. What the spectator experiences in this film is a succession of beautiful, redolent images of the cities that Jamal (Jamal Udin Torabi) and Enayat (Enayatullah) *pass through* on their way to London. Interestingly, these cities—Peshawar, Tehran, Istanbul and Trieste—are shown to possess the urban qualities of simultaneity, gathering, convergence and encounter (Lefebvre 1996: 131) that 'global' London is shown elsewhere in the cycle to be losing. Jamal and Enayat settle briefly in numerous cities only to uproot and continue on their journey to London. Tehran in particular is shown to offer an experience rich in metropolitan pleasures. It is in Tehran that Jamal takes a welcome break from the severity and hardship of their journey and treats himself to an enormous ice cream cone. It is a cordial moment that, due to its innocence, offers one of the most hopeful scenes in the whole film. As a viewer you want them to stay in Tehran longer.

In the constant stream of cities that Jamal and Enayat pass through one is reminded of Derrida's notion of *différance*, meaning both 'to differ' and 'to defer', to delay or postpone. Each city they visit suggests only the *next* city to be reached in their long journey to London, the 'presence' that establishes the endpoint to their teleological exercise. As Wolfreys (2007: 45) puts it, the notion of *différance* explains how 'every "beginning" [every city on the journey] is marked, traced and haunted by that which stands before it [London, the final destination]'. Each city on the way to London (Tehran, Istanbul etc.), 'stands in for a deferred presence, one not immediately present' (ibid.: 50). The search for 'the city' is ongoing, exhausting, and as we eventually learn, not everybody makes it. Jamal, though, does get to London. In the final scenes of the film, we see him working in a café and walking through a crowded street market (both of which are chronotopes of super-diverse London also found in *Dirty Pretty Things*). As Sargeant (2005: 348) pithily puts it

> […] whether his life is any better as a waiter in London than in a camp in Pakistan remains to be established. The film presents the pain of leaving a familiar community, culture and landscape (all rendered photogenically attractive) rather than the joy of arrival at a distant destination.

The notion of *différance* is also relevant when considering how Senay (in *Dirty Pretty Things*) is obsessed by moving to New York City 'where they put lights in the trees' and where 'you can skate in the parks'. London, once her preferred destination, becomes another stopover, another signifier of 'the

city' 'whose *signified* we are presently looking for' (Lefebvre 2003: 131 original emphasis). Similarly in Shane Meadows' *Somers Town*, Tomo (Thomas Turgoose) and Marek (Piotr Jagiello) reside in the very heart of London, close to Kings Cross, but their dream is to take the Eurostar to Paris. These two young travellers, apparently not content with London, keep on moving in search of *the* city. When Tomo and Marek make it to Paris at the end of the film and are reunited with Maria, Meadows switches from the monochrome he uses for all the London scenes to a grainy, vintage cine camera colour palette. The mood is dreamlike. Colour and urban life are restored (see Fig. 4.3).

Once again 'the city' is deferred. Its meaning and presence proves elusive. The bearing of *différance* in understanding these spectral qualities of the city is summed up in the subtitle for a scene in *In This World* where Jamal and Enayat are trudging across a snowy Iranian mountain at night, looking for their next stopover. You can barely make them out in the blizzard, but Jamal can be heard speaking (in Pashto). The subtitle simply reads: 'I hope we get there soon'.

The first section of this chapter has examined images of the dissolution of the city. It began by considering the image of the multicultural estate deployed in *Beautiful People*, arguing that the movie implies a clear line of continuity between the experiences of migrants in the early 1990s with migrants from the immediate post-WWII decades. *Beautiful People* captures the moment when multicultural London gives way to 'super-diverse' London. In contrast to the harmonious city that emerges at the end of

Fig. 4.3 *Somers Town* Tomo, Maria and Marek in Paris

Beautiful People, Stephen Frears' *Dirty Pretty Things* portrays London as an unequal and unfair 'global' city where migrants have no choice but to become invisible. It is argued that *Dirty Pretty Things* and *It's a Free World*—films that are set in London itself—capture the demise of the city. The chapter then scrutinized the more esoteric images of the city that appear in the form of a deserted seaside resort in *Last Resort* and a stretch of wasteland in *Ghosts*. The depiction of these sites as contemporary 'entry points' to the city offers a profound statement about the dissolution of the city, especially from the perspective of the migrant—those who once might once have expected to be able to settle in the heart of the metropolis. Finally, the discussion of the city images found in *In This World* and other films in the cycle suggests how Derrida's notion of *différance*, meaning both 'to differ' and 'to defer', to delay or postpone, is useful in understanding Jamal and Enayat's travels across the globe through many cities to make it to London.

Dwelling and Mobility

The seven films in the cycle tend to hold dwelling and mobility in tension. Migrants to London are shown, across the cycle, to have arrived in Britain from a wide range of places including Bosnia, Croatia, Russia, Ukraine, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nigeria, Turkey, China, Chile, Iran and Iraq. This depiction of the migrant as super-diverse has its roots in the geopolitical climate of the time, in relation to wars in Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, Iraq and Zimbabwe as well as the introduction (and subsequent extensions) of European free movement. The movement of people is most obviously signified by the appearance of maps—depicting routes to London—that fade in and out of the screen, a technique used in *In This World* and *Ghosts*. Moreover, by connecting spaces and times through narratives of a migrant's journey, and by relying on a realist aesthetic, many networks of urbanization are revealed by the cycle in their actuality.

An important aspect of transnational mobility is captured by the many instances where migrants are seen telephoning family members back home. As an obvious symbol of mobility and distance, but also displacement, the cycle makes a fetish for the telephone. Despite their ubiquitous presence in the 2000s it is only in *Ghosts* where we see migrants using a *mobile* phone. Much more attention is given to clunky public payphones. The repeated use of scenes featuring migrants pushing coins into public payphones is a symbol of migrants' peculiar form of mobility; a reminder that the motion

that defines them is often experienced as an inconvenience, that their movement through the geographical and social world possesses a viscous-like quality that slows them down or holds them back. The migrant is a symbol of the widening of social circulation—of the planetarization of the urban—but, the public payphone signifies how this circulation is, for the migrant, always materially constrained. But the telephone scenes, some of which are heart-rending, such as the scene where we see Ai Qin speak to her young son in China, also reveal how mobility is 'checked' in an emotional sense, in relation to the people and places left behind. The human heart that Okwe finds blocking the toilet in *Dirty Pretty Things* is a symbol of this inability to 'go', in the sense of cathexis, with the flow of movement. It is analogous also to other 'moving' scenes that portray, for example, the separation of Jamal from his younger brother in *In This World*. As Koeck (2013: 5) puts it, cinema signifies a space in which we become part of a visual system 'that allows us to perceive a sensation of movement and in which *we are moved*' (added emphasis). These examples express a sense of mobility and ever-increasing distance, but they also give a sense of how *the heart* can be an obstacle to the start of a new life.

Dwelling or making a home in the city or any other urbanized/urbanizing spaces depicted is shown to be difficult. City or suburb, centre or periphery: these are hostile terrains. A series of inhospitable milieu provide temporary dwellings for the migrant—cramped, barely furnished rooms, tents, disused workshops—but these are shown to be merely a spur to further motion in what is depicted as an *ongoing* search for comfort and safety and for the right to urban life. Sometimes even dwellings themselves—boats, fruit crates, containers, the undercarriage of a lorry—are, themselves, moving. When (or rather if) migrants make it to London—the desired point of settlement—they may quickly find themselves shuttled out to the periphery. An important scene in *It's a Free World* reveals one way that this occurs. Angie and Rose are in their cramped flat on Leytonstone High Road talking about how to expand their recruitment agency; they are trying to come up with ways to make their operation a more lucrative business. They discuss the possibility of renting and sub-letting a cheap house in 'the middle of nowhere', 'near the coast' and operating double shifts of factory work/sleep. In other words, they could charge two migrants' rent for the same bed. Rose works the figures on a calculator says, 'Imagine one [house], then *two*…' before concluding, 'Oooh, it's too *scary*, it's too much *cash!*'. In this snippet of dialogue we are introduced to a centrifugal mechanism, tied closely to Lefebvre's (1991) understanding of abstract space, which

exploits the labour of migrant workers while also denying them the right to dwell in the city. It is a process that keeps migrants on the move.

Moreover, by drawing surplus value from both their habitat and their labour Angie and Rose—from their own subordinate positions in a class/gender struggle—are considering nothing short of colonizing the entire lifeworld of migrants. Ahmad (2008) conveys the specific sets of constraints facing migrants working in London's illegal economies, not least the psychological burdens stemming from an inability to achieve 'structural' embeddedness:

> [m]igrants become prisoners of monetarized time, locked into an endless cycle of work that confines them to a tiny physical space at work and home. They are constantly compelled to 'adapt' to their immediate circumstances given the instability of life [...]. This instability makes it virtually impossible to achieve any kind of upward mobility or progress: with each horizontal move, they incur added costs and take additional steps back. Stuck in a vacuous present fraught with anxiety and question marks about tomorrow, they suffer from a perverse imbalance by which their sacrifices, in terms of the 'short-term', are far greater than those endured by the rest of society, and their rewards less obvious. (ibid.: 315)

The movement of migrants is characterized above as a series of horizontal moves. In terms of temporality, there only exists the short term. To take a longer-term view of one's life requires more money (to settle etc.). But the constant pressure to stay on the move negates the ability to dwell and take advantage of the opportunities that arise from being able to put down roots. All this enforced restlessless and mobility induces feelings of instability and anxiety.

Occasionally, migrants get a glimpse of the benefits that arise from having a more permanent dwelling. In *Beautiful People,* when a migrant couple become homeless they are 'taken in' by Dr Mouldy (Nicholas Farrel), a white middle-class obstetrician (the woman is expecting a child). A similar scenario occurs in *It's a Free World* when Angie is so horrified by the cold disused warehouse where an illegal Iranian worker, Mahmoud (Davoud Rastgou) and his family are living that she brings Mahmoud, his wife and their two daughters back to the flat she shares with Rose to feed them and give them somewhere to sleep for the night. Eventually, she finds them a static caravan in Newham underneath a railway arch only, a few months later, to inform the immigration authorities of their presence when she needs to use the caravan to house a new crop

of illegal Ukrainian workers. Such is the contradictory nature of hospitality/exploitation and dwelling/mobility. In *Beautiful People,* the offer of a place to stay is shown as an act of kindness though one cannot help but think it also endows an indebtedness on the part of the migrants towards their host. Through his act of compassion the doctor, who by all accounts has not been the best husband or father, achieves some kind of redemption: the migrant family provides an opportunity to prove to himself that he is not such a bad guy after all.

However, in other instances, migrants seek desperately to avoid permanent dwellings out of fear that their mobility or freedom will be further constrained. In *Last Resort,* Tanya and her son Artiom are assigned to a flat in a high-rise building overlooking a deserted seaside amusement park called 'Dreamland' (see Fig. 4.4). The building is shared with other asylum seekers. The town itself is full of (self-confessed) 'fuck ups' like Alfie (Paddy Considine) who have drifted to the coast because their lives fell apart elsewhere. Alfie offers friendship to Tanya and Artiom. Although he is aware they are desparate to escape Stonehaven for London, Alfie still helps decorate the flat—transforming it from a space into a 'home'. He admires Tanya's romantic, vivid painting of a man, woman and child aboard a boat that she has hung on the wall (Tanya was a writer and illustrator of children's books in Russia): 'It makes me wanna cry', he says.

Fig. 4.4 *Last Resort* Stonehaven

Tanya and Artiom are not permitted to leave Stonehaven. As Roberts (2002: 80) puts it, Stonehaven is a 'zone of stasis', a non-place that reveals the paradox of 'the absence of agency in movement'. They must dwell here until their claims for asylum are processed, which, they are informed, can take between 12 and 18 months. More than any other site in the cycle of films, Stonehaven functions like an Agambenian 'camp', a space of immobilization and deprivation of rights, an exceptional space for the 'capture of life in law' (Agamben 1998: 26). Stonehaven exists in a dialectic with spaces such as the actual refugee camp of Shamshatoo in Peshawar, Pakistan where Jamal and Enayat set out from in their journey to London in *In This World*. Each necessitates the existence of the other. The unbounded mobility of migrants results in the creation of governmental 'fortresses' such as camps and detention centres. In these cases dwelling is a form of coercion and control: 'This city' says Tanya, 'is like punishment for me'. Like a camp Stonehaven provides Tanya and Artiom with anonymity, yet it also strips them of their individuality, their humanity. Yet, as *Last Resort* reveals, whilst Tanya and Artiom are forced to exist in Stonehaven by the sovereign power—and the film does not under-estimate the forms of state categorization and control they are subject to—they do exert agency in attempting to escape and, after many failed attempts, are eventually successful. Even though some scholars have also pointed to the agency and political activity that exists, against all odds, in migrant or refugee camps (e.g. Darling 2009; Pasquetti 2015; Sigona 2015), this positive cinematic resolution to Tanya and Artiom's dilemma may not be pessimistic enough for some. But then, as the film subtly demonstrates in its subtle balance of realism and surrealism, this is 'Dreamland'.

All of the migrant characters in these films carry with them an ambition of a better life in London. Dreams, nostalgia and fantasy are just some of the ways the 'cry and demand' for the right to the city is expressed (Lefebvre 1996). When such a right is denied—the right to the city or the right to urban life—the desire itself is not extinguished. In each of the films examined here, migrants or fellow travellers arrive in London or as close as they can get to London with such dreams. As Lefebvre (ibid.: 103) states, the 'urban' refers not only to social relations but also a 'mode of existence of entities, spirits and souls, freed from attachments and inscriptions; a kind of imaginary transcendence'. This cycle of films circulates an urban spirit (or spectre). Their critique of the barriers to a more productive and cosmopolitan urban life is what gives them a critical, or political dimension. Yet, as Lefebvre also points out, the separation of the spirit or soul of the urban

from a practico-material base is dangerous and can cause the urban to go into decline or even disappear (ibid.). This disjuncture between spirit and morphology is addressed in *Ghosts* when Mr Lin walks his group of Chinese migrants along a suburban street. When he points to a modest bungalow and says 'You'll be able to buy houses like this once you've made enough money' he is met with indifferent silence. It is not a prospect that seizes their imaginations. You cannot imagine Senay from *Dirty Pretty Things*—with her dreams of skating in Central Park—being impressed either. The bungalow promises none of the urban romance of the tenement, the brownstone or the ethnic enclave/'urban village' (Osman 2011; Gans 1962). Thetford presents none of the drama or heroism of the central city.

The cry and demand for urban life is not easily satisfied, but nor does it fade straightforwardly. This urban spirit is just one of the ways that 'the city' appears in the cycle of films as a spectre. Yet rather than drag us into mourning, the spectre of the city (or rather, the urban) can also provide an inspiration; or at least pose a serious question: taking into account the absence and/or inaccessibility of the city might it not *have to be* the suburbs, periphery or hinterland where the right to urban life is claimed? In exposing 'an immense and unexpected field of action' (Benjamin 1999: 229) cinema reveals but also provides an incitement for migrants to stake their claim for the urban *right here*. But, as the all films unceasingly reflect, even with such desire and motivation it is difficult to establish an urban life without the city. It is an enormous challenge to transfigure 'the body of some*one* [the periphery] as some*one other* [the city]' (Derrida 1994: 6 original emphasis). The obstacles to the realization of urban society are manifold and not to be under-estimated (Millington 2016b). But, cinema is a rare representational space where these obstacles are deliberated.

It is remarkable to witness how Thetford becomes cinematic in *Ghosts* (see Fig. 4.5). Its realization as an expressive, *cinematic* space is akin to a shock of the new, an effect achieved not through the qualities of space but through collaboration between milieu and the tools and materials of cinematic production. It is interesting how the oblique angle of the houses in Fig. 4.5 almost mimics those opening shots of Manhattan's verticality and density found in *The Naked City*. Dassin's cinematography of the city infiltrates Broomfield's direction here like a spectre. But there is something else too, in how these images of Thetford offer a transgressive depiction of urban space. In denying a single form of visibility for 'the urban', these images can be interpreted as making the suggestion that Thetford is somehow 'equal' to the city, in the process eluding or rather suspending

Fig. 4.5 *Ghosts* Thetford

'sensible' distributions of the urban spatial hierarchy. This playful (and political) 'postulation of equality' helps gauge how cinema can 'intervene in the general distribution of ways of doing and making' (Rancière 2004: 8).

Higson (1996: 148–9) suggests that the production of the city as image in British social realist cinema—what he calls 'That Long Shot of Our Town from That Hill'—empties the city 'of socio-historical signification in a process of romanticization, aestheticization (even humanization)'. Moreover, it 'tends to separate the protagonist from the space which defines it'. For Higson (ibid.: 152) such as image of the city is a product of bourgeois sympathies; it reveals 'the voyeurism of one class looking at the other'. In the case of images of Thetford found in *Ghosts*, an alternative view is offered here. To begin, it should be noted that Ai Qin and her friends are *already* separated from this milieu; the typical realist cosiness between protagonist and setting is impossible for them (and has already been established in preceding scenes). Likewise, they cannot dream of 'escape' from the city because they are not 'constrained' in familiar realist custom by place, class, family or humdrum routine. Their problem is that their belonging to this place has never been established; it remains an open question. Moreover, the image of the city—even if it is a bourgeois creation—need not be viewed as alienating or as a fetish. Similarly, the aestheticization or romanticization of the image need not preclude the

political. Thetford is disclosed as a place that is ready to be acted upon, *transformed*. It is a place where dwelling, belonging and a productive life *could* be achieved. The counterfactual question, really, is why *not* here? Thetford, in this sense, appears not only as an alienated landscape—or a spectacle—but also as a 'taskscape', that which 'exists only so long as people are actually engaged in the activities of dwelling' (Ingold 1993: 161). Thetford, as an ensemble or array of tasks accomplished over time (just like any city), is discovered in cinema as a concretization of this activity, an urbanizing place where people have dwelled and people will, in accordance with the demise of the central city as a welcoming and democratic space, go on dwelling, tasking, transforming. As Ingold explains, 'the activities that comprise the taskscape are unending, the landscape is never complete: neither "built" nor "unbuilt", it is perpetually under construction' (ibid.: 162). Suburban Thetford is revealed, remarkably, through the medium of cinema, as a *possible* city.

The unfashionable materiality of the suburban dwelling shapes the plot in ways that 'the city' cannot; it presents an array of potentials and capacities to be explored. In this space, perhaps more so than the city, cinema can work to *isolate* the urban spirit. For example, at one point Ai Qin stares out on the street from an upstairs bedroom window. She sees a group of teenagers playing on bikes and with a go-kart (see Fig. 4.6). Curtain twitching is what neighbours do in the proprietary English suburbs—or so the

Fig. 4.6 *Ghosts* Thetford from an upstairs window

cliché goes—but here the 'normality' of the suburbs is revealed through Ai Qin's eyes as strange or 'other'; as a way of life that requires apprehending. Normality is interrupted too for the teenagers who are confronted by Ai Qin's 'foreign' presence at the window. A revised self-awareness and sense of place is developed by everyone in the scene when they realize they can be seen and made sense of by each other. The teenagers may be hostile to this interruption—they might resent the presence of the other or be angry at being watched—but they may also learn something about themselves from the experience (the two responses are not mutually exclusive). The camera adds another level of visualization; it enables the viewer to participate in the encounter. Moreover, the documentary–realist aesthetic of the film makes it unclear to the viewer whether this encounter happens 'for real' or not. But this does not alter the impact of the scene. Kracauer (1960: 300) suggests that cinema uses space as 'raw material from which to build works'. One of these 'works' is the film (of course); but the other *oeuvre* being created here is *the urban*. Indeed, it is these kinds of encounters—the viewer watching Ai Qin gazing at the kids in the street who are looking up at her—that are important (but often neglected) *social and cultural constituents* of urbanization. To borrow from Kevin Lynch (1960: 2) again, '[w]e are not simply observers of this spectacle, but are ourselves a part of it, on the stage with the other participants'. The imaging and narrativizing of neglected or unloved spaces in cinema contributes, in a small way, to the urbanization (or re-urbanization) of these places. It does this first, by *revealing* these spaces as a field of action, as a space that can be transformed; and secondly, by involving the viewer in encounters with difference that are themselves constitutive of the urban.

As cinema reminds us, migration is not simply about flows or mobility; it is also a human experience of exhilaration, friendship, fatigue, fear and loneliness. Cinema weaves these experiences into the urban fabric, providing an often poorly understood terrain with new resonance and meaning. To conclude this section on dwelling and mobility, the following points are emphasized. First, the cycle of films examined here holds dwelling and mobility in tension. Rarely, if at all, is either dwelling or mobility (or motion) experienced as a simple freedom. Second, as the films narrativize journeys through spaces and times, the *becoming* networks of planetary urbanization are revealed—though not simply as an image but as a meaningful circuit or pathway. Third, making a home in the city or on the periphery is always shown, for the migrant, to be arduous. Migrants who make it to the city are pushed away from the centre and given no choice but to 'urbanize' elsewhere; to enter into an alternative taskscape and con-

tribute to the process of emplacement in fragmented, devalued sites outside of the metropolis. Fourth, migrants are depicted variously as desiring a permanent home and the social and psychological benefits of dwelling; and as actively seeking to avoid stasis, either so as not be held 'captive' or because the spaces they inherit do not meet their urban expectations. Fourth, is the suggestion that the cinematic imaging and narrativizing of neglected spaces modestly contributes—through its evocation of the encounter with the other—to the urbanization of these places.

The Death of the Social

In *Somers Town,* Tomo (Thomas Turgoose) travels to London from the East Midlands. The fact that he is only around 14 or 15 years old, travels alone, has few possessions and no place to stay communicates to the viewer that things must be bad at home. When his bag gets stolen during his first night sleeping rough he relies on a kindly woman he had met on the train to buy him breakfast in a café. It is in this café that Tomo first meets Marek (Piotr Jagiello), a Polish migrant of similar age who lives with his dad in a nearby block of flats (a building that, interestingly, is never presented using the 'multicultural housing estate' trope found in *Beautiful People*). The friendship that develops between Tomo and Marek is interesting, not least because it is Tomo, the 'native', who is forced to rely upon Marek's hospitality. Marek allows Tomo to stay in his bedroom which causes him a great deal of stress because he must hide Tomo from his hard-drinking father Marius. Challenges to typical migrant/'native' roles are a feature of *Somers Town*. In one scene, local wheeler-dealer Graham (Perry Benson), asks Marek if he wants to earn a 'fiver' helping him sand and polish some deck chairs he has acquired. Tomo instinctively replies 'yes'—he is most desperate for the money—but Graham snaps back: 'I was asking Marek, not you'. Eventually, Graham relents and agrees to 'employ' both boys but not before asking Marek whether Tomo is a 'hard worker'. Here, Meadows' film addresses the popular discourse that Polish labourers work harder and are more reliable than their white, working-class counterparts. In global, cosmopolitan London, Tomo's Englishness does not appear to grant him special privileges. He appears as a 'fish out of water' in contrast with Marek who, despite leading a somewhat lonely existence, seems more at home in the middle-class city. It is Marek with the penchant for arty street photography, who wears the Arsenal shirt (the local soccer team) and who is friends with Maria (Elisa Lasowski), a French waitress in a local cafe.

Marek and Tomo's experience of London is indicative of a political era that is witness to what Nikolas Rose (1996) calls 'the death of the social', meaning the social is no longer a key zone, target and objective of strategies of government. Patrick Wright (1991/2009) deals with this topic in relation to London in his book *A Journey Through Ruins: The Last Days of London*. The book takes stock of London's transformation during the Thatcher years, investigating themes such as the rise and fall of the council tower block, privatization and creeping gentrification. As Wright explains (2009: ix) 'the London that was dying was the city of planning and the welfare state born of the post-war settlement'.

In *Somers Town,* there is no social support for Tomo and Marek. The teenagers are left almost entirely to fend for themselves in the city. They have little or no family, no school or college and no paid work. Tomo even loses his clothes midway through the film (causing him to steal a bag of laundry from a launderette only to discover the clothes belong to an elderly lady). In this cycle the state appears only in its repressive guise as the immigration authorities who hunt down 'illegal' migrants. The state does not offer protection from racist violence, exploitation, poverty or homelessness. There is no safety net. We assume that *some* people must have rights in this city, but we do not see them.

The films articulate the dissociation of citizen and city dweller that Lefebvre (2014a) describes. In global London citizenship rights are reduced to a passport, which itself becomes just another currency, another abstraction. In *Dirty Pretty Things,* the plot revolves around a lucrative but deadly scheme organized by Spanish hotel manager Sneaky (Sergi López), who offers migrants the chance to exchange a kidney for a counterfeit passport. Senay sees this as her only option to obtain a passport that, she believes, will take her, finally, away from the city she detests (London) to New York (the city of her dreams). This illicit market for human organs is shown to flourish as a consequence of the state's determination to expel 'illegals' from the city and their failure to offer protection to the vulnerable. More broadly though, these examples reveal the ascendency of market logic or what Gorz (2010) calls economic reason, where every activity and aspiration has been subjected to the rule of the market.

It's a Free World interrogates the prevailing economic ethos of pre-Crash London. This Blair-boom city is depicted as a continuation of the neoliberal turn instigated by Thatcher. Loach's film suggests the only reason 'natives' might wish to engage with migrants is to exploit them (financially or sexually). Or, even if they do feel some empathy for the plight of migrants

this will inevitably be replaced by cold economic rationality. Here, Loach explains his development of the lead character Angie (Kierston Wareing):

> We wanted her to be sympathetic initially—someone who takes the audience on the journey of her being a victim to her becoming the exploiter. We tried to show that there has been a shift of consciousness among a lot of people—and you can trace this back to the Thatcher years. We wanted a protagonist who would express this new consciousness—everything is a deal, everything is to be negotiated, you're on your own, you look after yourself, and you have no responsibilities to the rest of the world. (Loach cited in Kuennecke 2007)

Angie is small time, but this is the point. Her immersion in the logic of the market reveals the deep penetration of economic reason. Throughout the film, Angie's partner and friend Rose (Juliet Ellis) and her retired union-activist father (Colin Coughlin) are shown to be a constraining influence on Angie's profit-maximizing instincts. As the film speculates, such rampant exploitation causes the demise of an urban experience or consciousness based upon mutuality, and the irresistible rise of a more reified, abstract experience; an experience that is 'urban' in relation to spatial setting rather than social content.

In *Somers Town*, Tomo is a synecdoche for the white working-class. This group act across the cycle as a cipher for, or a reminder, of the disregarded 'social'. They are depicted as the bearers of Gilroy's (2004) postcolonial melancholia. They occupy a contradictory position in this cycle, appearing both as barriers to a more harmonious urban society, but also, just like migrants, as victims of displacement and state neglect. As a consequence the films veer between positing a binary, irreconcilable divide between migrant and 'native' and portraying migrants and 'natives' as suffering equally (but rarely together) as a result of the death of the social.

A useful way of understanding the politics at play here is through Raymond Williams' (2014a) distinction between dominant, residual and emergent cultures, an analysis that he develops during a discussion of base and superstructure in Marxist theory. Williams argues that 'in any society, in any particular period, there is a central system of practices, meanings and values, which we call properly dominant and effective' (2014b: 127). Dominant culture is effective because of its ability to incorporate, to make and remake itself whilst saturating our reality. Dominant culture relies on a process that continually (re)establishes the *selective tradition*; a definition of culture that selects carefully from the past and presents this as legitimate

and authoritative culture. Williams then distinguishes between *residual* and *emergent* forms of culture. The former refers to '[…] experiences, meanings and values, which cannot be verified or cannot be expressed in terms of the dominant culture, are nevertheless lived and practised on the basis of the residue—cultural as well as social—of some previous social formation' (ibid.: 129). Residual culture is often incorporated within dominant culture, for example it is channelled through popular nationalism, since too much residual culture can pose a risk. Emergent culture, on the other hand, refers to 'new meanings and values, new practices, new significances and experiences, [that] are continually being created' (ibid.: 129–130). According to Williams, the dominant culture is always alert to anything that might be seen as emergent. A precise analysis of these cultural forms needs to focus on distinctions between *residual-incorporated* and *residual not-incorporated*, and between *emergent-incorporated* and *emergent not-incorporated* forms of culture (ibid.: 130). These categories are used to guide the discussion of the specific role played by the white working class in the cycle of films analysed here (the notion of 'emergent culture' is explored in Chap. 5).

Williams' schema is useful on two fronts. The first is in understanding the films themselves as artistic practices. In their broad adherence to the social realist tradition of British film making and their reliance upon public and/or charitable funding (BBC Films, Film4 Productions etc.), the cycle discussed here may be best characterized as examples of *emergent-incorporated* culture. The Left-wing/socially liberal perspective of the directors has largely been incorporated within dominant culture. Revered, award-winning directors such as Loach, Broomfield, Frears and Winterbottom are part of a British tradition stretching back to the mid-twentieth century that produces cinema that contains an 'oppositional' view that seeks to highlight social issues in British society. Mostly though this view is tolerated within dominant British culture. Secondly, the films can also be analysed in relation to their social and cultural content; that is, the people, places and processes revealed and made sense of in the films. Below, discussion focuses on how the films depict the interplay between residual and emergent cultures in urbanizing space.

The white working-class are often portrayed in the cycle as symbols of a residual English culture that is an obstruction to the realization of a more harmonious multicultural or cosmopolitan society. Rather than present the white working-class as passive, they are portrayed as deliberative actors who create misery through xenophobia and/or their desire to exploit

migrants. Yet they also appear as melancholy reminders of the post-WWII 'settlement', a period that is now recognised as a short-lived consensus on public service provision. This settlement has, according to most commentators, been steadily dismantled since the mid-1970s and the birth of neoliberalism (Harvey 2007). In some cases, the residual culture represented by the white working-class is incorporated; in other words, poor whites are redeemed through contact with cosmopolitan difference, but in other cases the residual English culture they represent is depicted as abject, unincorporated and a malevolent threat to urban and/or cosmopolitan society. Examples of both tendencies are discussed below.

In *Beautiful People,* England's residual culture is represented by three young men who are shown as 'suffering from football hooliganism tainted with racism and ultra-nationalism' (Loshitzky 2010: 55). Griffin (Danny Nussbaum) is apathetic, heroin-addicted and prone to outbursts of xenophobic violence. He is harangued by his head-teacher father for being lazy and not having a job but doted on by his mother. Griffin inexplicably misses his flight back from an England football match in Amsterdam when he collapses and falls asleep on a luggage truck after taking heroin at the airport. He is carried unconscious onto the wrong plane—a military aid aircraft—and ends up in the middle of a Bosnian battlefield. Here, Griffin learns about war and the suffering of the 'others' he so willingly torments back on the streets of suburban London. He has an epiphany. He finds a purpose in caring for a young boy blinded by an explosion. They are airlifted to London together. What began for Griffin as a trip to Europe to 'fuck the Europeans and fuck the Dutch' ends with a demonstration of hospitality towards the (Eastern) European other. The risk posed by his violent and resentful residual culture is neutralized. He is incorporated into the idea of a chaotic, vibrant multicultural London that *Beautiful People* creates (Mazierska and Rascaroli 2003).

Alfie's rebirth after meeting Tanya and Artiom is *Last Resort* reveals some similarities. He does not get to be with Tanya—to live out the fantasy in her painting—but the trust he earns from her helps him to become more than he thought himself capable of. Alfie embraces his chance encounter with Tanya, despite the heartbreak you sense he knows it will bring. Again, the white working-class culture that Alfie is a signifier for is redeemed through contact with and reciprocal acceptance of the other. It is a powerful fable.

In *Ghosts* however, the white working-class do not fare so well. Robert—the landlord of the Thetford house where the Chinese migrants live—with his bald head, thick neck, leather jacket, gold chains and sovereign rings is

a grotesque parody of residual white working-class culture. Not only does Robert own the decrepit property in Thetford that the migrants rent, but he sees it as his right to sleep with the female tenants whenever he wishes. The demonization of residual English culture does not end there. Later in the film, in Morecambe, where Ai Qin and her friends have moved to become cockle pickers, they are attacked by a group of resentful white English cocklers who force them to flee the shore. It is fear of more violence that causes the Chinese to work at night, which is one of the reasons why so many of them eventually drown. Here, England's residual culture is depicted as a deadly force that is irreconcilable with the cosmopolitized actuality of urbanizing England. Unless this culture can 'do work' for the dominant culture—and sometimes working-class racism can (see Millington 2010)—it remains unincorporated within dominant culture.

This third thematic discussion suggests 'the death of the social' is tied in with cinematic portrayals of the dissolution of the city. The turning over of the city to economic reason means there is no support or protection for migrants. Only the repressive 'right arm' of the state (Wacquant 2009) makes an appearance in this cycle of films. State protection for vulnerable citizens is no longer available. Passports, nowadays the only marker of citizenship, have become just another currency. The white working-class appear as a reminder of the demise of the 'social' and the loss of the social democratic city. They are also the prime conveyors of Gilroy's (2004) postcolonial melancholia which is shown often during the cycle as an obstruction to the realization of a cosmopolitan or urban society. There is considerable ambiguity across the cycle as to whether the white working-class should be demonized or sympathized with (since, like migrants, they suffer greatly from the death of the social). Cinematic engagement with the death of the social is intricately linked to the dissolving of the city, but it also shows the autonomy of these narratives, revealing how, as Corkin (2011) argues, urban cinema is always liable to be inserted within *other histories*. There is far more at stake here than just the city.

Conclusion

The conclusion begins with a short summary before re-iterating two key arguments. The chapter proceeded by examining how the cycle of films produces images of the city that captures or anticipates social and economic transformations in London. Fundamentally, these are images of the dissolution of the city. Some of these images, such as those found in *Dirty*

Pretty Things and *It's a Free World* ontologize the remains of the city. In other words, they leave the spectator in no doubt that London is dead, its urbanity is beyond resuscitation. All that remains is the image, or a spectre of the city that once existed. It is worth remembering at this point, that cinema is never a direct representation of the actually existing city. It would be foolish in the extreme to state, on the basis of these films, that actual London has rescinded *all* of its urban qualities. Rather cinema works to help us comprehend the city and urbanization in particular ways; and to contribute to the myths of the city (which are, of course, *part of* its reality). The chapter also examined more arcane images of 'the city' from *Last Resort* and *Ghosts*. The depiction of these sites as contemporary 'entry points' to the city offers a sharp critique of the exclusions and privations of capitalist urbanization. They signal an historical rupture—from earlier periods of modernity—in how the relationship between migrant and city is understood. In relation to images of 'other' cities that protagonists experience on the their journeys to London, it is suggested that Derrida's notion of *différance*, meaning both 'to differ' and 'to defer', captures the hopes and frustrations of those seeking an urban life. The chapter then discussed how this cycle of films maintain dwelling and mobility in a state of tension. The mobility of the migrant, born from a compound mix of coercion and choice, often makes dwelling impracticable. Moreover, the dangers of settling in one place—such as entrapment, xenophobia and becoming visible to authorities—make continual movement a necessity. It was also considered how emergent cinematic spaces of migrant dwelling such as Thetford, Norfolk are portrayed not only as deleterious spaces but also as fields of social action, as *possible* cities. The third thematic discussion demonstrates how 'the death of the social' is intertwined with cinematic depictions of the implosion or dissolution of the city. In connecting with this political discourse the white working-class appear as a reminder of the social democratic city and the demise of the post-WWII settlement. They are shown in some cases to be bitter, resentful and xenophobic, as soiled remnants of an English culture of entitlement and dependency. On other occasions they are shown to be liberated from their melancholia through relationships with migrants.

In terms of argument, two points at stressed at the end of this chapter. First, is that this cycle of films interprets contemporary or planetary urbanization as involving, for migrants at least, the loss of the city. Migrants can no longer claim a right to the city in the Western metropolis (of course, there was never a guarantee that such claims were ever successful in the

past, rather that they were made with regularity and style—see Millington 2011). Consequently migrants are therefore impelled to keep moving, to keep struggling for their right to urban life, often in the most discouraging of settings. The dissolving of the city (and the sense of loss this brings) is concomitant with the death of the social. As the films relate, state protection is not afforded to migrants. Migrants caught in the churn of urbanization may find themselves both stateless and cityless. They are, therefore, obliged to actively create new urban spaces, to participate in processes of emplacement in urbanizing spaces they have not chosen.

Second, in Rancière's terms, the cycle introduces 'dissensus' into our understanding of the times and spaces of the urban. As Rancière (2004: 37) explains, '[p]olitics revolves around what is seen and what can be said about it [...] around the properties of spaces and the possibilities of time'. Dissensus refers to the process of transforming the sensible by placing it in conflict with rival conceptions of the world (Tanke 2011: 103). The importance of dissensus is that it 'brings back into play both the obviousness of what can be perceived, thought and done, and the distribution of those who are capable of perceiving, thinking and altering the coordinates of the shared world' (Rancière 2007: 49). Dissensus is introduced by this cycle of films first, in relation to *images of the city*. These films offer an alternative image of London to 'sensible' depictions of the city as a successful, world-leading global city or as an open, cosmopolitan Olympic city. Second, while the spectre of the city can act in accordance with 'the sensible', by maintaining an image of the city, by providing an illusory sense of cityness after the dissolution of the city itself or appearing as an imaginary destination point for migrants, the spectre can also serve more disruptive purposes by representing an unattainable present or appearing as an apparition from the future. In two senses then—though the city spaces redeemed on film (e.g. the wasteground in *Ghosts*) and the spectre of the city that haunts these images—cinema permits the invisible to become visible, thereby challenging sensible distributions of the urban. With the cinematic form of perception, urbanizing spaces and the 'things' that comprise them—the cracked concrete, disgarded bollards and weeds of interstitial spaces on the periphery of the city for instance—become new objects. They are aestheticized—made into art—but rather than increasing our distance from them, we are drawn closer. In the process new urban actors, objects and subjectivities are created. Third, dissensus is achieved by the postulation of *equality* between urban spaces such as the central city and urbanizing spaces such as Thetford (where the city is present only in spectral terms). For Rancière

(2004: 90) equality refers to acts of subjectivization that undo the supposedly 'natural' order of the sensible. Such images also pose a non-sensible question: can these moribund spaces be acted upon or transformed? Can they become *richly* urban in the way that Lefebvre envisages? The aesthetic appreciation of urbanization processes and migrant emplacement in cinema allows us to see urbanization in ways that breach the urban sensible.

Note

1. See article by Wainwright and Ulmanu (2015): http://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2015/dec/11/city-of-london-skyline-of-tomorrow-interactive [accessed 23.3.16].

References

Agamben, G. (1998). *Homo sacer: Sovereign power and bare life*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Ahmad, A. N. (2008). Dead men working: Time and space in London's (illegal) migrant economy. *Work, Employment & Society, 22*(2), 301–318.

Benjamin, W. (1999). *Illuminations*. London: Pimlico.

Bloch, A., & Schuster, L. (2005). At the extremes of exclusion: Deportation, detention and dispersal. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 28*(3), 491–512.

Bonnett, A. (2010). Radicalism, antiracism, and nostalgia: The burden of loss in the search for convivial culture. *Environment and Planning A, 42*(10), 2351–2369.

Brunsdon, C. (2007). *London in film*. London: BFI.

Burdsey, D. (2013). "The foreignness is still quite visible in this town": Multiculture, marginality and prejudice at the English seaside. *Patterns of Prejudice, 47*(2), 95–116.

Corkin, S. (2011). *Starring New York: Filming the grime and glamour of the long 1970s*. New York: Routledge.

Darling, J. (2009). Becoming bare life: Asylum, hospitality, and the politics of encampment. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 27*(4), 649–665.

Darling, J. (2016). Forced migration and the city: Irregularity, informality, and the politics of presence. *Progress in Human Geography*. doi:10.1177/0309.

Derrida, J. (1994). *Specters of Marx*. London: Routledge.

Dimendberg, E. (2004). *Film noir and the spaces of modernity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gans, H. J. (1962). *The urban villagers: Group and class in the life of Italians-Americans*. New York: Glencoe.

Gilroy, P. (2004). *After empire: Melancholia or convivial culture?* London: Routledge.

Gorz, A. (2010). *Critique of economic reason*. London: Verso.

Grillo, R. (2005). "Saltdean can't cope": Protests against asylum-seekers in an English seaside suburb. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 28*(2), 235–260.

Hall, S. (2015). Super-diverse street: A "trans-ethnography" across migrant localities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 38*(1), 22–37.

Harvey, D. (2007). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harvey, D. (2012). *Rebel cities: From the right to the city to the urban revolution*. New York: Verso.

Higson, A. (1996). Space, place, spectacle: Landscape and townscape in the "Kitchen Sink" film. In A. Higson (Ed.), *Dissolving views: Key writings on British cinema*. London: Cassell.

Holston, J. (2009). Insurgent citizenship in an era of global urban peripheries. *City & Society, 21*(2), 245–267.

Huyssen, A. (Ed,) (2008). *Other Cities, Other Worlds: Urban Imaginaries in a Globalizing Age*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Ingold, T. (1993). The temporality of the landscape. *World Arcaeology, 25* (2), 152–174.

Koeck, R. (2013). *Cine|scapes: Cinematic spaces in architecture and cities*. London: Routledge.

Kracauer, S. (1960). *Theory of film: The redemption of physical reality*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Kuennecke, B. (2007). Ken Loach interviewed about his new film, It's a Free World, *Socialist Worker*, 11 September, 28–9.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The production of space*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The production of space*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lefebvre, H. (1996). *Writings on cities*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lefebvre, H. (2003). *The urban revolution*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Lefebvre, H. (2014a). Dissolving city, planetary metamorphosis. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 32*(2), 203–205.

Loshitzky, Y. (2010). *Screening strangers: Migration and diaspora in contemporary European cinema*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Lynch, K. (1960). *The image of the city*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Mazierska, E., & Rascaroli, L. (2003). *From Moscow to Madrid: Postmodern cities, European cinema*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Millington, G. (2005). Meaning, materials and melancholia: Understanding the Palace Hotel. *Social & Cultural Geography, 6*(4), 531–549.

Millington, G. (2010). Racism, class ethos and place: The value of context in narratives about asylum-seekers. *The Sociological Review, 58*(3), 361–380.

Millington, G. (2011). *"Race", culture and the right to the city: Centres, peripheries, margins*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Millington, G. (2016b). The cosmopolitan contradictions of planetary urbanization. *British Journal of Sociology*, doi:10.1111/1468-4446.12200.

Osman, S. (2011). *The invention of Brownstone Brooklyn: Gentrification and the search for authenticity in postwar New York*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Pasquetti, S. (2015). Negotiating control: Camps, cities and political life. *City, 19*(5), 702–713.
Rancière, J. (2004). *The politics of aesthetics*. London: Bloomsbury.
Roberts, L. (2002). Welcome to dreamland: From place to non-place and back again in Pawel Pawlikowski's Last Resort. *New Cinemas: Journal of Contemporary Film, 1*(2), 78–90.
Robins, K. (1996). *Into the image: Culture and politics in the field of vision*. London: Routledge.
Robinson, V., Andersson, R., & Musterd, S. (2003). *Spreading the "burden": A review of policies to disperse asylum seekers and refugees*. Bristol: Policy Press.
Rose, N. (1996). The death of the social? Re-figuring the territory of government. *Journal of Human Resource Management*, *25* (3), 327–356.
Sargeant, A. (2005). *British cinema: A critical history*. London: BFI.
Sassen, S. (2001). *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Schuster, L. (2004). *The exclusion of asylum seekers in Europe*. Compas Working Paper No. 1, University of Oxford.
Selvon, S. (1956/2006). *The lonely Londoners*. London: Penguin.
Sigona, N. (2015). Campzenship: Reimagining the camp as a social and political space. *Citizenship Studies, 19*(1), 1–15.
Sinclair, I. (2002). Heartsnatch Hotel. *Sight and Sound, 12*, 22–24.
Tanke, J. J. (2011). *Jacques Rancière: Philosophy, politics, aesthetics*. New York: Continuum.
Wacquant, L. (2009). *Punishing the Poor: the neoliberal government of social insecurity*. Durham, NC.: Duke University Press.
Wallace, A. (2016). 'Crafting the global city. Micro-brewing, place, class and culture', paper presented at Sociology of Contemporary Urban Life conference, University of York, 16 June.
Welch, M., & Schuster, L. (2005). Detention of asylum seekers in the US, UK, France, Germany and Italy: A critical view of the globalizing culture of control. *Criminal Justice, 5*(4), 331–355.
Williams, R. (2014a). A lecture on realism. In J. McGuigan (Ed.), *Raymond Williams on culture and society*. London: Sage.
Williams, R. (2014b). Base and superstructure in Marxist cultural theory. In J. McGuigan (Ed.), *Raymond Williams on culture and society*. London: Sage.
Wirth, L. (1938). Urbanism as a way of life. *The American Journal of Sociology, 44*(1), 1–24.
Wolfreys, J. (2007). *Derrida: A guide for the perplexed*. London: Continuum.
Wright, P. (2009). *A Journey Through Ruins: The Last Days of London*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

CHAPTER 5

Horizontal Distributions

Abstract This chapter continues the analytical discussion of seven British films. It begins by examining the cinematic construction of the migrant across the cycle before considering the challenge to the distribution of the urban 'sensible' posed by the images of urbanization created by these films. In the first discussion, it is emphasized how the migrant appears as a contradictory figure. Some contradictions relate to issues of citizenship or difference/homogeneity but others relate to the perceived deficiencies or qualities of the migrant. The second discussion, drawing upon Rancière's notion of 'horizontal distributions', is concerned with how images of urbanization, via their cinematic circulation, encourage a hermeneutic fusion of urban horizons.

Keywords The migrant • Rancière • Horizontal distributions • Cinema • Mondialisation • Urban society • Aesthetics

This chapter continues the analysis of the seven films that began in Chap. 4. It offers two further thematic discussions, both of which incorporate and build upon the insights gained in Chap. 4. The first section focuses explicitly on dissecting the figure of the migrant as construed in British cinema. In particular, arguments are made about the role that migrants are shown to play in the process of urbanization and how this imaginary represents an emotional response to the perceived injustices of urbanization. The

© The Author(s) 2016

G. Millington, *Urbanization and the Migrant in British Cinema*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-47399-8_5

second section, titled 'Images of Urbanization', works as a counterpart to the 'Images of the City' analysis in Chap. 4. As such, it continues to draw upon Rancière's arguments about politics and aesthetics.

The Figure of the Migrant

Just as the flâneur was central in understanding earlier periods of urban modernity (see Frisby 2001), the figure of the migrant is arguably the foremost urban sociological 'type' of the contemporary urban age. In discussing European cinema on migration and diaspora Loshitzky (2010) uses the phrase 'screening strangers', to refer not only to the cinematic depiction of the migrant, but also the post-9/11 paranoia that differentiates between indigenous populations and desired and undesired migrants. 'Screening' also gains another dimension in relation to medical discourse and the scouring of the national/European body for malign presences. Screening, she argues, exemplifies Bauman's (2004) two pervasive methods of dealing with the presence of strangers. The first solution is to ingest strangers into the national body so they cease to be strangers. The second is to expel them (from the city, the nation-state, the European body), in the process creating the problem of 'human waste'. However, it is suggested here that once 'the urban' becomes the focus of cinematic attention (rather than the nation or Europe), depictions of the migrant become more complex than a simple dualism of incorporation or expulsion. Urbanization both incorporates and expels. Migrants—people on the move—must necessarily participate in acts of emplacement even when they have been expelled from the city. Planetary urbanization engenders both 'active' and 'activist' modes of citizenship (Isin 2012: 148) with the former relating to 'scripted' forms of citizenship (i.e. those preferred by governments and markets) and the latter to how people write their own scripts of political belonging with creativity, autonomy and inventiveness.

To understand the figure of the migrant in relation to contemporary urban imaginaries it is instructive to draw upon Abdelmalek Sayad's (2004: 179) conception of the migrant as a social figure built around a series of contradictions:

> One of the major contradictions is of course that affecting the [migrant's] relationship with his [sic] own body—the body as object of representation and presentation of the self, the body as the seat of affect and of the intellect (for the body is inhabited by the entire group that lives inside us), the body as instrument of labour and as site and expression of illness. Like the contra-

> diction of temporal consciousness, the contradiction of corporeal consciousness, which is an embodied contradiction, lies at the source of the other contradictions. It is this contradiction which, in a certain manner, makes the body of the [migrant] foreign and 'incomprehensible' to others.

In line with the above, the migrant is a contradictory figure in the films discussed here, with representations and characterizations mixing political and public discourse with the liberal left, sympathetic intentions of the directors. The cycle is attracted to the incomprehensibility and mystery of the migrant. Cinema is used to make sense of this figure in ways that almost always are in relation to understandings of cities and/or urbanization and mobility. Whereas the cosmopolitan figure 'travels light' in the sense they are spatially and temporally unrestricted, cinema reveals the migrant as mobile but overburdened by space and time, carrying the weight of the cities and places they have passed through and the cities or places they are moving towards. As suggested in the previous chapter, mobility is also slowed by the emotional burden of having separated from loved ones. Moreover, as Sayad suggests many of these contradictions are inscripted upon *the body* of the migrant, which is why the visual medium of cinema is so useful in apprehending this symbolic figure.

In *Beautiful People*, the earliest film in the cycle, the migrant characters are presented as individuals that represent different nationalties—for example, a Serb, a Croat, a Bosnian and so forth. Unlike other films in the cycle, migrants are not presented as a homogenous, undifferentiated mass. Nevertheless, migrant characters in the film are srill *social bodies* in the sense that, broadly speaking, they represent the other against which the host community defines itself. It is only through relationships with these migrant bodies that the psychopathologies of Engishness are identified and remedied. Migrants in this film are presented as a source of fascination and desire. As Ahmed (2000: 2) writes, 'making friends with aliens [...] might enable us to transcend the very limits and frailties of an all-too-human form'. The stories of Griffin and Dr Mouldy (recounted earlier) are testament to this. The simplicity and honesty of the migrant offers metaphysical qualities that promise to wash away the sins of these symbolic representatives of the host community (white middle-class London). For Griffin and Dr Mouldy, '[t]he journey towards the stranger becomes a form of self-discovery, in which the stranger functions [...] to establish and define the "I"' (ibid.: 6). When the urban becomes the focus, a milieu where the 'I' refers not to the nation but to a more open, fluid sense of self, Ahmed's interpretation of encounters between host and stranger is modified and is

transformed into an illimitable exercise where ‘starting positions’ in relation to identity quickly become irrelevant. It also becomes a process where not only the ‘host’ community but also the migrant *benefits*. Even if self-discovery is sentimentalized in *Beautiful People*, the prospect of ‘learn[ing] to bring together contradictory aspects of our being’ (Berman 2006: xxxvi) is raised throughout *Beautiful People* as a potential property of urban space.

Beautiful People is one of four films in the cycle (the others being *In This World*, *It’s a Free World* and *Ghosts*) to seriously examine the social and spatial relations—the centrifugal and centripetal forces and the emerging networks of mobility—that exist in order for the migrant to be present in the city or in urbanizing space elsewhere. In these films, the migrant does not appear as if ‘from nowhere’, as a de-historicized feature of the present. *Beautiful People* celebrates diversity but in disclosing ‘origins’ it does not quite make a fetish of the migrant. In contrast, many other films in the cycle offer scenes where the super-diversity of migrants is homogenized into a ‘crowd’, a vexing mass of bodies. In Fig. 5.1, for example, a still from *It’s a Free World*, which otherwise is geopolitically astute, a group of migrants bodies congregate in a pub carpark. They can all be seen raising their hands clamouring for a day’s work. Here, all difference is concealed. All migrants are day-labourers, part of a reserve army of labour; each individual is just a face in the crowd. In this visualization of difference, ‘different forms of displacement [are] gathered together in the

Fig. 5.1 *It’s a Free World* Super-diversity

singularity of a given name' (Ahmed 2000: 5). In the sociological world, that name, of course, is diversity or, as is more likely, super-diversity. It is as if the heterogeneity of migrants is now just too complicated for the film to make sense of (or to try and make sense of). This is not just a problem for the filmmakers themselves who, across the cycle, make recourse to crowd scenes of human diversity to convey the historical specificity of super-diverse migration, but is also projected as an issue for those institutions—recruitment agencies, hospitals, immigration authorities and so on—that come into contact with migrants. In many scenes, across the cycle, when witness to the bewildered, overwhelmed, overworked faces of bureaucrats or officials, it is easy to recall political and public discourses of 'tides' or 'swarms' of migrants.

There are many scenes across the cycle where migrants are depicted as injured and/or docile. Their bodies, as Sayad claims, are sites and expressions of suffering or illness. A particularly stark scene appears in *Dirty Pretty Things* when Okwe attends to a sick Somali man in a high-rise flat. The window of the flat looks out upon the Thames and the Millennium Dome, New Labour's showpiece public riverside development for the year 2000. The Dome is a monument to global London while the migrant, whose labour keeps the city 'working' must remain invisible. This is why Okwe, who trained and worked as a doctor in Nigeria, is called to administer health care in an unofficial capacity (another indication of the death of the social). The man, who has recently sold an organ in return for a passport, is listless, sweating and clearly in pain. He cannot speak English, so Okwe must use a young girl, another family member, as the conduit for his instructions. This demonstrates Sayad's (2004: 213) claim that the migrant is viewed as an object that needs care, but should also be treated as a child, or minor, who requires teaching or inculcation.

Despite the focus on migrants as vulnerable, sick or ailing, migrant bodies are also depicted as incredibly resilient. The films examined here contain many scenes of heavy labour, such as the depictions of the Chinese labourers in *Ghosts* who are engaged in factory work, agricultural work and, of course, the back-breaking task of cockling. There are also many scenes of the durable and resilient migrant body in transit. *In This World* contains many such examples, such as the scene where Jamal and Enayat share a lorry container with a couple and their young baby on their way to Istanbul. In Belgrade and then Calais, Ai Qin is transported with other migrants (again including children) in a boarded up crate. They struggle to breath but some how survive the journey.

A corollary to the cinematic use of the migrant body as an expression of suffering is to present the migrant as vulnerable, as prey for the bitter and/or predatory factions of the indigenous white working-class. An example is found in *Last Resort* where Tanya is approached in a café by Les (Lindsay Honey aka Ben Dover), an internet (and real life) pornographer. Les wants Tanya to appear in live online sex shows for 'people from Saudi Arabia and Pakistan' to consume. Other migrant bodies are also eroticized: Pero (*Beautiful People*), Karel (*It's a Free World*) and Senay (*Dirty Pretty Things*). In all these cases, the eroticization of migrant bodies is linked, within the narratives, with questions of exploitation and vulnerability. In addressing this, Loshitzky is critical of Tanya's 'innocence':

> [T]he film projects deep ambivalence towards contemporary migrants […] Tanya the protagonist is the only white 'European-looking' woman […] in the midst of a faceless mass of dark-skinned asylum seekers. […] It is very clear to the spectator that Tanya, the innocent white woman, is not part of this world of 'real' asylum seekers […]. […] Tanya is used by Pawlikowski as a mediator for the spectator's gaze precisely because she […] seems not to fit into the stereotypical image, deeply rooted in the European popular consciousness, of the dark, poor, uneducated asylum seeker. (Loshitzky 2010: 33)

This quote addresses once more the contradiction of the migrant as individual body/social body. Tanya is presented as an individual, which has the effect of making her *unlike* the crowds of 'real' asylum seekers that also appear in the film. In this sense, she is viewed by Loshitzky as inauthentic. However, while the view that a white spectator might empathize more closely with Tanya's vulnerability than with a dark-skinned migrant surely has some validity, the 'stereotypical image' of the asylum seeker raised towards the end of Loshitzky's passage does not take into account the contradictory aspects of the figure of the migrant. Moreover, as the director Pawel Pawlikowski states in an interview, his aim is always to create '[…] very concrete and complex characters who are full of humanity with all its paradoxes. They're not pawns used to illustrate some version of history or an ideology. Life is complicated, why can't art be complicated?' (Pawlikowski cited in Child 2015). There is no 'real' or essential migrant (or asylum seeker) and perhaps this is the point that Pawlikowski tries to emphasise with the character of Tanya.

As an adjunct to the issue of the migrant body as a site of desire, it is interesting to note how the cycle of films devotes more time to the

burgeoning romantic relationships between 'natives' and migrants than those between migrant couples. It is worth noting too, that the focus, in this cycle, is exclusively upon heterosexual relationships. In terms of relationships *between* migrants, the key romantic bond in the cycle is that between Okwe and Senay in *Dirty Pretty Things*. The film makes it clear that a city like London is no place for a lasting human relationship to be founded. Okwe and Senay share tender moments but love between the two is shown not to be possible in a city where you have no right to be; where, at the close of the film a tearful Senay says goodbye to Okwe and asks why, "always we must hide". Of course, as Pearce and Stacey (1995) explain, the measure of romantic love always depends upon the satisfaction of overcoming the barriers to it. In this sense, Okwe and Senay is a classic cinema romance. The difference is that whereas the city usually provides a dramatic setting for romance or enables the smooth narrativization of a romantic love story; here, the city provides the *barrier* to love. The city must be overcome if their desire for each other is ever to be fulfilled.

Romantic relationships between *others*, between migrants and 'natives' tend to receive more attention. Here, if desire is the effect of loss and if romantic love involves the 'idealisation' or over-valuation of the love object (Pearce and Wisker 1998: 4–5), then the void that Alfie imagines Tanya can fill; or Tomo's infatuation with Maria; or Charlotte's (Portia Thornton) engagement to Pero in *Beautiful People* are all very much tied up with who, in a broader social sense, 'natives' and migrants symbolize. The suggestion here is that desire for the migrant, in all these instances, is about meeting a cultural lack, or compensating for a social loss on the part of the 'host'. There is something about the migrant—in a social and cultural sense—that promises to rejuvenate and transform these 'native' characters. Ultimately, of course, it is cinema that demonstrates fascination and desire for the figure of the migrant. Characters such as Alfie or Charlotte are narrative means with which to express this. This romantic desire to become one with the other—to elevate the migrant as the better side of our own selves—is addressed to feelings of loss associated with postcolonial melancholia, the death of the social and the 'cry and demand' for the right to the city (a complex bundle for sure!). The migrant body is desired because it is imagined as redemptive, restorative and authentic. As Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (1995: 192) state, romantic love is 'is our alternative to doubt'. The self-doubt and/or humility that enables 'native' characters to fall in love with migrants is portrayed as a lesson for the host community at large. These love affairs are fables about the con-

tinued promise of the urban encounter; they demonstrate how urban life shakes the 'native' out of introspection and relieves the soporific effects of melancholia. Whereas the city serves as the obstacle that makes Okwe and Senay's love stronger (but ultimately impossible), in other instances it is urbanization that unexpectedly brings people together (and offers a remedy for their (our?) psychopathologies).

To return to the Loshitzky quote and her point about the stereotype of the 'uneducated' or uncultured migrant, this is confronted in a number of the films by the portrayal of migrants as possessing a civility and culture that the indigenous English working-class are shown to lack. For example, Tanya writes and illustrates children's books; Okwe is a doctor who plays chess and reads Greek mythology; Pero astounds Charlotte's family (her father is a Tory MP) with his beautiful piano playing; and Marek is a keen urban photographer. These examples cannot be reduced to the counter-hegemonic; rather, they are very much integral to the contradictory imaginary of the migrant. This is why Ahmed (2000: 6) argues that the stranger is 'an effect of processes of inclusion *and* exclusion, or incorporation *and* expulsion […]' (emphasis added). Cinema does simply reflect these cultural processes; rather, it helps constitute them.

The sense of the strength and endurance of the migrant is maintained also by the dislocation or spatial ambivalence contrived by the films. Cresswell (1996) examines how ideas about things having 'a place' or being 'in place' reveal the workings of socio-cultural and political power. Through a variety of public and political discourses, the city remains taken for granted as the home of diversity (Chakraborti and Garland 2013); the strategic site where immigrants and minority groups should 'stake their claim'. Located in this assumption is the spectre of the Chicago School's 'zone in transition' or, in an English context, the 'inner city'. In both cases the central city is assumed as *the place* of the migrant. In contrast, suburbs or exurbs tend to be imagined as staid and monocultural, home to a conservative white working-class and lower middle-class (Huq 2013). What is interesting in the cycle is *first*, how they reveal the contradiction that even when migrants are visually depicted as 'in place' (i.e. in the central city as in *Dirty Pretty Things* or *Somers Town*) they are not granted the right to *participate* in the city. That is, they are rendered 'out-of-place'. Here, the migrant is curiously both visible and invisible, simultaneously in place and out of place. As Darling (2016: 13) explains,

> [t]here is a need to be wary of positioning presence as a straightforward claim to visibility. [...] [V]isibility may offer a valuable means of demonstrating the political identification of a group positioned outside the remit of citizenship rights. Yet, there is a danger in visibility. [...] [B]eing visibly present can invite the increased 'policing' of forced and irregular migrants.

This paradox is expressed in the films. It is a burden carried by the migrant characters we see in the later films in the cycle that are set in the city: *Dirty Pretty Things*, *It's a Free World* and *Somers Town*. Actually being present and visible in the city is shown to be misleading, illusory perhaps. Being 'in place' in the city no longer yields the migrant the benefits or citizenship rights it may once have done (see Isin 2002).

Second, the presence of migrant bodies in *non-city* settings is, ostensibly, a provocation to the expectations of place. To use Rancière's phrase, the presence of migrants is used to challenge the 'distribution of the [urban] sensible': 'the apportionment of parts and positions' that is 'based on a distribution of spaces, times, and forms of activity [...]' (Rancière 2004: 7). The sensible urban distribution denotes that migrants 'belong' in the central city. Only when they have integrated or assimilated are they permitted (or expected) to leave, but even this 'right' is adjudicated on the basis of 'race' (see Millington 2011). It is only by defying these expectations of place that the power of this 'sensible distribution' is revealed. As Cresswell (1996: 9) suggests, 'transgression serves to foreground the mapping of ideology onto space, and thus the margins can tell us something about "normality" [or the sensible]'. Cresswell cites the work of the black British photographer Ingrid Pollard, who uses her own body as a form of transgression into landscapes such as the Lake District or the British seaside. For Cresswell (ibid.: 167), 'when she enters the Lake District, the meaning of the landscape is brought into question'. Through things being recognized as out of place—in this case, Pollard's black female body—the 'nature' of that place (and the 'in' place) is revealed and scrutinized. One of the reasons we know that Ai Qin and her Chinese compatriots are out of place in Thetford, other than the visual jarring of migrant bodies in a suburban setting—one scene has migrant men congregating on the pavement chatting, smoking and drinking small bottles of beer, transforming a previously moribund pathway into a makeshift centre of urban sociality—is their treatment at the hands of the white working-class. The front door of their house is daubed in yellow paint with the words 'FUCK OFF'. For many, perhaps those who lead economically precarious lives themselves, migrants are, as Bertolt Brecht states, 'a harbinger of ill tidings' (cited in

Bauman 2004: 67). They are a portent of urbanization—a spectre of the city—for those who have sought to exclude themselves from urban life (or have themselves been excluded from urban life but have never experienced this denial as an exclusion[1]). In this way, migrants are shown to be *pioneers* of the urban. To be out of place is also to urbanize. It is a starting point from which to 'reconfigure the territory of the [urban] visible' (Rancière 2004: 37). It is in their capacity to do the 'work' of emplacement and to endure the xenophobia and violence that comes from being visibly seen making a new life and home, that the migrant's sense of resilience is fashioned. In this cycle of films the migrant is the victim of verbal, physical and sexual abuse. They are separated from partners and children. They work long hours and have little time or energy for new relationships or friendships. The migrant must remain invisible, even when they are sick or dying or suffering exploitation. Yet, cinema also discloses how the modestly transformative activities of migrants, 'sustained and nurtured silently through the everyday and seemingly non-political experiences and actions of people' (Papadopoulos and Tsianos 2013: 188), bring the urban.

The films in the cycle offer an emotional response to the burden that the migrant is perceived to carry in acting out their role as victims/agents of urbanization. As Jervis (2015: 2) explains, 'feelings seem to call for narration, for embodiment in stories through which they are revealed, intensified and explored'. There is a fantasy of martyrdom and fulfilment through suffering in how this cycle of films portrays the hardships faced by the migrant in relation to urbanization. Sentimentality is linked most commonly in art to the misfortunes of *others*. Scenes of death, illness and heartbreak and the humiliation and exploitation of migrant bodies are common across the cycle. Identification with pain and suffering can even take on a dark hue, which is where we find the cultural link between sentimentalism and masochism (ibid.: 43). Vicarious pleasure can be gained from feeling sympathy for the suffering of others. The sentimental aesthetic is therefore communicative, seeking to dissolve the barriers between the work of art and the observing subject, between fiction and reality. The films attempt to elicit 'witness emotions' (Tan and Frijda 1999), to engage the viewer emotionally as well as visually. The films *involve* the spectator with a range of human indignities and suffering that are shown as part-and-parcel of the relentless churn of planetary urbanization. Whilst such a discussion opens a 'Pandora's box' that deserves a much fuller exploration, the point emphasized here is a fairly simple one. The migrant is a complex and contradictory figure in the social imaginary. In relation to the 'work' or tasks that require accomplishing and the obstacles that must be over-

come in order to create urban society, it is upon the overburdened figure of the migrant that the neglected *emotionality* of urbanization—which involves us all to lesser degrees—is cinematically projected. As Ai Qin says to her young son during a phone call from England (though really she is also addressing herself): “You’ve got to be strong in your heart”.

To summarize and conclude this discussion on the figure of the migrant, whilst notions of ‘fortress Europe’ have obvious credibility in today’s political climate, it should be acknowledged that when the migrant is understood in relation to the city and urbanization (rather than the nation or supranational), it can be seen that the migrant experiences both incorporation and expulsion. Urbanization engenders a variety of forms of active and activist modes of citizenship among migrants i.e. among those who have experienced expulsion or have chosen to be mobile. Such forms of citizenship may sometimes be understood as traversal in the sense that the migrant ‘recognises (or institutes) the right to act across or against frontiers’ (Isin 2012: 149). In cinema, as in the social imaginary, the migrant is a contradictory figure. First, the migrant is represented as both an individual and a social body. Films vacillate between inserting individual migrants into narratives and representing migrants as a crowd or mass. The contradiction between heterogeneity and homogeneity is accompanied by a second contradiction in that the migrant is depicted as injured, docile and vulnerable as well as being resilient, in possession of mythical powers of endurance (which largely comes from the ability to maintain integrity whilst embodying a permanent condition of ‘out of placeness’). Third, migrant bodies are not only abject but also desired and/or eroticized. Fourth, in terms of desire for the migrant, which the gaze of cinema reveals to be an intense emotion, the city and/or urbanization is shown to both encourage and present an obstacle to romantic relationships. A fifth contradiction is, the migrant is portrayed in this cycle of films—against a popular stereotype—as being educated and cultured to a degree that the ‘host’ community can only envy or identify as a lack in themselves. This is part of the tendency to sentimentalize the migrant, especially in terms of imagining them as overburdened in terms of the *work* they accomplish and the discrimination and hardship they experience as agents of urbanization.

Images of Urbanization

Extended urbanization has become ‘shapeless, formless and apparently boundless […] making it hard to tell where borders reside and what’s inside and what’s outside’ (Merrifield 2013: 910). This induces a *crisis of*

representation, evoking 'what Clement Greenberg (1961) called "the crisis of the easel picture", the crisis of the classic framing—maybe the classic framing of the city' (ibid.: 914). Greenberg's original point was made in relation to the 'unframed space' of Jackson Pollock's paintings. Merrifield suggests the intense 'skeins and swirls, spirals and drips' of Pollock's art are 'somehow quintessentially urban'. He argues that '[f]lows of investment that produce space […] have the same vital, spontaneous energy of a Pollock loop' (ibid.). The point that urbanization can no longer be framed conceptually or artistically/aesthetically by 'the city' is absolutely crucial. Brenner's (2013, 2014) recent work is furnished with images such as satellite images of the nocturnal illuminations of urban sprawl, submarine cable maps and Garth Lenz's photograph of the Tar Sands in Alberta, Canada. These images dramatically capture the planetary spread of urbanization but their visual emphasis tends to be on the representation of complex networks. Despite the vaguely celebratory reception of such images (the pleasure taken from how they support Lefebvre's prescient predictions about the spread of the urban fabric), in the main they fail to convey how these are lived (or worked) spaces. There is little reflection upon the rights that inhabitants, migrants or workers may or may not enjoy.[2] Bender (2007: 221) points to how the paucity of images of contemporary urbanization translates to growing uncertainty around notions of urban citizenship (see also Purcell 2008, 2013). Lisiak (2015) is correct that absence—in a cinematic image—can reveal a great deal about urban life, but because of the lack of humanistic images for expansive contemporary urbanization the nagging doubt is that we are in danger of losing 'the art of putting ourselves in the picture, of recognising ourselves as participants and protagonists in the art and thought of our time' (Berman 1982: 24). One of the central questions of this book is can we say, retrospectively, that this cycle of British films begins to offer a more humanist aesthetic of planetary urbanization? In what follows, a tentative 'yes' is given to this question.

Lynch (1960: 9) writes that '[t]he image [of the city] should preferably be open-ended, adaptable to change, allowing the individual to continue to investigate and organize reality: there should be blank spaces where he [sic] can extend the drawing for himself'. It is suggested here that the cinematic images of urbanization created at points in this cycle operate within the explorative 'open-ended' register that Lynch postulates should be a feature of the ideal city image. Certainly, there is an attempt to expand 'the city'; to make occluded spaces legible and render them potent social symbols and representational sites that offer a fulcrum for meaning-making and politics. The cycle of films analysed here reveal a shift in representa-

tional strategy from more familiar cinematic images of the multicultural city (or rather, multicultural London). However, it is also suggested that these more recent cinematic images of urbanization and urban society are haunted by earlier/outdated urban forms, by spectres of the past, present and future city. This erosion of lineal temporality is an important component of the open-endedness of cinematic images of urbanization.

The seven films analysed here offer more than just a visual representation. Rather they begin to produce an aesthetic, in terms of the re-organization of sense perception in relation to the dissolving city and the planetarization of the urban. Cinema, as Kracauer (1960) explains, is able to reveal the surface-level expressions of historical change. It is, he argues, an exercise in the redemption of physical reality. It captures for posterity things—sights, sounds, moods—that we might not otherwise notice. This is why,

> Film [...] effectively assists us in discovering the material world and its psychophysical correspondences. We literally redeem this world from its dormant state, its state of virtual non-existence [...] [Cinema's] imagery permits us for the first time to take away with us the objects and occurrences that comprise the flow of material life. (Kracauer 1960: 300)

The flow of material life is a wonderful phrase that suggests both movement and solidity and the balance or tension that is found between the two. It is something simple—tacit—but yet fundamental to understanding our position in the world. To capture it on film, to transform it into art, is to circulate an aesthetic for a way of life. It can even perform a cosolidating role. For Kracauer (1960), film promises a redemption of the physical reality it (re)discovers and of humankind, of spectators, who, through cinema's images and sounds bear witness to the world anew (Gilloch 2015: 178). Cinema is, then, the perfect medium for a fallen (urban) world (Hansen 2012: 5). For example, there is a small settlement of caravans next to and underneath a railway arch that can be seen clearly from trains that travel east out of London from Fenchurch Street station, along the flatlands (and Badlands) of the Thames Estuary.[3] This caravan park, an informal settlement of sorts, appears in *It's a Free World*. It is the home of Karel, a Polish migrant and later, Mahmoud and his family. The incongruity of this settlement in Olympic East London—a site that hidden to most—is circulated via cinema to a potentially limitless audience. The crater-like puddles, the iron gates and barbed wire (with what looks like tangled tissue or polythene flying in the breeze), the graffiti-ed corrugated iron fences, dirty white caravans, torn curtains, gas canisters and scattered patio furniture of this site is redeemed on film. This ephemera of the global city is retrieved from obscurity. It has no immediate political effect

of course, but it does show the city in a new way. Despite suggestions that cinema is dying along with the city (see Donald 1999), it is suggested here that, more than other art forms, cinema continues to engage with changing urban forms and experience. Two more examples of a tentative new aesthetic of planetary urbanization are discussed in some detail below. Both are examples of the poetic or expressive tendency in cinema that 'thwarts' stories, scripts and chronological arrangements of events (Rancière 2006).

Football regularly features in *In This World*. Jamal and Enayat join in with 'scratch' games at many points along their journey: in the camp at Peshawar, in Istanbul and later, Jamal plays with new friends on the beach near Sangatte in northern France. Football is not only a way of passing time but also a way of coming together, a practical activity that overcomes differences. In Fig. 5.2, the game takes place on land near a Kurdish village in Iran. The backdrop is spectacular. The flat plain that configures the pitch is enclosed by snow-peaked mountains. The scene exposes the 'flat mundane ontology of the moving people […] the *mobile commons* of migration (Papadopoulos and Tsianos 2013: 179). The village itself is a ramshackle but homely affair. There is no planning, simply a collection of self-made homes. The following is from an interview with director Michael Winterbottom[4]:

Fig. 5.2 *In This World* A football match in a Kurdish Village, Iran

> 'The stuff like the Kurdish village,' he continues, 'that was real but that was different from what we'd planned. The idea was to shoot this thing where the smugglers compete against one another: one bunch were going to tip off the police about their competitors. In the middle of this our two characters were going to get grabbed and shoved into a sweatshop. But when we got there we found this Kurdish village, and they were sweet people and so we decided not to ask them to play unpleasant people.' 'But,' says Winterbottom, not letting go of the idea of the reality of the film, 'we never asked anyone to play anything. With the village, we met them and tried to explain what we were doing, but everything after that was pretty much what happened. We just turned up, they were incredibly friendly, the mum's making tea, we didn't ask them to do anything like that. That's just what happened.'

As is explained above, the actually existing urban qualities of the village—that it provides a hospitable gathering point for a wide range of travellers and migrants—impacted upon the film's narrative. The football match, we can assume, 'just happened' and was captured on camera.

This still from *In This World* inadvertently summons the spectre of the city; it evokes a more famous urban image, which is L.S. Lowry's painting from 1949 'The Football Match'. This painting is set in the industrial city, in Salford; in an earlier era of metropolitan modernity. The match in Lowry's painting is, like Fig. 5.2, a makeshift affair. The goal in Lowry's image occupies the middle ground rather than in the still where the players shoot away from the camera. Lowry's painting uses the 'action' as a means to include familiar Lowry city motifs such as a raggedy flat-capped crowd (though because this is a street or schoolyard game the crowd is small, unlike in his other famous football painting 'Going to the Match' from 1953), rows of terraced houses, chimneys and redbrick factories. Lowry's painting depicts the players and the crowd enjoying leisure, taking a break between working or learning hours. The match is played *because* of the industrial scene—that is why these people are in the city after all—but the surroundings enclose or bear down on the action. The pitch and the goals are made to appear unusually small. The freedom of the players feels constrained. Figure 5.2 works differently in the sense that the action is more open—there is no pitch as such—and what we can see on screen is very much a post-work scenario. The game is central to the productive life of the village rather than an exception. And so in this instance, despite the evocation of an image from an earlier period of urban modernity, the spectre of the city really arrives from the future. As Derrida (1994: 214) puts it:

> These seismic events come from the future, they are given from out of the unstable, chaotic and dis-located ground of the times. A disjointed or dis-adjusted time without which there would be neither history, nor event, nor promise of justice.

The 'appearing city' is sensed in the very suggestion—the hint that comes from watching the emergence of a 'differential space' on the screen—that urban life could flourish *here*. It is an optimistic apparition, certainly, rather like Derrida's (2001) notion of the 'city of refuge'. As Derrida explains, the city of refuge does not entail restoring

> [...] an essentially classical concept of the city by giving it new attributes and powers; neither would it be simply a matter of endowing the old subject we call 'the city' with new predicates. No, we are dreaming of another concept, of another set of rights for the city, of another politics of the city. (Ibid.: 8)

According to Derrida (2001: 9) the 'free cities' that we urgently *need* to create must wrestle themselves free from and elevate themselves above the nation-state in order to provide hospitality and refuge for all stateless peoples. This comes, in the immediate sense, from migrants or mobile people exercising a right that does not currently exist (Isin 2012: 149): the simple right to settle somewhere, *anywhere* (even momentarily), and to participate in and experience urban life. And so, Fig. 5.2 is utopian but still essentially very modest. Lefebvre (2003: 172) writes that 'centrality defines the u-topic (that which has no place and searches for it)', meaning that utopia always searches for a centre point or a wellspring. In how it frames space and, in the process, creates new forms of centrality, cinema assists in this search. As Lefebvre (ibid.: 130) explains, 'this is why urban space is so fascinating: centrality is always possible'. This possibility is isolated by Fig. 5.2. It shows that it is by no means a given that urbanization will result only in exclusive global cities, camps or a fragmented outer–inner city. Off, or rather *on* the beaten track, we are reminded here how 'things could always be otherwise' (Mouffe 2005:18).

Images of urbanization are not always this hopeful. In Fig. 5.3—from *Ghosts*—a familiar sense of flatness is provided by the wet shore. But here there are no mountains on the horizon—there is no buffer or shield (the death of the social has already been discussed)—just the point where the grey Irish Channel meets a bleak sky. While horizontal, flat space can symbolize openness and possibility—as it does in the previous example—

Fig. 5.3 *Ghosts* Morecambe Bay

here, these qualities are used to convey the dangers of exposure or the existential threat of the liminal. The horizon is ominous; a warning of the incoming tide. The mood is agoraphobic (as opposed to Lowry's claustrophobic industrial city). And yet, this too is an urbanizing space. We see Mr Lin's battered van in the distance—an icon of tired, worn out mobility—and the middle ground is occupied by migrant labourers stooping, bent over, working, earning their living among the dirt. (In both images of urbanization, migrant bodies are active; they are shown *doing things.*) This is another image of nascent centrality; an image that conveys the very essence of the urban 'as a place of conflict and confrontation, a unity of contradictions (Lefebvre 2003: 175).

It is remarkable how reminiscent this still from *Ghosts* is to Alberto Giacometti's (1948) sculpture *City Square (La Place)* (see Fig. 5.4). The characters on the shore and in the sculpture are alone, positioned in isolation to each other, but together they comprise a crowd. Both works (cinema and the sculpture) reveal the creative tension between immersion and detachment that was always considered vital to the dynamism of the modern city (Robins 1996: 131).

Umland (2001: 5) explains how,

> Even when approached, Giacometti's subjects retreat, remain inaccessible, suspended in a state of petrified mobility, fixed by the artist's eye at an exact

Fig. 5.4 Alberto Giacometti, *City Square (La Place)*, 1948, New York, Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) ©Photo SCALA, Florence

> distance. The base of *City Square* reinforces the impression of distance, understood in psychological and phenomenological terms, represented in sculptural dimension.

Just like Giacometti's subjects, the migrants in this still are also suspended in a state of 'petrified mobility'. They too appear to exist in 'permanent retreat': they must keep moving, keep hiding and keep working. Just as in the sculpture, movement is transformed into total immobility (Boyne 2008: 21). They are fearful of being attacked by English workers, yet have no right to complain. Their reality, just like that depicted by Giacometti's sculpture, is 'unshareable' (Berger 2016: 327). For example, cinema positions Ai Qin and her colleagues on the shore as too far away for us (the spectator) or anyone to warn them of the incoming tide. The spectator is a witness to the tragedy but rendered helpless.

The shoreline in *Ghosts*, when viewed alongside Giacometti, is like a proto-city square. Yet the city appears in this image of Morecambe Bay only as a spectre. The city, as a possibility or a place of refuge, was lost to these migrants a long time ago. *This* isn't any kind of city at all. The appearance of centrality here taunts the workers and the viewer (reminding them/us of what has been lost; of what could have been). This 'is an

image made from the mourning of another image' (Rancière 2006: 103); the image of the city.

In just a short period of time, we have come a long way from the pastoral multicultural city depicted in *Beautiful People*. What makes this cycle of films so remarkable is how a variety of urban and urbanizing places are presented as urban equals, rather than existing within a 'sensible' hierarchy. As Sennett (1990: xiii) writes, 'the cultural problem of the modern city [and *ergo* extended urbanization] is how to make this impersonal milieu speak, how to relieve its current blandness, its neutrality [...]. Our urban problem is how to revive the reality of the outside as a dimension of human experience'. These two images of urbanization from *In This World* and *Ghosts* are successful in making milieu speak, not only because they create an aesthetic that captures the human dimensions of contemporary expansive urbanization, but also because they challenge what Rancière calls the 'distribution of the sensible' when it comes to understanding the spatiality and temporality of urban form and experience without the city. In redeeming the physical reality of these urbanizing spaces and using narrative to capture the drama of these sites, cinema indicates a shift in the urban imaginary. This new aesthetic lacks the 'uplifting image' of the city (Lefebvre 2003: 14), but the open spaces, wide horizons and the depictions of play, work and encounter do signify the open-ended possibilities of urbanization (gesturing that an urban society is possible). As Lefebvre (2016: 113) suggests in a passage that is highly relevant for reconsidering the urbanization-migration nexus, 'The idea of the end of the city seems far more productive and creative than of its continuation or modernization'. But, in this cycle of films this is never a romantic imaginary. It also points to the restraints and jeopardy that confront those caught up in the churn of planetary urbanization. Moreover, the spectres of the city that haunt these images remind us how urbanization is spatially and temporally layered, that urban history is always discontinuous.

To briefly return to Raymond Williams' discussion of hegemony, here can be seen elements of an as yet 'unincorporated' urban culture (see discussion in Chap. 4). This emergent culture is not revolutionary in the orthodox way that Williams implies, but is certainly concomitant with Lefebvre's notion of an *urban* revolution, which conceives of urban society as a unitary praxis. In this sense, the countryside, the shore, the periphery, hinterland or outer–inner city is not 'extra-territorial' but acts rather as a *generative* space (Simone 2007: 463). Esoteric points in space—from 'rural' Iran to Thetford—begin to transmute, via the medium of cinema,

into *real* urban centres that begin to exert a pull on people and objects settled elsewhere (indeed cinema itself is attracted to these spaces because they are urbanizing). This contributes to the demise of rural–urban–suburban demarcations—what may be referred to as the 'urban sensible'—and shifts the contradiction to urbanized space itself: 'between the centrality of power [the global city i.e. London] and other forms of centrality, between the wealth-power centre and the periphery […]' (Lefebvre 2003: 170).

The relationship between urbanization and globalization is a vexed one. Until this point globalization has not sufficiently been addressed. The view taken here is that urbanization is a product–producer of globalization. In a discussion of the affinities between Jean-Luc Nancy's concept of *Mondialisation* and Lefebvre's urban society, Madden (2012: 782) suggests '[t]he emergence of the global–urban makes possible, but does not guarantee, urbanism as a new kind of transformational politics'. For Nancy, *Mondialisation* should be distinguished from the violent, deracinated, unequal planet created by globalization. Globalization is complete, totalizing, like an enclosure. The films examined here are, in the main, a study of *this kind* of 'negative' globalization. *Mondialisation*, in contrast, stands for incompleteness, becoming and openness: '[t]he term refers to becoming-worldwide, or "worldwide becoming", "world forming", or the "creation of the world" […] It refers to the emergence of a world in the second sense of a shared context or dwelling' (ibid.: 774–5). Mondialisation is about struggle and creation, or rather, *creation as struggle* (Nancy 2007: 22). An expanded urbanization driven only by the globalization of capital tends to deny the shared senses of dwelling and culture that might be associated with the urban. It creates an 'unworld' rather than a world. Lefebvre, working with a similar problematic, argues that as urbanization extends to the scale of the planetary it invites a praxis that can negate its deleterious effects, while at the same time fulfilling the promises of global urban society. As Madden (2012: 781) explains:

> [p]recisely because global urbanism universalizes, socializes, and totalizes society, it lays the foundation for its own critical resistance […] Despite his scathing criticisms of the global–urban fabric, in 'urban life' Lefebvre still sees an irreducible opening or opportunity, what he calls the '*non-closing* of the circuit'.

It is possible to sense this non-closing of the circuit in a number of the films examined here. Some examples have already been considered. Another

Fig. 5.5 *Last Resort Mondialisation*

interesting scene can be found in *Last Resort* when young Artiom, who is wandering around Stonehaven getting drunk with his new friends, peeks through an open downstairs window of a shabby house from where he can hear music (see Fig. 5.5). Inside, a group of male asylum seekers are sat closely together playing guitars and singing. It is an unexpected scene of conviviality. As Roberts (2002: 87) explains,

> [a] shift in representation from 'closed' to 'open' chronotopes […] as evidenced in *Last Resort*, reveals spatialities in which migrant identities are not merely seen in terms of the marginal and subaltern, but are open, mobile and oriented towards a transnational mode of social, cultural and cinematic practice.

The music drowns out the cries from Artiom's English friends to "Go back to your own country!" (for them the 'foreign' music is a provocation). While these friends continue walking away, Artiom stays for a while to listen. We see that there is new life in this godforsaken place; a place that Artiom, in an earlier scene, had referred to as the "armpit of the universe".

In Fig. 5.5 we can see an unincorporated, spontaneous form of urbanism that survives in the interstices of a technocratic and capitalist globalization/urbanization. With a humble bedsit in Stonehaven acting as the stage, asylum seeker musicians offering the performance and Artiom

providing the diegetic audience, what can be seen here is an image of *Mondialisation,* an image of struggle as creation.

The predicament/possibilities caused by the estrangement of the migrant from the city are addressed implicitly here by Sara Ahmed (2000: 94):

> The forming of a community through the shared experience of not being fully at home—of having inhabited another space—presupposes an absence of a shared terrain: the forming of communities makes apparent the lack of a common identity that would allow its form to take one form. But this lack becomes reinscribed as the pre-condition of an act of making: how can we make a space that is supportive? How can we become friends?

Here, we see how urbanization—without the city—might be viewed as a provocation to remake place (in order to feel fully at home once again); it is an invitation to collaborate with others in producing open-minded urban places, or rather 'cities of refuge' that are 'allied to each other according to forms of solidarity yet to be invented' (Derrida 2001: 4). This emphasis on making, creation and invention of course is in agreement with Amin's (2012: 7) belief that the progressive city is forged more through co-operation between strangers and the careful 'cultivation of labour, learning and living' than it is simply through co-presence. Urban society, in this respect, is necessarily composed of alternative forms to the city. As Ahmed implies, the migrant (or the stranger) is necessarily at the heart of this act of (re)creation.

The examples of cinema examined here begins to show us not only how the (re)creation of urban society may be realized but also the significant barriers that lie in the way. The cinematic city becomes, as Kittler and Griffin (1996) argue, *a medium*. Cinema invites the viewer to share and participate in these urbanizing encounters. In showing migrants as skilled and productive, as agents who are able to oppose the singular logic of expulsion (Nail 2015), cinema offers up an alternative to the 'wasted lives' narrative that continues to prove so seductive within the humanities, arts and social sciences. But what does all this add up to? In terms of each individual cinematic example of conviviality there might appear to be very little transformative potential. But if we persevere with Nancy (2007) and his understanding of *Mondialisation* as a 'globality of sense', it is possible to view cinema as involved in the creation of 'meaning in the strongest and most active sense of the term: [...] meaning, absolutely, as possibility of transmission from one place to another [...]' (ibid.: 52). In redeeming

spaces of urbanization and creating an aesthetic for planetary urbanization based upon an equality between urban spaces, cinema contributes to this understanding.

Lefebvre's urban revolution is not concerned with an awakening or a reversal of 'false consciousness' but rather with connecting spaces or fragments of spaces; in the process, producing an abundance of virtual and actual centres of simultaneity, gathering, convergence and encounters. The agora must now mean more than the public spaces of the city. The challenge is to pick up the pieces of the public realm and put them back together again in novel forms (Merrifield 2014: 82). As Rancière (2004: 46) puts it, in a memorable passage:

> I always try to think in terms of horizontal distributions, combinations between systems of possibilities, not in terms of surface and substratum […] I have tried to conceive of a topography that does not presuppose this position of mastery. It is possible, from any given point, to try to reconstruct the conceptual network that makes it possible to conceive of a statement, that causes a painting or a piece of music to make an impression, that causes reality to appear transformable or inalterable.

Taken together, the cycle of films examined here begin to represent the horizontal, polycentric distributions of planetary urbanization and to reveal the combinations that emerge between systems of possibilities. The 'impression' this cycle of films makes is that urbanizing reality is hostile, sometimes deadly, but also that it is *transformable*. The images of urban life made available in this cycle—from London, from other cities (Tehran, Istanbul), or even images of transit along transport networks—all provide a 'given point' from which can be gained a sense of the totality of planetary urbanization: an image from which sense and connections can begin to be made. This is such a radical perspective because it demonstrates how studies of urbanization need not (or should not) begin unthinkingly in the city, in the great modern metropolis. In terms of how aesthetics structures the way things appear, a horizontal distribution presupposes an equality between urban places. We can start from an image of any point in urban or urbanizing space and we can shift between images in the knowledge that we are viewing the same urban planet, interrogating a common urban history. This cycle of films contains a series of propositions for a possible urban world that, while not necessarily political in content, provide indications as to the changes that could be made as well as the transformations that have *already* been instigated.

There is another element to consider here. For Hans-Georg Gadamer (1996), the interpretation of any text involves a *fusion of horizons (Horizontverschmelzung)*. The text, in this case a cycle of films, and the interpreter always find themselves within a particular historical tradition, or horizon (which functions similarly to an imaginary). And so, each point of distribution on the horizon—each centre—that is expressed through the medium of cinema comes to, belongs to, and participates in a history. The viewer is invited to share and participate in this tradition. As Gadamer (ibid.: 489) explains,

> […] [T]he whole value of hermeneutical experience—like the significance of history for human knowledge in general—seemed to consist in the fact that here we are not simply filing things in pigeonholes but what we encounter in a tradition says something to us. Understanding, then, does not consist in a technical virtuosity of 'understanding' everything written [or depicted on screen]. Rather it is a genuine experience (*Erfahrung*)—i.e., an encounter with something that asserts itself as truth.

Whereas some films about migration and the city are akin to 'filing things in pigeonholes' in the sense that they confirm what the viewer *already knows*, the films in this cycle achieve something rather different. It is tempting to think of these films then, in Gadamer's terms, as inviting an 'encounter' with a wider public. Cinema broadens the cultural circulation of urbanization by inviting unlimited encounters; in the process, contributing to an increasing globality of sense. And so, it's not just Artiom or Ai Qin who looks through the window to see urbanization as a human process but *all of us*, from wherever on the horizon *we* may be situated. It is this collaboration, or fusion, between interpreter, cinematic text and actually existing space that makes understanding possible (though as Gadamer intimates, this is never a complete or total understanding). It is upon this tentative understanding between points on the horizon that urbanization might slowly be remade as urban society. As the viewer encounters cinematic representations of the urbanizing non-city, a new common horizon, new distribution of the sensible emerges. This fusion of horizons (or rather, the interconnection of different points of distribution on the same horizon) does not mean the interpreter now wholly comprehends a previously unknown objective reality; rather this encounter may be seen as a moment in which a new (urban) world is opened up. Merrifield (2012: 278) sums this up thus:

> […] this new space is a space neither rooted in place nor circulating in space, but rather one inseparable combination of the two, an insuperable unity that we might describe as *urban*: an abstraction becoming concrete, the concrete becoming abstract. This unity is simultaneously urban and post-urban, an urban politics that somehow breaks the boundaries of the urban itself; of urbanism going beyond itself. (original emphasis)

The urban is produced not just in the material world but also, in part, through the imaginative spaces of cinema. And so, in its continued ability to make the viewer imagine, understand and relate to urban space, cinema may well—against all odds—outlive the city.

This final thematic discussion began by considering how planetary urbanization has instigated a *crisis of urban representation*. The city has been revealed convincingly as a historical way of seeing. The images of expansive urbanization that have been compiled up to this point by scholars from urban studies have tended to be technical, portraying the networks and infrastructures of urbanization while neglecting the social and cultural dimensions. The beginning of the cycle of films analysed here retained a representational register of the multicultural city (or rather, multicultural London) established in the 1970s and 1980s. But this cycle reveals also a shift in the re-organization of sense perception in relation to the planetarization of the urban. Discussion here focused mainly on the analysis of two cinematic images of urbanization. First was the capture of the football game on flat land near a Kurdish village in Iran from *In This World*. Second was the still from *Ghosts* which shows migrants working on shore in Morecambe Bay. A comparison was made with Alberto Giacometti's (1948) sculpture *City Square (La Place)*. Both are images of nascent centrality , which remains the essential form of the urban, and both are images of migrants engaged in practical activity such as play or work. The mood differs wildly between the two images, however. The first is optimistic while the second is an image of isolation and anxiety, with migrants toiling in the sand while fearful of racist attacks and unaware of the incoming tide. In the first image, the spectre is of the city of the future, in Derrida's terms, a city of refuge. In the second image, the spectre is of the city that has been lost or that lies permanently out of reach. These two images make milieu communicate with a wider public, not only because they create an aesthetic that captures the human dimensions and im/possibilities of contemporary expansive urbanization but because they also challenge the 'distribution of the [urban] sensible'. The discussion then moved on to consider the

affinities between Nancy's (2007) notion of Mondialisation and Lefebvre's understanding of urbanization. For Nancy, *Mondialisation* should be distinguished from the violent, deracinated, unequal planet created by capitalist globalization/urbanization. It is argued that cinema helps construct a globality of sense. Finally, the chapter reflects upon Rancière's theory of horizontal distributions in relation to a hermeneutic *fusion* of point/s of distribution of the horizon.

Conclusion

This chapter adds the final two analytical discussions of the cycle of British films that are the focus of this book. The chapter began by examining the cinematic construction of the migrant before considering the challenge to the distribution of the urban 'sensible' posed by the many images of urbanization created by these films. In the first discussion—on the figure of migrant—it was emphasized how the migrant appears as a contradictory figure. Some of these contradictions relate to issues of citizenship or difference, whilst others relate to the perceived lack or qualities of the migrant. It also drew attention to how the migrant is imagined as an *overburdened* figure. This imaginary views the migrant as active and, to varying degrees, as 'autonomous' agents in the process of urbanization; though it does lead, occasionally, to a sentimental or heroic view of the migrant. The second discussion focused on how images of urbanization, via their cinematic circulation, encourage a hermeneutic fusion of urban horizons. This aesthetic and the revised understanding of the urban that it encourages, is analogous with and contributes to Nancy's (2007) notion of *Mondialisation* and Lefebvre's understanding of urban society (see Madden 2012). Both these theories posit a dis-alienated, humanistic negation of techno-capitalist urbanization.

In terms of argument, two main points at stressed. First, whilst the films redeem the materiality of urbanizing space, in terms of *narrative*, planetary urbanization is made sense of principally through the contradictory figure of the migrant. The migrant enacts and embodies the human mobility that is a prerequisite of planetary urbanization. He/she allows the camera to journey with them through the networks or pathways of urbanization, pausing at numerous 'distribution points' or emergent urban centres along the way. He/she experiences expulsion and displacement but they are also shown as active, traversal 'citizens', independent of

whether they possess any legal form of citizenship. The migrant is shown, however, as overburdened in the terms of physical and emotional 'work' of urbanization. They are, after all, bearers—it appears—of *all* our urban hopes. In this sense, being witness to the suffering of the migrant is central to the aesthetics of planetary urbanization constructed within these films. Please check for clarity.

Second, as was argued at the close of the previous chapter, this cycle introduces 'dissensus' into our understanding of the times and spaces of the urban. The images of urbanization analysed here added to the visual challenge to the urban sensible initiated by the highly contrary city images projected by cycle of films. Indeed, it is within these images of urbanization that an aesthetics of urbanization is created. In *showing* urbanization as these films do, one can detect a stress upon horizontality over verticality, with an emphasis on a flat middle and foreground—a taskscape—that can be found either shielded or dangerously exposed. (The struggle for life itself is actually a recurring feature of this aesthetic.) Upon this territory—this proto-city square created by the framing of the lens—the activity and struggle of migrants is placed. Migrants are shown in this way to be creators of the urban. Yet, in this aesthetic place inevitably feels indeterminate. Temporality and spatiality are dislocated due to the spectre of the city that appears in the narrative or visuality of the films and evokes the form or spirit of the city from the past, present and future. In relation to urban subjectivity or conciousness there is stress in this new aesthetic upon negative themes such as displacement, isolation and separation—of being out of place—as well as positive themes such as conviviality, friendship and play. The inter-subjective dimension is enhanced by how cinema animates its spectators to engage in these urban encounters, thereby contributing to the production of an urban space that is closely connected with the material world but neither wholly rooted in place nor wholly imaginary, but rather an inseparable combination of the two.

Notes

1. Marshall Berman (2006) writes that '[…] city life is an experience that all human beings are entitled to, whether they know it or not' (ibid.: xxxvi).
2. Burdett and Sudjic's (2007) *Endless City* provides maps and infographics alongside photographs of urban life itself. In this respect, it is more successful in communicating the scope of urban environ-

ments and the range of experience caught up in contemporary expansive urbanization.

3. For years, this journey was part of my commute to work.
4. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/film/3600857/Lonely-road-of-the-real-life-refugees.html [accessed 4.12.15].

References

Ahmed, S. (2000). *Strange encounters: Embodied others in post-coloniality*. Abingdon: Psychology Press.

Amin, A. (2012). *Land of strangers*. Cambridge: Polity.

Bauman, Z. (2004). *Wasted lives: Modernity and its outcasts*. Cambridge: Polity.

Beck, U., & Beck-Gernsheim, E. (1995). *The normal chaos of love*. Cambridge: Polity.

Bender, T. (2007). *The unfinished city: New York and the metropolitan idea*. New York: NYU Press.

Berman, M. (1982). *All that is solid melts into air*. New York: Verso.

Berman, M. (2006). *On the town: One hundred years of spectacle in Times Square*. New York: Verso.

Berger, J. (2016). *Portraits: John Berger on artists*. London: Verso.

Boyne, R. (2008). A brief note on Giacometti. *Theory, Culture and Society, 25*(5), 20–29.

Brenner, N. (2013). Theses on urbanization. *Public Culture, 25*(1), 95–113.

Brenner, N. (Ed.) (2014). *Implosions/explosions: Towards a study of planetary urbanization*. Berlin: Jovis Verlag.

Burdett, R. & Sudjic, D. (Eds.) (2007). *The Endless City*. London: Phaidon.

Chakraborti, N., & Garland, J. (Eds.) (2013). *Rural racism*. Cullompton: Willan.

Child, B. (2015). Ida director Pawel Pawlikowski stands ground against complaints of historical inaccuracy. *The Guardian*, available at: http://www.theguardian.com/film/2015/jan/30/pawel-pawlikowski-ida-criticism-film [accessed 13.2.16].

Cresswell, T. (1996). *In place-out of place: Geography, ideology, and transgression*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Darling, J. (2016). Forced migration and the city: Irregularity, informality, and the politics of presence. *Progress in Human Geography*. doi:10.1177/0309.

Derrida, J. (1994). *Specters of Marx*. London: Routledge.

Derrida, J. (2001). *On cosmopolitanism and forgiveness*. London: Routledge.

Donald, J. (1999). *Imagining the modern city*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Frisby, D. (2001). *Cityscapes of Modernity: critical explorations*. Cambridge: Polity.

Gadamer, H.-G. (1996). *Truth and method*. New York: Continuum.

Gilloch, G. (2015). *Siegfried Kracauer: Our companion in misfortune*. Cambridge: Polity.
Greenberg, C. (1961). The crisis of the easel painting. In C. Greenberg (Ed.), *Art and culture*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
Hansen, M. B. (2012). *Cinema and experience: Siegfried Kracauer, Walter Benjamin, and Theodor W. Adorno*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
Huq, R. (2013). *On the edge: The contested cultures of suburbia*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
Isin, E. (2002). City, democracy and citizenship: Historical images, contemporary practices. In E. Isin & B. Turner (Eds.), *Handbook of citizenship studies*. London: Sage.
Isin, E. (2012). *Citizens without frontiers*. London: Bloomsbury.
Jervis, J. (2015). *Sympathetic sentiments: Affect, emotion and spectacle in the modern world*. London: Bloomsbury.
Kittler, F. A., & Griffin, M. (1996). The city is a medium. *New Literary History, 27*(4), 717–729.
Kracauer, S. (1960). *Theory of film: The redemption of physical reality*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Lefebvre, H. (1996). *Writings on cities*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Lefebvre, H. (2003). *The urban revolution*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
Lefebvre, H. (2014a). Dissolving city, planetary metamorphosis. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 32*(2), 203–205.
Lefebvre, H. (2016). *Metaphilosophy*. London: Verso.
Lisiak, A. (2015). Making sense of absence. *City, 19*(6), 837–856.
Loshitzky, Y. (2010). *Screening strangers: Migration and diaspora in contemporary European cinema*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Lynch, K. (1960). *The image of the city*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Madden, D. J. (2012). City becoming world: Nancy, Lefebvre, and the global-urban imagination. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 30*(5), 772–787.
Merrifield, A. (2012). The politics of the encounter and the urbanization of the world. *City, 16*(3), 269–283.
Merrifield, A. (2013). The urban question under planetary urbanization. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 37*(3), 909–922.
Merrifield, A. (2014). *The new urban question*. London: Pluto Press.
Millington, G. (2011). *"Race", culture and the right to the city: Centres, peripheries, margins*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Mouffe, C. (2005). *On the political*. London: Routledge.
Nail, T. (2015). *The figure of the migrant*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.
Nancy, J. L. (2007). *The creation of the world, or, globalization*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
Pearce, L., & Stacey, J. (1995). *Romance revisited*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Pearce, L., & Wisker, G. (1998). *Fatal attractions: Rescripting romance in contemporary literature and film*. London: Pluto.

Papadopoulos, D., & Tsianos, V. S. (2013). After citizenship: Autonomy of migration, organisational ontology and mobile commons. *Citizenship Studies, 17*(2), 178–196.

Purcell, M. (2008). *Recapturing democracy: Neoliberalization and the struggle for alternative urban futures.* New York: Routledge.

Purcell, M. (2013). *The down-deep delight of democracy.* New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Rancière, J. (2004). *The politics of aesthetics.* London: Bloomsbury.

Rancière, J. (2006). *Film fables.* London: Bloomsbury.

Roberts, L. (2002). Welcome to dreamland: From place to non-place and back again in Pawel Pawlikowski's Last Resort. *New Cinemas: Journal of Contemporary Film, 1*(2), 78–90.

Robins, K. (1996). *Into the image: Culture and politics in the field of vision.* London: Routledge.

Sayad, A. (2004). *The suffering of the immigrant.* Cambridge: Polity.

Sennett, R. (1990). *The conscience of the eye: The design and social life of cities.* London: Faber and Faber.

Simone, A. (2007). At the frontier of the urban periphery. *Sarai Reader 07: Frontiers*, available at: http://sarai.net/sarai-reader-07-frontiers/ [accessed 19.8.11].

Tan, E. S., & Frijda, N. H. (1999). Sentiment in film viewing. In C. R. Plantinga & G. R. Smith (Eds.), *Passionate views: Film, cognition, and emotion.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Umland, A. (2001). Capturing Giacometti's gaze. *MoMA, 4*(8), 2–7.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion: Contra *Brooklyn*: Dissensus and the Limits of Realism

Abstract The final chapter of the book offers a conclusion based around three related discussions. The first discussion concerns points of critical comparison between the seven British films studied thus far and a more recent, historically oriented film that is not part of the cycle: *Brooklyn* (John Crowley, 2015). The second discussion revisits how the cycle of films examined here posit *dissensus* into the distribution of the urban sensible. The cycle of films does not actually re-distribute the sensible since cinema does not have the capacity to do this. Rather, through the aesthetic of urbanization they contribute to creating, the films enable ways of seeing the urban differently. The third discussion is focused upon the limits and possibilities of social realism as a cinematic aesthetic.

Keywords Dissensus • Aesthetics • Cinema • Cities • Migration • Distribution of the sensible • Social realism

I

As this book was nearing completion, the film adaptation of Colm Tóibín's novel *Brooklyn* was released, directed by John Crowley. The film was warmly received and nominated for three Oscars and a Golden Globe. It won a BAFTA in early 2016 for Best British Film. The film is remarkably faithful to the book. Set in the 1950s, it is a classic migrant's story of a young woman called Eilis Lacey (Saoirse Ronan) from Enniscorthy

© The Author(s) 2016

G. Millington, *Urbanization and the Migrant in British Cinema*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-47399-8_6

in County Wexford, Ireland, who, following advice from her sister Rose (Fiona Glascott) and Father Flood (Jim Broadbent)—a visiting Irish–American priest—decides to emigrate to New York City. Before she leaves, she arranges accommodation with an Irish landlady (Julie Walters) in a lodging house in Clinton Street, Brooklyn Heights and receives confirmation of employment at the Bartocci and Company department store in Fulton Street, Brooklyn. It is through Eilis' eyes and her observations that we encounter Brooklyn. In dealing with her homesickness, Eilis enrols at evening classes at Brooklyn College to study bookkeeping. At a local Friday night dance, she meets a young Italian plumber named Tony Fiorello (Emory Cohen). They date and are hurriedly married in a civil ceremony. Eilis does not tell her family in Ireland. Eilis then receives the sudden news that her sister Rose has died. She returns to Ireland and during her summer stay begins to fall for Jim, a wealthy local boy (Domhnall Gleeson). Eilis is faced with the dilemma of whether to stay in Ireland with Jim or return to Tony in Brooklyn. Her choice is eventually made for her when local busybody and shopowner Miss Kelly (Brid Brennan) tells Eilis that she knows her secret, that she already has a husband in America. Eilis returns, not entirely reluctantly, to New York City and Brooklyn.

Brooklyn is a stylish affair. Like the novel, it employs tact and restraint, achieving a 'sustained subtlety' (Schillinger 2009). Yet, *Brooklyn* offers the sharpest possible contrast in terms of how the migrant urban experience of the mid-twentieth century is cinematically conceived in comparison with how the experience of migrants to our English shores today is imagined. In some ways, if we are being generous, *Brooklyn* could be viewed as a critique of the paucity of rights extended to migrants today in our greatest metropolises. Whereas Eilis is greeted by the Statue of Liberty as her boat pulls into Manhattan, migrants in the films examined here might enter the UK on the undercarriage of a lorry. But, that is not an entirely convincing interpretation.

The problem is that *Brooklyn* is 'historical' but lacks any critical resonance. Ultimately, it is an exercise in nostalgia; an understated attempt to recreate a migrant's eye view of classic urban modernity. Both novel and film try to rescue the 'city as a way of seeing' that Donald (1995) believes is dissolving along with the city itself. The film provides evidence for Zukin's (2010) argument that an urban place may be considered authentic if it creates the experience of origins. *Brooklyn* is about the preservation of origins through the cinematic commemoration of neighbourhoods, districts and architecture believed to be integral to historical narratives about European migration to the USA. In an age of expansive urbanization, however, the movie

might also be considered a symptom of cultural cityism (Millington 2016a), or in other words, makes a fetish of images of the twentieth-century Western metropolis. *Brooklyn* steadfastly maintains the image and the heroism of the historic urban centre long after it has ceased to exist in actuality. It resuscitates an earlier age of urban modernity. This is why the novel and film both *feel* like heritage pieces; as elegant and becalmed as the sidewalks, brownstones and stoops of downtown Brooklyn that are so judiciously depicted:

> She liked the morning air and the quietness of these few leafy streets, streets that had shops only on the corners, streets where people lived, where there were three or four apartments in each house and where she passed women accompanying their children to school as she went to work. As she walked along, however, she knew she was getting close to the real world, which had wider streets and more traffic. Once she arrived at Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn began to feel like a strange place to her, with so many gaps between buildings and so many derelict buildings. (Colm Tóibín, *Brooklyn*, p. 59)

These migrant spaces of the twentieth-century city are written through a conservationist's gaze, through eyes that are wary of the messiness of the margins of the city and that—hazarding a guess—only really became aware of the easy visual delights of downtown Brooklyn in the last twenty or so years, since Brooklyn Heights became one of the prime global examples of 'super-gentrification' (Lees 2003). As McIlvanney (2009) rightly observes, the novel is about the confidence and grandeur of the commonplace. Yet, this description could also be used to explain how the novel and film selectively take 'ordinary' elements of the migrant experience and transform them into a heritage version of authentic urban modernity. The price of 'recreating a unique story of origin' (Zukin 2010: 101) and the coveting of urban authenticity is that a 'commonplace' brownstone townhouse in Clinton Street, just like the one where Eilis lodges, nowadays fetches upwards of $2,500,000.[1] Tóibín's novel or Crowley's film will not adversely affect these values. This shift towards exclusivity is something that *Brooklyn* hides from. Brooklyn Heights today is far from being a humble immigrant neighbourhood.

But what is the modern metropolitan aesthetic that *Brooklyn* attempts, with such sophistication, to recreate? Here, it is worth quoting David Frisby at length:

> This delineation of modernity and the call for artists to capture our experience of it concentrates upon newness, everyday metropolitan existence, the metropolitan crowd, the dynamic movement of metropolis. Aesthetic rep-

> resentations of such experiences of modernity must confront the full impact and consequences of a 'transitory, fleeting and fortuitous' modern existence: the problems of representing modernity as the discontinuous and disintegrating experience of time as transitory (moments of presentness), space as fleeting (disintegrating, variable space) and causality as replaced by fortuitous or arbitrary constellations. This problematization of our 'modern' experience, and the attendant implications for human individuality and subjectivity, are evident in all modern aesthetic movements. (Frisby 2001: 237–8)

Brooklyn operates within this modern register. It captures the transitory and fleeting in relation to the new opportunities and relationships Eilis encounters in New York City. Many of these, such as meeting Tony, are experienced as fortuitous. Whereas Brooklyn 'changes every day' and 'new people arrive and they could be Jewish or Irish or Polish or even coloured' (59) (so says Miss Bartocci, owner of the department store where Eilis works), in contrast, Enniscorthy is revealed as glacial in its temporality. It is reassuringly familiar but too petty and fusty to be modern. It is telling how Eilis' individuality is developed most in the city. Granted, this comes in part from the loneliness and isolation she occasionally experiences but it is also a result of the confidence she has gained to step outside of her previous self. When she returns to Enniscorthy from Brooklyn, she is a changed woman. People comment on her confidence and her 'beautiful clothes, her sophisticated hairstyle and her suntan' (211–12). *Brooklyn* renders this classic urban aesthetic—the authentic narrative of how modern subjectivity owes its existence to life in the metropolis—in fine detail.

Yet *Brooklyn* (the film) always feels like a stage show; a negation of the artistic (and political) capacities of urban cinema to create the shock of the new or to redeem material space. There is little evidence of the optical unconscious here; everything is placed 'just so'. This is illustrated by how Eilis enters a 'ready-made' city, in which straight away she is an actor and participant. Eilis doesn't have to *make* anything, though she is herself changed. The cityist aesthetic found in *Brooklyn* can be understood as constituting a return to a 'sensible' distribution of the times, spaces, subjects and objects of the urban.

II

As is argued in Chaps. 4 and 5, the British films discussed here introduce *dissensus* into our understanding of the times and spaces of the urban. This cycle of films creates a distinct aesthetic of planetary urbanization

that, despite still being *urban*—with important continuities including a focus on centrality and difference—questions the way in which the sensible configuration of the urban world is presented as a given (and maintained through films such as *Brooklyn*). The sensible, if a reminder is needed, is a 'system of self-evident facts of sense perception that simultaneously discloses the existence of something in common and the delimitations that define the respective parts and positions within it' (Rancière 2004: 7).

The films oppose the distribution of the urban sensible in the following ways. First, this cycle of films offers a critique of London as a 'global city'. In doing so, London is shown to have lost its urban qualities. All that remains are the impressions of where *once* a *real* city stood. The films imply London is no longer a city where migrants can arrive, make a home and enjoy the opportunities and encounters of urban life. Whereas Eilis in *Brooklyn* is confronted with a choice between potential places and partners, today's migrants exist in permanent state of mobility, dislocation and isolation. In this way, films in the cycle such as *Dirty Pretty Things* and *It's a Free World* begin to fashion a sensorium that is antagonistic to the dominant symbolic order of cityness. London, as encountered through the fractured experience of Senay, Ai Qin or Tomo, is a sketch of a counterworld that confounds the sensible understanding of London as a successful, cosmopolitan, first-tier global city, or even as a racially 'troubled' inner city (the kinds of representation that were common from the 1950s through to the 1990s). Second, this cycle of films exposes urbanizing spaces of difference that are not, ostensibly, city spaces. Numerous examples, including images of Thetford and Morecambe Bay are discussed in Chaps. 4 and 5. By casting actual asylum seekers and refugees and by developing narratives in accordance with actual experience, the films also instigate a new urban cinematic subject. The figure of the migrant is contradictory. However, the depiction of the migrant as engaged in (and struggling with) creating their own urban spaces and lives rather than assimilating into already existing ones is not identifiable with the sensible aesthetic we might associate with *Brooklyn*. In addition, the sensible distribution of the urban is not haunted by the spectre of the city because the city is always present (in both a historical and material sense); it remains alive and relevant. In such examples (of migrant life in the urbanizing 'non-city'), the city is an illusion or spectre; it is unattainable or deferred, mourned or an apparition from the future. In this way, the cycle permits the invisible (the *non-sensible*) to become visible. Third, whereas the sensible distribution of the urban is based around hierarchies—Brooklyn is superior to Enniscorthy, but then Brooklyn is not Manhattan and so on—this cycle of British films postulate

an equality between urban/izing spaces and times. Both the city and the non-city are captured in images that suggest connection rather than hierarchy. Viewers are thus offered alternative urban temporalities and spacings to the city. These are made visible *alongside* the city. What is available in this cycle is a possible urban world where the distribution is horizontal rather than vertical and polycentric rather than super-centric. But, as emphasized earlier, this new aesthetic lacks confidence or solidity (which explains why it is continuously haunted by the spectre of the city):

> No, we will not find a style for our age in a place like this. But we will find the way towards it. For it is here that our age must face up to the challenge. And if one day, by luck or by judgement, it does find its style in everyday life, and if it does manage to resolve the duality between 'technical object' and the 'aesthetic object', then surely the success will be all the more dazzling because of the setbacks, and the tremendous efforts involved. 'Transform the world'—all well and good. It is being transformed. But into what? Here at your feet, is one small but crucial element in that mutation. (Lefebvre 1962/2012: 126)

Lefebvre is writing here about the uninspiring and bland 'new town' of Mourenx in south-west France. It does however have similar implications if applied to the many attempts at emplacement depicted in the films discussed here. The passage is typical of Lefebvre's intensely dialectical way of thinking. Our urban future may not look exactly as it is portrayed on screen (i.e. Thetford or Morecambe Bay) but we are much closer *here* to observing the current urban problematic—and the self-made solutions that are being developed in response to this—than we are if we continue to focus nostalgically on the central city. It is in such places where the human efforts of urbanization are being spent. Lefebvre's passage reminds us too that there is no design for the urban transformations that are occurring in the suburbs or the periphery. Emplacement is largely a makeshift or ad hoc process. In the absence of city, the remaking of the urban upon such a jagged and hostile terrain is a matter of necessity.

In light of the above, it is suggested this short cycle of films serves as an indictment of the sensible urban distributions lovingly (and longingly) recreated in and through cinema such as *Brooklyn* or other cultural forms. Cinema is not politics—it cannot *actually* reorder the sensible—but it can have political effects in the sense that reveals the urban world in alternative representational codes that may consequently enter into the production of space, into the urbanization process itself.

III

Throughout this analysis, the realist aesthetic of urbanization is shown to be infiltrated by the spectre of the city. This appearance of the 'supernatural' is, ostensibly at least, against the fundamental tenets of social realism. Spectrality is an irritant to those realists who shun poetics or irrationalism in favour of art (or cinema) with commitment. Rancière (2004), however, remains sceptical of the notion of political art, not least since the artist or director has no way of anticipating the political effects of the work. Films, for example, are interpreted differently between moments in history. They can both gain and lose meaning and significance. It is more useful, Rancière suggests, to think of aesthetics as possessing a political way of seeing and/or making visible.

The spectre is an unintentional effect of the 'excess' of the optical unconscious. It is a reverberation that comes from the clashes between narratives, times and spaces. Yet, the presence of the spectre does beg the question: what *kind* of realism is this? The obvious (and tempting) answer is a *magical* realism where there is a constant back-and-forth between the disparate worlds of the historical and the imaginary; an aesthetic where politics coincide with fantasy (Zamora and Faris 1995). Taking a cue from Andy Merrifield (2011), an advocate of *Magical Marxism*—'a dialogue between Marxism as realism and Marxism as romantic dreaming, where the latter's ontological basis differs significantly to the former's' (ibid.: xviii)—the appearance of the spectre might be seen as nourishing rather than obstructive of political attempts to refashion our urban world. The magical means 'we can see another reality because we believe in it, because we can now imagine it, conjure it up in our heads, make it real. [...] We can believe [...] in a more phantasmal radicalism' (ibid.: 188). While this captures the possible effects of the spectre of the 'city of refuge' that appears from the future (other spectres have been shown to be more conservative), it does help force the pressing question, which until now has been pushed to the background, as to whether conventional social realism—which after all, *is* the principal mode of seeing in the cycle—is the most appropriate aesthetic for making planetary urbanization visible in a way that is encouraging of its practical transformation into a global urban society (along Lefebvrian lines). Is it not the case that, if the spectre provides a wider historical and spatial vision, our new aesthetic of the urban should require more, rather than less of the magical or the irrational? Certainly, a case could even be made that the most realist,

overtly political and least poetic of the films studied here—Ken Loach's *It's a Free World*—feels the most constrained in its aesthetic ambitions. As Rancière (2004: 56) bluntly puts it, politicized art is 'vacuous as an aesthetic notion and also as a political notion [...] Commitment is not a category of art'. Whilst this appears harsh on *It's a Free World* which, after all, provides the least ambiguous critique of neoliberal capitalism of all the films studied here, these comments do flag the limits of more didactic strains of social realism. Films are best, Rancière argues, when they do not tell the viewer what to think, but when they treat the viewer as an intellectual equal.

But, as is often the case with dilemmas of politics, art and aesthetics, Frederic Jameson can be relied upon to identify a counter-intuitive solution:

> In our present cultural situation, if anything, both alternatives of realism and modernism seem intolerable to us: realism because its forms revive older experiences of a kind of social life (the classical inner city, the traditional opposition city/country) which is no longer with us in the already decaying future of consumer society: modernism because its contradictions have proved in practice even more acute than those of realism. [...] In these circumstances, indeed, there is some question whether the ultimate renewal of modernism, the final dialectical subversion of the now automatized conventions of an aesthetics of perceptual revolution, might not simply be ... realism itself! For when modernism and its accompanying techniques of 'estrangement' have become the dominant style whereby the consumer is reconciled with capitalism, the habit of fragmentation itself needs to be 'estranged' and corrected by a more totalizing way of viewing phenomena. (Jameson 2007:211)

This passage seems remarkably apt when evaluating the politics of aesthetics derived from the cycle of films discussed here. Following Jameson, realism appears to be a perfect *starting point* for recovering the violence, toil and hopes of those who are caught at the sharp end of planetary urbanization. Realism is needed to reconvene the fractured and fragmented urban world traversed, inhabited and created by the migrant. Estrangement from the citymay be captured best by such a totalizing aesthetic. At this late stage of the book, it is possible to merely illustrate how aesthetic debates around realism, modernism and politics remain unreconciled. This analysis offers a continuation rather than a resolution of the debate but ultimately, it illustrates how both 'magical' and 'realist' aesthetics have a role to play in revealing the terrains of our urbanizing planet.

Cinema has been argued throughout this book as an inseparable constituent of urban imaginaries. Cinema, one may tentatively argue, is now outliving the city. In addition to providing a means through which to express nostalgia for the modern city—as is evident in a film such as *Brooklyn*—cinema has also been shown to be capable of tracking the planetarization of the urban and screening back to viewers the struggles that migrants, as both victims and agents of urbanization are embroiled in. Whether the screen shows the central city or the anonymous periphery or emerging sites of diversity, cinema can help us see that we share this world, this urban tradition.

Note

1. Price taken from http://www.corcoran.com/nyc/Listings/Display/1101959 [accessed 24.3.16].

References

Donald, J. (1995). The city, the cinema: Modern spaces. In C. Jencks (Ed.), *Visual culture*. London: Routledge.

Frisby, D. (2001). *Cityscapes of Modernity: critical explorations*. Cambridge: Polity.

Jameson, F. (2007). 'Foreword' in Adorno, T., Benjamin, W. and Bloch, E. *Aesthetics and Politics*. London: Verso.

Lees, L. (2003). Super-gentrification: The case of Brooklyn heights, New York city. *Urban Studies, 40*(12), 2487–2509.

Lefebvre, H. (1962/2012). *Introduction to modernity*. London: Verso.

McIlvanney, L. (2009). The coldest place on earth. *London Review of Books, 31*(12), 11–12.

Merrifield, A. (2011). *Magical Marxism: Subversive politics and the imagination*. London: Pluto.

Millington, G. (2016a). Urbanization and the city image in Lowry at Tate Britain: Towards a critique of cultural cityism. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* doi: 10.1111/1468-2427.12375.

Rancière, J. (2004). *The politics of aesthetics*. London: Bloomsbury.

Schillinger, L. (2009). The reluctant emigrant. *New York Times*, available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2009/05/03/books/review/Schillinger-t.html?_r=0 [accessed 24.3.16].

Zamora, L. P., & Faris, W. B. (1995). *Magical realism: Theory, history, community*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Zukin, S. (2010). *Naked City: the death and life of authentic urban places*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bibliography

Augé, M. (2008). *Non-places: An introduction to supermodernity*. London: Verso.

Harvey, D. (1973). *Social justice and the city*. London: Edward Arnold.

Harvey, D. (1982). *The limits to capital*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Phillimore, J., & Goodson, L. (2006). Problem or opportunity? Asylum seekers, refugees, employment and social exclusion in deprived urban areas. *Urban Studies, 43*(10), 1715–1736.

Tóibín, C. (2009). *Brooklyn*. London: Penguin.

Zukin, S. (2011a). Is there an urban sociology? Questions on a field and a vision. *Sociologica, 3*. doi:10.2383/36415.

© The Author(s) 2016

G. Millington, *Urbanization and the Migrant in British Cinema*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-47399-8

Index

A
aesthetics, 4–12, 28, 108, 129, 133, 143, 144
Agamben, G., 66, 91
Ahmed, S., 109, 111, 114, 128
alienation, 30, 39, 84
authenticity, 79, 139
autonomous migration, 64

B
Babylon (Franco Rossi, 1981), 78, 79
Bakhtin, M., 24–7, 45, 46
Bauman, Z., 64–6, 70, 108, 116
Beautiful People (Jasmin Dizdar, 1999), 3, 6, 75, 78–80, 86, 87, 89, 90, 96, 100, 109, 110, 112, 113, 125
Benjamin, W., 10, 20, 27, 34, 35, 37, 41, 92
Bosnian conflict (1992–1995), 6, 78
Brenner, N., 2–4, 48, 55, 56, 59, 118
Brooklyn (Crowley, John 2015), 137–45
Brooklyn Heights, 138, 139
Brunsdon, C., 3–5, 7, 80, 81

C
Çağlar, A., 61, 62, 70
camp, 6, 8, 14, 45–70, 85, 91, 120, 122
Castells, M., 46–8
Castoriadis, C., 20, 22, 23, 39
centres (centrality), 3, 7, 14, 32, 39, 40, 47, 48, 50–2, 54, 56, 60, 64, 67–9, 77–83, 88, 91, 95, 115, 122, 126, 129, 130, 132, 139
chronotopes, 25–7, 45, 46, 69, 70, 76, 85, 127
cinematic urbanism, 1, 12, 15, 23, 24
cities, 1, 2, 4, 5, 19–41, 47–8, 50, 52, 54, 56–8, 60–2, 64, 68, 69, 85, 87, 94, 102, 109, 122, 128, 129, 140
citizenship, 59, 60, 63, 68, 81, 82, 97, 101, 107, 108, 115, 117, 118, 132, 133

Note: Page numbers followed by n denote foot notes

© The Author(s) 2016

G. Millington, *Urbanization and the Migrant in British Cinema*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-47399-8

cityism
cultural, 40, 139
methodological, 56
Corkin, S., 4, 29, 101
cosmopolitanism, 134
Cresswell, T., 114, 115
culture, 2, 4, 22, 23, 29, 38, 40, 53, 56, 79, 84, 85, 98–102, 114, 117, 125, 126

D
Darling, J., 67, 81, 91, 114
death of the social, 16, 75, 77, 97, 98, 101–3, 111, 113, 122
Derrida, J., 12, 14, 82, 84, 85, 87, 92, 102, 121, 122, 128, 131
dialectical materialism, 19, 20
différance, 85–7, 102
differential space, 46, 52–4, 122
Diken, B., 21, 40, 66, 67
Dimendberg, E., 3, 27, 29, 30, 39, 40, 77
Dirty Pretty Things (Frears, Stephen 2002), 3, 7, 80–2, 87, 88
dissensus, 14, 103, 133, 137–45
dissolution of the city, 3, 15, 28, 46, 53–5, 75, 86, 87, 101–3
distribution of the sensible, 125, 130
domopolitics, 67
Donald, D., 2, 37, 120, 138
dwelling, 16, 68, 75, 77, 87–96, 102, 126

E
emplacement, 62, 66, 68, 70, 76, 96, 103, 104, 108, 116, 142
encounters, 7, 24, 27, 50, 52, 60, 66, 77, 83, 85, 95, 96, 100, 109, 114, 125, 128–130, 133, 138, 140, 141
expulsion, 62, 63, 65, 67, 108, 114, 117, 128, 132

F
fetish, 14, 51, 55, 87, 93, 110, 139
football, 7, 100, 120, 121, 131
Frisby, D., 27, 108, 139, 140
Fujian province, 84

G
Gadamer, H. G., 130
Ghosts (Nick Broomfield, 2006), 3, 8
Giacometti, A., 123, 124, 131
Gilroy, P., 79, 80, 98, 101
Glick Schiller, N., 61, 62, 70
global city, 29, 48, 60, 61, 65, 68, 69, 75, 80, 87, 103, 119, 126, 141
globalization, 65, 124, 125, 129

H
Harvey, D., 14, 28, 38, 47, 48, 56–60, 62, 63, 70, 76, 100
hermneutics, 2, 107, 130, 132
heterotopia, 2, 76, 83
Higson, A., 10, 93
history, 1, 3, 6, 13, 14, 20, 23, 25–9, 37, 38, 41, 64, 82–4, 112, 122, 125, 129, 130, 143
housing estate, 78, 80, 96

I
image of the city, 2, 15n1, 19, 20, 38–41, 51, 55, 77, 78, 81, 82, 84, 93, 103, 125
images of urbanization, 5, 12, 15, 16n1, 77, 107, 108, 117–33
immigration authorities, 7, 68, 81, 89, 97, 111

implosion-explosion, 46, 50–2, 55
inner city, the, 13, 45, 46, 53, 56, 65, 68–70, 79, 114, 122, 125, 141, 144
In This World (Winterbottom, Michael 2002), 3, 7, 8, 84
Ireland, 138
Istanbul, 85, 111, 120, 129
It's a Free World (Loach, Ken 2007), 3, 8, 82, 144

J
Jameson, F., 12–14, 27–9, 39, 144

K
Kracauer, S., 20, 34–8, 35, 36, 41, 95, 119

L
The Last Resort (Pawlikowski, Pawel (2000), 3, 7, 75
Lefebvre, H., 2–4, 12–15, 19, 20, 30–4, 38, 39, 41, 41n1, 45–57, 59, 60, 65, 69, 76–8, 85, 86, 88, 91, 97, 104, 118, 122, 123, 125, 126, 129, 132, 142
London, 2–8, 12–14, 25, 31, 32, 48, 58, 60, 61, 67, 75–91, 96, 97, 100–3, 109, 111, 113, 119, 126, 129, 131, 141
Lowry, L. S., 121, 123
Lynch, K., 39, 40, 95, 118

M
Madden, D., 49, 60, 126, 132
Margate, 7, 83
Marx, K., 14, 57
Massood, P., 25, 26
Merrifield, A., 2, 32, 47–9, 56, 60, 117, 118, 129, 130, 143
migration, 2, 3, 5–7, 9, 15, 16n1, 45–70, 79–81, 89, 95, 97, 108, 111, 120, 125, 130, 138
mobility, 20, 24–7, 41, 58, 75, 77, 87–91, 95, 102, 109, 110, 123, 124, 132, 141
Mondialization, 126–8, 132
multiculturalism, 79

N
Nail, T., 62, 63, 128
Naked City, The (Dassin, Jules 1948), 77, 92
Nancy, J. L., 126, 128, 132
New York City, 29, 35, 40, 60, 85, 138, 140
nostalgia, 2, 38, 39, 91, 138, 145

O
optical unconscious, 20, 35–8, 76, 140, 143
outer-inner city, the, 46, 53, 68, 122, 125
overburdened (migrant as), 109, 117, 132

P
Paris, 8, 24, 25, 86
planetary urbanization, 3, 11, 12, 15, 19, 20, 28, 40, 45, 46, 49, 55–9, 60, 62, 65, 66, 70, 75, 95, 102, 107–34, 141, 143, 144
politics (urban), 46, 59, 60, 70, 131
Pressure (Ové, Horace 1976), 77

R
racism, 58, 100, 101
Rancière, J., 11, 20, 31, 33, 35–7, 41, 76, 103, 104, 115, 125, 129, 132, 143, 144
representational space, 4, 30, 32–4, 41, 76, 92
right to the City, 3, 4, 13, 14, 59, 91, 102, 113
Roberts, L., 1, 28, 83, 91, 127
Robins, K., 1, 84, 93

S
Sassen, S., 48, 80
Sayad, A., 108, 111
Selvon, S., 79
Sennett, R., 13, 40, 125
sentimentality, 80, 116
social class, 24
social imaginary, 20, 21–4, 37, 116
social realism, 6–12, 15, 143
sociology, 20–2, 40, 46–8, 69
Somers Town (Meadows, Shane 2008), 3, 8
spectrality, 12, 16
spectres of the city, 12–14, 125
suburbs, 2, 47, 50, 54, 56, 68, 79, 88, 92, 94, 95, 100, 114, 115, 126, 142
suffering, 98, 100, 111, 112, 116, 133
super-diversity, 60, 61, 107, 108

T
Tehran, 82, 83, 127
Tóibín, C., 137, 139

U
urbanization, 1–5, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 15n1, 19–41, 45–70, 75–7, 87, 95, 96, 102–4, 107–9, 114, 116–120, 122, 123, 125–33, 134n2, 137, 138, 140, 142–45
urban society (Lefebvre), 1–16, 46, 49–51, 53, 54, 56, 59–60, 70, 76, 77, 92, 98, 101, 117, 119, 125, 126, 128, 130, 132, 143
Utopia, 76, 122

V
Vertovec, S., 61
visibility/ invisibility, 37, 60, 67–9, 92, 115
vulnerability, 112

W
waste, 64–6, 70, 73, 108, 128
Williams, R., 9, 98, 99, 125
Wright, P., 97

X
xenophobia. *See* racism

Y
Young Soul Rebels (Julien, Isaac 1991), 78

Z
Zukin, S., 47, 49, 138, 139