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Ayşe Çağlar & Nina Glick Schiller

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RELATIONAL MULTISCALAR ANALYSIS: A COMPARATIVE APPROACH TO MIGRANTS WITHIN CITY-MAKING PROCESSES

AYŞE ÇAĞLAR and NINA GLICK SCHILLER

ABSTRACT. To contribute to the growing literature on comparative urban research, this article speaks to the theoretical and methodological challenges that underlie recent calls for comparative relational approaches to city-making. The relational comparative analysis we develop highlights the multiscalar transformations of relations of power across time and space, which reconstitute urban life within changing historical conjunctures. The article offers a working vocabulary for a relational comparative approach, together with methodological illustrations drawn from our research on three seemingly very different disempowered cities located in Germany, the United States, and Turkey. This methodology includes identification of comparative parameters. These parameters enabled exploration of the similar and different dynamics and paradoxes of interrelated key processes in the three cities. Such comparative dimensions might prove useful in future work on disempowered cities. Our multiscalar approach enabled us to explore the ways in which migrants and non-migrants can be understood as actors reconstituting the city within the conjunctural transformations brought about by neoliberal urban regeneration. *Keywords:* relational urban comparison, multiscalar, neoliberal urban regeneration, conjuncture, migrants, city-making.

Our thinking about urban relational comparability began in 2001, when the mayor of Manchester, New Hampshire, a disempowered city bent on regeneration, told us about the past and future glory of his city, while stressing the contributions of migrants to the city's history and prospects. In subsequent interviews with the mayors of two other disempowered cities in disparate regions of the world, we heard a similar narrative, as if the three leaders were reading from the same playbook. We were told in those discussions, and by an array of officials, that urban renewal and development would overcome their city's negative reputation, abandoned vistas, and economic doldrums, and allow their city to reclaim its historical importance and prosperity.

To understand why we were hearing such similar statements and to investigate whether they led to similar outcomes in the three cities, we found ourselves confronted with the challenge of comparison. Consequently, over almost two decades, we have sought to compare the regeneration processes of these disempowered cities, focusing on the ways in which the urban regeneration

✉ AYŞE ÇAĞLAR, Social- and Cultural Anthropology, University of Vienna, Austria, NIG, Universitaetsstraße 7, 1010 Vienna, Austria; and the Institute for Human Sciences (IWM), Vienna, Austria; [ayse.caglar@univie.ac.at]. NINA GLICK SCHILLER, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Advokatenweg 36, 06114, Halle, (Saale), Germany; [schiller@eth.mpg.de]

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strategies became intertwined with the city-making practices of the residents, including their migrant or returning minority populations.¹ The three cities are: Halle/Saale in formerly socialist eastern Germany; Manchester, New Hampshire, in the New England region of the United States; and Mardin, on the south-eastern border of Turkey.²

Building on recent efforts among urban geographers to develop a comparative relational methodology (Ward 2010; Robinson 2015; Hart 2016; Bodnár 2019; Brenner 2019), in this article we enter into the debates about the feasibility of comparing cities in an interconnected world. As our contribution, we explicate a relational methodology that highlights comparisons among processes of urban regeneration and migrant emplacement within intertwined multiscalar networks of differential economic, political, and cultural power.³ We developed this methodology in the course of long-term research in the three cities. Our methodology draws from urban scholars' explorations of the neoliberal rescaling of urban governance (Harvey 1989; Jessop 1997; Brenner 2004; McCann 2016).

We argue that the approach we outline provides methodological entry points into relational comparison by explicating how urban governance is constituted, capital is accumulated within urban regeneration, and multiscalar political, economic, cultural, and religious networks have been remade.⁴ This approach also contributes new insights into relational comparisons by locating migrants and non-migrants within the same analysis of city-making processes.

We begin by situating our approach to relational urban comparison within debates about global interconnectivity and relationality. Next, we define the terms we use to theorize and situate the comparative methodology we advocate. Finally, we present an example of our relational comparative method. Given the necessity of being brief, examples from our data can only serve to indicate our approach.

WHAT IS COMPARED AND WHAT IS RELATIONAL IN RELATIONAL COMPARISONS?

As George Steinmetz has noted (2004, 372), several disciplines question “the basic ontological and epistemological legitimacy of comparative research.” Some urban researchers argue that cities are historically and culturally path-determined and therefore incommensurable (Coté 2007). However, comparative urban studies experienced “a revival and a reorientation” more than a decade ago (Nijman 2007; McFarlane and Robinson 2012, 765). Renewing debates initiated decades before, researchers sought to explain similarities and differences among cities and why similarities emerge among cities that seem to be radically different in history, geography, and cultural presentation (Abu-Lughod 1975; Tilly 1984).

The barriers to comparative research that have been identified include: a positivist bias in the social sciences that discounts the study of underlying structural forces (Steinmetz 2004), and the necessity of ascertaining whether

cases that appear similar are independent of each other or actually interrelated and thus part of a single case (Schnegg 2014).

In response, a set of geographers, acknowledging the presence and power of globe-spanning institutions as actors in the neoliberal restructuring of cities, recently explored comparative approaches acknowledging that, “cities have to be theorized as open, embedded, and relational” (Ward 2010, 407). Their comparative method centers on the understanding that, “different urban social and economic processes and groups, elite and marginal, professional and domestic, are embedded in wide-ranging transnational associations. Cities are constituted through wider networks of relationships and flows [which constitute] a vast array of overlapping connections” (Robinson 2011, 137). This framework has enabled some comparative urbanists, such as McFarlane and Robinson (2012, 766), to move beyond a body of research that concentrated on cities that were defined as similar and compared cities that seemed “radically different” in geography, power, history, or culture.

However, those who speak of relational comparison use the term in different ways (Ward 2010; McFarlane and Robinson 2012; Hart 2016; Bodnár 2019). Sometimes the same author deploys the term relational to signal several methodologically different types of interconnection. Some, such as McCann and Ward (2012), while acknowledging the globe-spanning connectivities of cities, have tended to see relational comparisons as relationships between specific cities. Thus, Ward (2010, 480) states that interconnected trajectories means that “different cities are implicated in each other’s past, present and future. [This] moves us away from searching for similarities and differences between two mutually exclusive contexts and instead toward relational comparisons that uses different cities to pose questions of one another.” Similarly, Robinson (2014, 4) highlights “a new mode of comparative analysis, one which works with the connections amongst cities.” MacFarlane and Robinson (2012, 769) include, among projects that “track reciprocal relations between cities,” those interconnected through their application of traveling urban policies or neoliberal logics and city twinning projects.

In contrast, Charles Tilly’s (1984, 125) interest in relationality stressed “encompassing comparison”: one constructs a comparison by selecting “locations within the [globe-spanning] structure or process and explain[s] similarities or differences as consequences of their relationships to the whole.” Interconnections are a reflection of single interconnected globe-spanning set of structures and historical processes. Many of the scholars who subsequently conducted comparative research on what they called “world cities” or “global cities” directly or implicitly built on this concept of relationality.

Building on the various readings of relationality and drawing on the earlier work of Philip McMichael (1990), Gillian Hart (2016) has offered a form of relational comparison that is alert to the global processual forces, but works from more specifically constitutive forces (see also Hart 2002). Examining relational processes across multiple scales, Hart (2002) identifies “dense bundles of social relations and

power-infused interactions that are always formed out of entanglements and connections with dynamics at work in other places, and in wider regional, national and transnational arenas.” Hart’s work resonates with the relational comparative frameworks offered by Bodnár (2019), Brenner (2019), and Çağlar and Schiller (2018) and which we call multiscalar. Robinson (2014) notes that the comparative urbanists, Lubeck and Walton (1979), posited a form of relational multiscalar comparisons and took account of variations across time and space and local class configurations. For these authors, the local is not formed as a consequence of an actorless abstract “globalization,” but in ongoing multiple trajectories that connect local, national, and transnational together (see also Bodnár 2019). Within these ongoing dynamics, trajectories connect to and become part of the specificity of places.

Our relational multiscalar comparisons of city-making as conjuncturally situated processes build upon the historical transformative aspect of Hart’s approach and further develops a multiscalar methodology. Once researchers focus on comparison as a project that must address the intersections of time and space, their challenge is to formulate comparisons that situate and empirically examine how interconnected global-spanning actors reconstitute particular spaces within changing trajectories of forces.

In our comparisons, we used relationality to refer to three interrelated but structurally different forms of relationship: the way each city, as it was constituted by neoliberal agents within globe-spanning multiscalar networks of power, was related to the dynamics and paradoxes of urban regeneration; the relationship between actors who were part of financial, corporate, political, cultural institutions and organizations, including those individuals whose interpersonal networks connected to these institutions and organization; and the interrelationships between the repositioning of a city through urban regeneration and migrant emplacement, a process that was part of the revaluation of the urban spaces, actors, and institutions we were assessing. These multiscalar relationships of city-making can be studied and compared with multiple methods, including ethnography.

By highlighting the term multiscalar in the study of the mutual constitution of processes of urban regeneration and migrant emplacement, we emphasize that relational comparative methodologies can set aside invocations of a single process of encompassment yet maintain a global perspective on social transformations. It brings together various interconnecting networks of territorially located places, institutions, organizations, and multiple diverse individuals, each with different social positioning, and kinds and degrees of power (Sassen 2014).

This approach to comparative relational city-making explores how seemingly specific differing practices within configurations of intersecting forces lead to similar outcomes. As Steinmetz (2004) observes, “events incomparable at the phenomenal level still may be amenable to explanation in terms of ... [an intersection] of generative causal mechanisms. Steinmetz (2004) also notes that

“comparison thus can focus on the differing empirical effects of a single mechanism, or on the differing ... [intersecting forces] leading to similar outcomes.”

DEFINITIONS FOR COMPARATIVE RELATIONAL CITY-MAKING MULTISCALAR

The term *multiscalar* serves as a “shorthand to speak of socio-spatial spheres of practice that are constituted in relationship to each other and within various hierarchies of networks of power” (Çağlar and Glick Schiller 2018, 8). As deployed within our *multiscalar* approach, the term *hierarchy* does not connote fixed institutionalized structures of power, but highlights networked institutional relations of unequal power. Scales are approached as mutually constituted, relational, and interpenetrating territorially referenced entry points for an analysis of globe-spanning interconnected processes (Brenner 1999, 2011; Swyngedouw 2004; Hart 2016). This understanding of scale discards notions of levels of analysis—macro, meso, and micro—as well as nested concepts of scale that denote a fixed hierarchy of bounded territorial units, such as household, neighborhood, city, province, nation-state, and the globe.

Underlying the concept of *multiscalar* is an acknowledgment of “urban space and state space as intricately entangled, mutually co-constituting, and conflictually co-evolving formations of scale-differentiated sociospatial relations under modern capitalism” (Brenner 2019, 7). *Multiscalar* processes can neither be reduced to, nor can they be understood without examining the dynamics of various modes of capital accumulation that occur within interconnected scales, including the global. Relational comparisons don’t posit a uniform global dynamic because the multiple, changing, intersecting trajectories of power are experienced and reformulated by multiple actors within specific places and over time (Smith 1995; Hart 2016).

CITY-MAKING

The term *city-making* refers to the relational, processual, *multiscalar* constitution of cities, reminding researchers that methodologically cities are not bounded units but a useful entry points for studying broader processes. While cities are politically defined as specific territories with systems of government, to understand urban dynamics it is necessary to approach cities as a form of interconnected social relations, institutions, and units of governance. From this perspective, to compare cities is to note the similarities and differences in the way relations between key processes and their actors with different degrees and types of power—financial, political, and cultural—are enacted across space and time. In creating comparative studies of processes that are global in reach yet are lived within local dimensions, beginning with cities as entry points, allows researchers to investigate how spatialized similarities and differences arise, are experienced, and transformed.

City-making approached in this manner highlights the underlying multi-scalar relations of power through which different actors acquire value and gain, lose, or maintain resources, wealth, and influence the broad dynamics of city governance. It situates the governmental functions of maintaining social order, reproduction, coordination, and instituting the built environment within the interaction of multiple actors with different degrees and kinds of power (Swyngedouw 2005, 1992; McCann 2016, 313).

HISTORICAL CONJUNCTURE

Historical conjuncture is “a form of historical explanation which seeks both to explain particular events and ideas, and to map ... the working out of a dominant combination of causes” (Rosenberg 2005, 29). Unlike the notion of fixed historical periods or epochs that “freeze world history” for several centuries at a time (Burawoy 1989, 770), conjunctural analysis alerts us to the intersection of networks that produce new realignments in the configuration of political, economic, and cultural life, and new forms of legitimation and contestation. The term conjuncture provides a way to speak of the multiple trajectories of intersecting power that are experienced in different ways in different places and that are interrelated but asynchronous. Conjunctural analysis highlights the ways in which key processes and structures are transformed over time, including modes and processes of capital accumulation. Conjunctural analysis highlights the transformations across time and space of interrelated networks of power and governance, such as those key to urban regeneration.

DEVELOPING A COMPARATIVE RELATIONAL METHODOLOGY

In order to illustrate how our theoretical framework actuates a research methodology and analysis, we trace the methodological logic and approach to data collection and analysis that underlay our relational comparison of three cities. The first step in conducting comparisons of cities is to make clear the logic and method that underlies the choice of cities to be compared. As is often the case in urban research, initially our specific choice of cities was happenstance. However, a logic of comparison was propelled by our initial research: Nina Glick Schiller’s institutional affiliations in Manchester, New Hampshire, and Halle/Salle in 2001; Ayse Çağlar’s research on Mardin, begun in mid-2000s and continued with a 2012 project. However, our initial work in all three cities reflected our interest in migrant emplacement in cities that differed from the more powerful cities of New York, Berlin, and Istanbul where we had lived and/or conducted research.

It was in observing the way the three cities were approaching urban regeneration that we began to develop a concept of multiscale analysis to investigate and compare the intertwined processes and actors of urban regeneration and revaluation processes that might underlie the similarities in the emplacement of

migrants/minorities in city-making. Leaders adopted regeneration narratives and policies that reflected calls for cities to be creative and culturally diverse by welcoming migrants (Florida 2003). Not only were leaders of the three cities committed to restructuring their city's landscape, economy, modes of governance, and population composition by invoking past greatness, they specifically referenced migrants as positive agents in the past, present, and future of their city. We noted that while urban regeneration policies "traveled" (McCann and Ward 2012) as a cluster of ideas circulated from place to place, not all restructuring cities envisioned migrants as active agents of city-making.

To understand and relate these revaluation narratives to the shared adoption of a specific mode of urban regeneration, we collected a wide range of data about the way city residents, both migrants and non-migrants, lived their lives and interacted with each other and talked about their city, as well as structural data about the urban and economic development and the projects of these cities. We examined the emerging visions of each city based on what we learned from interviews with leaders, planners, officials, heads and members of religious, cultural, educational, nongovernmental and political institutions. We attended public meetings, gatherings of friends, went to festivals, demonstrations, and parades, and participated in informal conversations. Our ethnographic methods included asking about and observing how both migrants and non-migrants spoke about their city and interacted as they went about working, shopping, parenting, borrowing, obtaining schooling, neighboring, celebrating, politicking, interacting with officials, including police, and obtaining or losing housing. We read public documents, minutes of public meetings of governing bodies, glossy publicity brochures developed to promote the city, planning documents, websites, and Facebook pages.

We discarded "sociological nominalism which takes the self-definitions of actors as the starting point and endpoint of analysis" (Steinmetz 2004, 385). Thus, we were not content with statements from city leaders and residents that their city was unique. Though we did not disregard the actor's voices, we read our ethnographic data in relation to data about the urban restructuring and revaluation processes and projects in that particular city. This latter data included statistics about employment, debt, housing structure, funding schemes of local, federal, global, and supranational institutions, such as the European Union (EU), World Bank, UNESCO, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). We read both the statistical and ethnographic data to assess each city, and to compare the three cities. Our data collection was guided by a theoretical awareness of the connection between the accumulation of capital and neoliberal forms of urban restructuring, and their features and dynamics, at a particular conjuncture. Our research project and analytical time-frame spanned almost two decades, allowing us to conceptualize transformation, changing relationalities, and conjunctural change. The global features of neoliberal urban development, namely the centrality of public/private partnerships and local state/municipalities and their paradoxes, established the theoretical backdrop that guided our data collection and the specification and analysis of the comparative

dimensions, which we have designated “parameters” that we developed to explore the similarities and differences of relationalities in the restructuring of each city. Therefore, our comparative perspective built from our social theory, from which we delineated the multiple relationalities of city-making (Bodnár 2019).

Our observations documented what we have come to refer to as multiscale networks of power. Workplaces were often part of multinational corporations. Small retail shops, including those owned by migrants, were part of supply chains that linked them to larger cities, and national and international suppliers. Mortgages, whether on private homes or buildings that were rented, were held by national or international finance corporations and hedge funds. Religious organizations were part of global religious networks. We found families or households, whether migrant or non-migrant, that were transnational. People who seemed to be homegrown politicians turned out to have multiple linkages to other cities, regions, and countries. And the regeneration of each city involved multiple actors situated in multiple locations with varying degrees and kinds of power including: financial institutions, construction companies, state agencies committed to regional redevelopment in public-private partnerships, corporations fostering urban branding, tourism, construction and hospitality industries, transnational and national architectural firms, city-level planning and housing agencies.

As we analyzed these multiple connections, we were able to identify parameters with which to explore the similarity and differences of the dynamics and paradoxes of interrelated key processes in the three cities. Taken together, the parameters constitute a working hypothesis about what was relationally similar about the three cities. Namely, the dynamics that propelled city leaders, situated within multiscale networks of disparate power, to adopt regeneration narratives that valorized different segments of the population, pasts, and sites, to position migrants and/or minorities as city-makers, and to strive to reposition their disempowered cities through neoliberal regeneration strategies. This approach enabled us to see how migrant emplacement in various domains of the cities and city-making could become actors in reconstituting of cities. Our comparative parameters also made it clear that what seemed to constitute opportunities were also part of the paradoxes of neoliberal austerity urbanism and of dispossessive processes of capital accumulation. We could highlight the contradiction that increased inequalities and political polarizations, contributing to conjunctural transformations. The parameters are suggestive of possible comparisons of migrant emplacement in other disempowered cities that were engaged in urban regeneration and revaluation, accumulation, and dispossession processes within the same moment of neoliberal regeneration.

THREE COMPARATIVE RELATIONAL PARAMETERS

A PROCESS OF DISEMPOWERMENT WITHIN MULTISCALAR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC NETWORKS OF POWER

While historically different from each other in their economic and political positioning within regional, national, and globe-spanning networks that connected them to the world, all three cities had experienced relative disempowerment. The decline and marginalization of each city was inscribed into their built environment as abandoned and decaying buildings and infrastructure, which was reminiscent of greater past economic, political, and cultural power, and precipitous decline.

MANCHESTER

The long stretch of abandoned brick mills in Manchester's city center stood as a testimony that the city had been economically disempowered after its early twentieth century prominence as a center of textile, shoe, and machine tools production. Manchester lost most of its industry and city-center population by midcentury. While the city had a relatively low unemployment rate in 2000, it was "consistently" higher than the region and the state, with the poverty rate rising to almost 11 percent in that year (City of Manchester 2009, 10–11). Following a brief growth in high-tech and finance-related industries in the regional economy at century's end, by the turn of the twenty-first century the city's well-being and significance was further undermined by bank failures, the dot.com crash, and the aftermath of 11 September 2001 U.S. economic downturn. The press and developers spoke of the city center as a zone of criminality, filled with abandoned decaying buildings and secondhand stores catering to the poor. While Manchester continued to be accorded political prominence by the national and international press as a bellwether within the U.S. presidential primary cycle, the contradictions of its decaying center undercut its political standing.

HALLE/SAALE

Halle/Saale had been known for centuries as a center of learning and science and far-reaching trade connections, while in the years of the German Democratic Republic (1945–1989) for its nearby petrochemicals and plastic industries. After German unification in 1990, Halle was economically and politically disempowered, losing most of its industrial and commercial networks. Former government workers, many professionals, and educated unemployed young people emigrated. For local residents, there was an overpowering sense of loss made poignant by the empty city center with its turn of the twentieth-century art deco neighborhoods and the desolate abandoned buildings of the former neighboring workers city of Halle Nuestadt, which became part of Halle after German unification.

German unification also restructured government, disempowering Halle by placing it in Saxony-Anhalt whose capital became Magdeburg. In 2000 with rising

unemployment, there was intense competition among residents even for low-paid work (Löbner 2013). At that point, Halle gained a global reputation as a “shrinking city” and was portrayed widely as dangerous and characterized by bands of neo-Nazi youth.⁵

MARDIN

By 2000, the landscape of the Mardin city-region had become one of abandoned villages, monasteries, churches, and a dilapidated Old City center with its decaying monumental and historical yellow limestone architecture. These buildings stood as reminders of the city’s past significance and testimony to its loss of power. Mardin is an ancient city whose relative power came not from industry, but from its position as a center of trade, commerce, learning, and religion. It had served historically as a crucial node for a variety of Muslim and Christian networks of religious learning, art, and cultural production.

With the demise of the Ottoman Empire and genocides of Armenian and Syriac Christian populations in 1915, the size and composition of Mardin’s population changed. The city experienced a further diminution of its political, commercial, religious, and regional importance with the establishment of the Turkish state and the border between Turkey and Syria in 1923. Demographic transformations and depopulation of the city-region continued through waves of repression. Intensification of conflict between the Turkish state and the Kurdish insurgency in the mid-1980s simultaneously led to the migration of relatively well-to-do residents out of the Old City, and the massive movement of forcefully displaced and dispossessed rural, mainly Kurdish, residents to the city center (Yüksel 2014). The 1991 Gulf War and the 2003 U.S. invasion of Iraq increased the regional economic deterioration and further increased unemployment, which hovered around 50 percent in 2003 (Collins 2003). At the end of the twentieth century, Mardin stood as one of the least developed city-regions in Turkey with a reputation of high unemployment, poverty, and violence (DIKA, Mardin Yatirim Destek Ofisi 2014).⁶

URBAN REGENERATION PROJECTS, INTERTWINED WITH REVALUATION PROCESSES, LEAD TO A PARADOXICAL EMPLACEMENT OF MIGRANTS IN DISEMPOWERED CITIES

In the context of each city’s legacy of former, greater significance, the leaders and many residents in all three cities were attracted by the globally circulating promise at the end of the twentieth century of rebirth through urban regeneration and rebranding. However, developers and leaders in all three cities confronted the materiality of abandonment and decay, cutbacks in public spending justified by logics of neoliberal austerity, and their city’s negative reputation, which hindered the flow of financial and human capital and investment into the city. The regeneration processes in each city were intertwined with incentives to revalue property, sites, local histories, and sectors of the population. In each city, migrants and historic minority populations acquired an increased value within

these revaluation processes. In each case, the leaders referenced the migrants and minorities in their speeches and websites to signal globally that the city was open to the world and suitable for investment.

In each city, infrastructure improvement and city-center renewal took primacy, while regeneration projects were realized with public-private partnerships and multiscalar funding. Unable to access sufficient corporate investment, each city relied on an array of public monies and debt. Given their straightened finances and growing debt, in each city there was a contradiction between the welcoming narratives and the actual minimal provision of services to migrants. This contradiction not only reflected the initial straightened finances of the city, but also regeneration economy that primarily yielded private wealth rather than public services for either migrants or non-migrant residents.

MANCHESTER

Revaluation of urban real estate was central to the city's master plan (Hillier Architecture 2006). Projects to transform the abandoned city center into an attractive downtown included renovating a historic theater and office buildings, building a new sports stadium, and refurbishing sidewalks, streetlamps, and storefronts. As the twenty-first century began, city leaders used public debt to build a US\$ 44 million civic arena, which they saw as the lynch pin in their plan to regenerate the city center and attract private investment, new economy businesses, and tourism (Gilbane 2020). Much of the renovations in Manchester developed as public-private partnerships that took multiple forms: publicly provided infrastructure for private development; the use of public funds and debt to purchase city-center land, sold to private developers at below market prices; or the offer of tax abatements for corporations to locate in the city center (Applied Economic Research 2010; Guinta 2009; U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development 2011; City of Manchester 2012).

From 2003 to 2018, public investment in urban regeneration came from four federal programs (including a Community Development Block Grant and a Neighborhood Revitalization Strategic Area grant), eight State of New Hampshire programs, two city programs, and three bank-facilitated programs (City of Manchester 2014; Çağlar and Glick Schiller 2018). Privately owned construction companies profited from related demolition and construction costs. Private developers reaped benefits from the public financing of projects that they subsequently owned or managed.

In one prominent example, Anagnost Investments, a local development corporation, entered into partnerships with the Manchester Housing and Redevelopment Authority and the New Hampshire Housing and Finance Authority for the redevelopment of existing historic, boarded-up, and abandoned properties in city center and the creation of rental units, a hospital, a medical office building, and an apartment complex (Anagnost Companies 2011).

A dual regeneration narrative developed in positioning migrants within Manchester's revaluation of real estate. Although it primarily benefited private real estate interests, federal funds used in city-center regeneration, especially from the U.S. Housing and Urban Development (HUD), were justified as expenditures to combat poverty, housing inequality, and to meet educational and social service needs of "many new immigrants and political refugees" (City of Manchester 2010). At the same time, migrants acquired a new value and were welcomed as contributing to the regenerated face of the city.

Actually, given its financial straits, Manchester provided few services to any residents, including migrants. The city gave token amounts to a handful of organizations but service-providing organizations were partially or completely staffed by volunteers. Over time, as United States and state neoliberal austerity policies increased, nonprofits were transformed into self-sustaining, often regionally organized, corporate ventures. The outcome was even fewer and more temporary local services. Federal refugee resettlement money, administered by a nonprofit, provided time-limited, small amounts of support to newly arrived refugees.

HALLE/SAALE

The clarion call to counter the economic downturn and regenerate by attracting capital and investment also resonated in Halle around the beginning of the twenty-first century. While in Halle, the particular setting was the demise of the socialist regime, Manchester's conjunctural restructuring was marked by capital accumulation through real estate revaluation, privatization, and mechanism of indebtedness. Halle city leaders and developers were confronted both with a landscape of abandonment and the city's reputation as a "shrinking city" with violent neo-Nazi youth who attacked those thought to be "foreign."

To renew the built environment, city leaders turned to a German state program, *Stadtumbau Ost*, which initially focused on shrinking cities. *Stadtumbau Ost* combined large-scale German federal funding together with contributory funding from the *Länder* (Bernt 2009; Grunze 2012; Haller and Nelle 2017; Bundesministerium des Innern, für Bau und Heimat 2019). As a result of this program, vast numbers of abandoned and decaying residential buildings in Halle were demolished and others reconfigured to be marketed for higher rentals or sold to investors, including international investors. Halle's redevelopment programs divided regeneration into several distinct dimensions, each with different multiscale configurations of funding and investment institutions and actors: housing, industry, tourism, and infrastructure.

Developers utilized EU structural funds, German federal, and *Länder* funds, and matching funds or loans from the Halle city government (IBA 2010). Tramlines and road intersections were repaired, updated, and extended by funding from the federal government with Saxony-Anhalt and Halle contributing additional money (Seppelt 2011; Halle Spektrum 2013). The federal government, with additional EU funding,

fostered a science park and prestigious research institutes. Meanwhile, the city offered public funding for infrastructure and land acquisition in seven industrial parks (*Business and Science Support Centre (Halle) n.d.*). As in Manchester, public money was expended with the justification that this would then attract international corporate and financial investors.

While only partially privatized, social housing for low-income groups became managed privately and financialized internationally in forms of public-private partnerships. This transformation weakened public control over the provision of housing and led to increased segregation of the poor, a rising cost of rental housing, and the creation of new inequalities (Watt and Smets 2017). Faced with its extremely constrained budget, Halle was the first city in Germany to begin to incur a 25-year debt to private capital in order to finance its educational infrastructure and to administer pilot, public-private-partnership schools (Matussek 2005; Steppan 2008).

In their efforts to counter Halle's racist reputation, attract financial and human capital, and boost their city's regeneration profile, from 2000 to 2018, city leaders fashioned migrant welcoming narratives emphasizing that "there were always foreigners in Halle" (Häußler 2001) and "Every foreigner [was] ... part of Halle" (Wiegand 2013). They built on more broadly circulating narratives and networks such as the Germany-wide Inter-Cultural week celebrations sponsored by German religious institutions. Welcome narratives were posted on the city website where the city officially addressed all newcomers, including asylum seekers, as "new residents of Halle" (City of Halle 2015).

Despite the emphasis on migrants' contributions to city-making in migrant-friendly narratives, as in the case of Manchester, migrants were provided with few city resources and services.⁷ The city provided small payments to volunteers who taught German to asylum seekers, with space provided by Catholic and Protestant religious organizations. For many years, the city also funded one center that provided migrant-specific services, cultural programs, and a community center dedicated to foreign-native interaction often formulated as intercultural encounters.

MARDIN

Following the truce forged between the Kurdish PKK and Turkish armed forces in 1999, the formal acceptance of Turkey's EU candidacy same year, and the changing political and economic conjuncture in the Middle East, Turkey's geopolitical place vis-à-vis Europe and beyond was reconfigured. In this transformed situation, Mardin's leaders saw opportunities to respond to the new wisdom that urban development and prosperity could be fostered by regeneration. They sought ways to attract capital and investment in tourism and industry by changing Mardin's reputation from a place of terror and poverty to a prosperous, peaceful multifaith, multiethnic, multilingual city with a historical culture.

Since the beginning of the 2000s, Mardin has increasingly become the ground of a regime of accumulation achieved through interventions within urban space, particularly in the built environment by means of several intertwined regeneration projects.⁸ Mardin city leaders embarked on comprehensive urban renewal projects, including the rehabilitation of the Old City, the historic city center. The preservation and the restoration of the abandoned and neglected Old City and historical cultural/religious sites were crucial for the heritage-tourism industry. The processes of urban regeneration, the valorization of the city's minorities, and of the revaluation of property were entangled. The regeneration efforts gained further ground in the context of the new regional dynamics, and investment and trade opportunities unleashed by the Iraq War and by the increasing importance of the Middle East market, especially for Europe.

The funding for infrastructure improvement (sewage, electricity, water), the rehabilitation of architectural and cultural heritage sites, and the tourism industry came from multiple sources, including the World Bank, UNDP, UNESCO, the Turkish national state, Regional Development Administration, and the Mardin governorship and municipality. EU funds within the frame of the preaccession program were used to renew the main street of the historic Old City center by refurbishing sidewalks, building facades, and standardizing signboards, shutters, and awnings.

As in Manchester and Halle, public monies and multiscale regeneration funds went primarily to public-private partnerships, with construction firms as the major beneficiaries. For example, the comprehensive "Historical Transformation" project initiated in 2008 by the local government was based on an agreement signed between Mardin governorate, municipality, and Housing Development Administration (TOKİ). TOKİ, operating under the direct tutelage of the prime minister functioned as a governmental, profit-oriented tool in public-private partnerships exempt from the regulation of taxes and charges, and financial auditing. The program led to the financialization of housing, the commodification of historical stone buildings, and the growth of construction sector in Mardin.

Given its procorporate capital regeneration strategies that decreased corporate tax income and increased public indebtedness, Mardin provided few social services to its population. The city's welcoming narrative did not necessarily translate into any kind of minority or migrant specific services. Despite the city's multilinguistic heritage, there was no school instruction in minority languages. This had been a demand of the various minorities and had been a point of conflict and negotiation involving transnational Orthodox and Catholic Christian networks, the EU, and U.S. Department of State.

URBAN RESTRUCTURING AND THE EMPLACEMENT OF MIGRANTS WITHIN THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND CULTURAL SPHERES OF THEIR DISEMPOWERED CITIES ARE MUTUALLY CONSTITUTED

In their efforts to regenerate the city and build a new economy ambiance, city leaders in all three cities welcomed all newcomers, including migrants. In their welcoming narratives, migrants were hailed as city-builders within each city's past, present, and future. Until conjunctural transformations challenged this participation, migrants or minorities found opportunities to become part of the social, economic, political, and cultural lives of the cities in multiple ways, with some migrant contributions publicly acknowledged while others went unheralded. As migrants have taken on multiple social positions—resident, taxpayer, worker, student, parent, banker, debtor, tenant, landlord, household member, neighbor, friend, official, activist—migrants have joined with other urban residents in a politics that claims social, economic, and historical justice.

In each city, migrants entered into the urban regeneration processes as actors and subjects in multiple processes of regeneration. As our comparisons indicate, they became participants in multiscalar financial, cultural, commercial, and politicized religious networks, and participated in the multiscalar networks that linked the city to funding streams. Helping to constitute power-laden networks of multiple institutions, migrants became part of urban governance. To summarize this process, we identify them as “city-makers.”

MANCHESTER

In Manchester, migrants were integral to the value-creation processes fueled by the real estate and international subprime-mortgage industry. They served as real estate and mortgage brokers and as city residents who redeveloped property, stabilized neighborhoods, took out subprime mortgages, and suffered foreclosure with the collapse of the property market between 2007 and 2012. As part of the workforce, they were first enriched and then impoverished by the rapid rise and fall of dot.com industries and the local fluctuations of the multinational defense industry. Migrants owned and worked in small businesses that occupied the regenerated city-center storefronts.

Despite the federal antimigrant policies, narratives, and politics of post-9/11, city leaders highlighted both the integral role diverse populations played in the past and their importance for the city's regeneration. Furthermore, migrants, including refugees, acquired multifarious positions in the urban renewal and rebranding projects, such as working for low wages in industries the city leaders and urban developers hoped to attract, purchasing and revaluing the aging housing stock by taking on subprime mortgages, and reviving the city center by increasing its density and diversity so that it would become attractive to private investors. Thus, migrants were emplaced both as actors and targets of the

plans, mechanisms and narratives for downtown reconstruction, real estate, and property revaluation strategies.

This becomes clear when we follow the relationships of Carlos Gonzalez, a Dominican migrant, who after losing a Manchester mayoral election, was elected as a Republican member of the New Hampshire legislature from Manchester in 2010–2012 and 2014–2016. For about a decade after 2000, the local Republican Party encouraged migrants, including a local Muslim businessman and Gonzalez, to become party activists. With the mentorship of a former Republican mayor of Manchester, Gonzalez socialized with a local Republican congressman, and the governor of New Hampshire at party barbeques and picnics.

In addition to being a politician, Gonzalez worked as a mortgage broker after participating in Federal National Mortgage Association training program (Fannie Mae) based at Harvard University.⁹ As urban regeneration proceeded in Manchester, mortgage brokers became key players in the process of property revaluation, enabling working people, both migrant and non-migrant, to purchase the city's aging housing stock, often with subprime mortgages.

While Gonzalez's brokerage activities connected local loans to international hedge funds, he developed his initial transactions from personal networks. For example, Gonzalez's personal ties to an migrant pastor who headed a network of more than 20 Pentecostal congregations, most of which had primarily non-migrant congregants, provided him with clients for his brokerage. At the same time, these networks emplaced Gonzalez within politically powerful multiscale connections: the Pentecostal network connected congregants to the Democratic mayor of Manchester; the religious leaders in Texas, London, and Nigeria; Focus on the Family, the national right-wing Christian organization; and members of the administration of George W. Bush (2001–2009). Meanwhile, Gonzalez also built ties with local and regional Latino organizations, although his persona in Manchester was as a mortgage broker and politician, not a Hispanic leader (Fabian 2012).

HALLE/SAALE

In Halle, although leaders and developers were welcoming, they generally did not fully understand migrant contributions, they did encourage international scholars and students who enlarged the city's research and intellectual capacity. However, in ways that were similar to Manchester, within Halle's project of urban reempowerment through regeneration, various migrants became part of the multiscale networks that constituted the process of city-making. Our ethnography, over almost two decades, documented the ways migrant small businesses filled regenerated storefronts in the city center that would have stood empty and helped provide inexpensive food and clothing for local impoverished non-migrant population (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2011b, 2013; Çağlar and Glick Schiller 2018). Born-again Christian organizations of migrants and non-migrants, founded by migrant religious leaders, situated the city in religiously based networks of power linked to

powerful political figures in the United States, including in George W. Bush administration (Glick Schiller et al. 2006). Migrant's wide-ranging transnational trade and religious networks helped in the multiscalar repositioning of the city.

One of the most prominent, but far from exceptional examples, has been Karamba Diaby, who had migrated to socialist Germany from Senegal in 1985 to obtain a graduate education in soil chemistry and remained as an active participant in local, national, and international project of reempowering Halle. Initially, after German unification, Diaby conducted doctoral research at Martine Luther University that contested the negative valuation of Halle as undesirable because of its polluted soil (Cottrell 2013) and protected the garden allotments of the population. This project situated Diaby as an activist within the initial efforts to rebrand and regenerate Halle. Then, finding himself among the many unemployed professionals in Halle in the 1990s, he built and served in a series of local organizations that situated migrants within the city's redevelopment narratives and antiracist stance. Simultaneously, he became an actor on multiple interconnected scales: he worked for the Sachsen Anhalt office of the Green Party foundation; joined the Social Democratic Party; was elected in 2009 to the Halle City Council; and then in 2013 to the national parliament, becoming one of the two first Black members of that body.

Following his election in 2013, Diaby served in several Bundestag committees, serving as deputy chair on the Committee for Human Rights and Humanitarian Aid as well as a member of the Committees on Education, Research and Technology Assessment. The subject of national and international news coverage, a frequent guest in several national and international TV programs, media features, cultural, and political events, he played an important role putting Halle as well as his social justice and antidiscrimination agenda into the spotlight nationally and internationally. From that position, he has forged an array of multiscalar linkages important to the city's regeneration, including serving on a working group on municipal policy, on an oversight committee for the acclaimed German Academy of Sciences, and the Leopoldina, which was located in Halle and is important for reclaiming of the city's international reputation as a center of sciences.

MARDIN

City leaders and developers circulated discourses and projects about the past and future that emphasized the city's multireligious, multilinguistic heritage. The moment of peace in Mardin that brought redevelopment to the city center also allowed small businesses to flourish and the business owners reflected the diverse population of the city. However, Syriac Christians were given a particular prominence in the marketing of the city's cultural and architectural heritage, and in property revaluation.¹⁰ Some Syriac Christians (including the returnees) became brokers between potential investors from Europe and local efforts to establish new productive activities, including viniculture, tourism, and hotels. At the same time, the multiple transnational

personal, social, political, and religious networks of especially Christian (both Catholic and Orthodox) minorities connected Mardin to prominent political and religious figures in Europe, the United States, in the region, and globally.

As in Halle and Manchester, the nature of urban regeneration projects and their revaluation processes in Mardin placed some of the Mardinates within the institutional and individual multiscale city-making more centrally than others. For example, Mahmut, a Syriac Christian jewelry craftsman/artist had a shop on the main street of the Old City for a long time. However, both his shop and his art of making jewelry inspired by traditional Syriac designs acquired new significance and value in relation to the comprehensive urban renewal project of the street. He played an especially important role within projects meant to boost the tourism and the branding of Mardin as a city of multifaith cultural heritage. Like the centuries old Syriac crafts that became part of the Mardin City Museum's display, Mahmut's long-term passion for cinema found its place within Mardin's emerging cultural institutions, all of which acquired transnational prominence at the end of the 2000s (Çağlar forthcoming). On the basis of his collection and shop, he became, in the words of the Mardin Biennial organizer, one of the city resident curators "from below" of the Mardin Biennial in 2015, which connected the city to international and global art networks (Otyam 2015).

His art, crafts, and the shop itself became part of the multiscale networks that contributed to the project of repositioning and rebranding Mardin. This network included British, French, German, and Spanish cultural institutes, the World Bank, and the EU. Mahmut became a city-maker within the multiscale field initiated by a neoliberal form of urban development. Furthermore, the urban regeneration revaluing the multifaith architectural and cultural heritage of the city opened a political space for people like Mahmut to voice their challenge to the official state narratives about Mardin's past and the injustices and violence (particularly genocide) to which its minorities were subjected. His challenges connected him to a transnational field of politics that included the powerful global Catholic Church, Syriac Associations in Europe, and political actors in Mardin and beyond.

SIMILAR OUTCOMES OF URBAN REGENERATION

After more than a decade of urban regeneration, city debt increased in all three cities, which led to a reduction and privatization of public services. Despite the influx of investments and funding that improved city infrastructure and refurbished the city centers, the cost of living, precarious employment, dispossession, and inequalities increased in all three cities. Greater numbers of city residents, migrants and non-migrants, faced increasing impoverishment.

In Manchester, after a decade of regeneration, various indices showed growing inequalities. The city's Comprehensive Economic Development Strategy (City of Manchester 2009, 10) reported that "the gap between the rich and

poor appears to be widening both in New Hampshire and the City even faster than in the nation.” While the amounts expended for urban regeneration in Halle were considerably greater than Manchester, the result of policies of debt-fueled regeneration was also reduction in public services and growing inequalities rather than general prosperity (Watt and Smets 2017). Similarly, in Mardin, despite the flow of capital and funds, the city debt increased while the city population became increasingly impoverished and lacking in services. In 2012, Mardin continued to rank very low among Turkish cities in terms of national socioeconomic development, particularly in employment and funds available for health and education (DİKA 2013; Yüksel 2014).

These growing inequalities, which intensified the contradictions and fault lines of this form of neoliberal urban development and made them increasingly visible and acute, led to the rise of polarized politics in all three cities. On the one hand, the prominence of migrant-friendly narratives in the portrayal of urban regeneration as an agent of prosperity made migrants a ready scapegoat when the development projects brought impoverishment. Antimigrant/minority sentiments rose in each city with migrants becoming the target of the political angers of those who felt or feared being left behind in the refurbished city. On the other hand, both increasing numbers of city residents, migrant and non-migrant, experiencing intensified dispossessive forces moved beyond identity politics to become part of movements for social justice.

In Manchester, in the years following the 2008 downturn, many city leaders pulled back from city regeneration and from welcoming migrants. While Donald Trump lost in Manchester by a small margin in 2016, his campaign and subsequent presidency fueled both the rage directed against migrants and the political polarization. In Manchester, as in so many other parts of the country, people of migrant background said that increasingly they experienced more overt racism and felt less at home in their daily lives. Nevertheless, a movement of solidarity against all forms of injustice also grew and became more visible. In 2020, the Black Lives Matter movement, led by youth of color, including migrant youth, brought together almost a thousand people, including a large number of non-migrant white residents (Gibson 2020).

In 2015, the number of refugees increased dramatically in Germany as did the polarization. In Halle, even long-settled migrants faced increasing threats, as local right-wing movements with national and transnational ties grew stronger (FOIA Research 2020). These racist politics were especially visible in the electoral politics in the peripheral zones of the city, whose residents found themselves increasingly discounted by regeneration and more generally by government policies. In 2018, a right-wing shooter attacked the synagogue in Halle and when repulsed, killed two people near by, one in a migrant business. Karamba

Diaby's office was first attacked in 2015, followed by racist threats in 2016 and by shots fired into his office window and death threats in January 2020.

At the same time, in 2015 and subsequent years, bolstered by new flows of federal funding, the mayor and some of the city leadership united with local religious, service and health organizations, and a large number of non-migrant residents to welcome the new refugees. All instances of these anti-migrant, anti-Semitic and racist attacks were met with outpourings of solidarity and antiracist mobilizations. As antirefugee racism became more politically prominent, migrant prorefugee activists became incorporated in institutional modes of governance through closer connections with local institutions, including mainstream Protestant and Catholic churches.

In Mardin, in 2014, a twenty-five-year-old Syriac ran in local elections for the pro-Kurdish Peace and Democracy Party (BDP), together with a well-known veteran of Kurdish politics. Both became co-mayors of Mardin's metropolitan municipality, with a broad historical and social justice agenda. However, in 2015, after a strong electoral challenge to Erdogan's power throughout Turkey, which was spearheaded in southeast region, including Mardin, by the pro-Kurdish party, the city once again faced martial law and state terror. Mardin's Kurdish residents and leaders were particularly targeted, including the co-mayor, who was arrested and imprisoned in 2016.¹¹ With the remilitarization of the city, the welcoming narratives and the broad social justice movement spearheaded by some of Mardin's minorities came to an abrupt end.¹²

CONCLUSION: RELATIONAL COMPARATIVE RESEARCH ON CITY-MAKING

We have offered a working vocabulary and methodology with which to approach the challenges of a "relational comparative approach to the study of cities" (Ward 2010, 471). Our argument has been that an adequate theoretical framework and methodology that can address the cumulative networks of differential power and multiple actions, through which both migrants and non-migrants produce new urban terrains, has been generally missing in comparative urban studies. In delineating methods of studying the relationalities of multiscalar city-making, we traced the transformation of places over time. As we noted, we developed our approach in the course of our 20 years of assessing narratives, networks, and processes of accumulation, dispossession, and revaluation of city spaces and populations. During this time period, our research benefitted from our joint analysis and our collaboration with multiple coresearchers and interview partners.

However, we want to emphasize that while collaborative research with engaged actors is integral to the research strategies we outline, comparative relational methodologies and analysis necessitate a particular analytical lens rather than long-term research or a team of researchers. It requires a rejection of a presentist stance—that is, one that assumes that what is currently observed is reflective of the past and can be projected into future. Instead, we suggest that

researchers collect data about the previous multiscalar positioning of each city being compared to its current relationships at the time of the research. In rejecting presentism, it is crucial to pay special attention to the emerging contradictions observable within each city's relationships to the networks of economic, political, and cultural power within which it is positioned. Past positioning of the city can be ascertained from assessing the statistics and accounts of the city's political-economic and cultural history, including its built environment, provided by local historical memory and historical documents. In order to think about emerging transformations, we analyzed contradictions within multiscalar networks of power. This type of analysis required noting signs of discrepancies, tensions, and systemic problems that have not yet become predominant. These contradictions are observable, but often remain unobserved because of the researchers' missing analytical lens. In developing comparative parameters that could address the relationships between migrants and cities, we looked at current and emergent relationalities, such as the changing stance to migrants' presence in the city. For example, initial urban regeneration processes in disempowered cities induced developers to project a cosmopolitan persona that made migrant presence an asset. However, in changing political polarization, narratives about diversity or a city being open to the world diminished.

We should note that the methodology and multiscalar conjunctural perspective outlined in this article requires an assessment of rapid transformations as they take place not only within our research settings, but also within globe-spanning networks of power to which these settings are intimately interconnected. During our research, the world changed around us, and the trajectories and the contradictions within structures of networked power articulations became more visible than when our research began. These changes in political narratives and discontents, processes of dispossession, and delegitimization of political and economic structures were apparent in the data from disempowered cities before they became regional or national trends. For example, the ramifications of spiraling urban debt as a consequence of city regeneration could be assessed in disempowered cities before their full impact on the provision of public services was acknowledged through public policies. The methods and perspectives we advocate provided insights into what was later declared to be crises. In this regard, conducting comparative research over a number of years with an attention to emergent contradictions and economic and political fissures is definitely fruitful.

The dangerous, polarizing nature of the emerging conjuncture was clearly visible in our research. Faced with altered financial trajectories, those holding power in various regions spoke of responding to crises—the 2007–2008 financial crisis, the so called 2015 “refugee crises,” and 2020 Covid-19 crisis—and once again began restructuring governance. The changes they began to implement reflected and contributed to what we have identified as an emerging new conjuncture that was more visible in disempowered cities. In

a growing number of instances, this emerging new conjuncture is marked by the implementation of emergency politics, authoritarian state mechanisms, and policies operating beyond the boundaries of legal inspection and parliamentary control. Such politics work through the increasing prominence of executive orders, decree laws enacted and instituted without parliamentary consent, oversight or accountability, and/or restructuring of the state and its apparatus around the executive. The broader power geometry of multiscale forces, as well as the form and legacies of state power, shape the variations and timing of this antidemocratic governance. These alterations affect processes of city-making and produce new forms of revaluation and intensified forms of political struggle.

The attempts to undermine the power of governors and mayors are clear examples of the reordering of urban governance. Mardin is a striking example of not only the removal of the elected co-mayors, but of taking full control of the city budget by the central state by means of a trustee directly under the control of the government. Meanwhile in Manchester, and many other U.S. locations, federal Opportunity Zones have been established in which city authorities no longer participate in decision making about local regeneration projects, although they may endorse them. Nor is there any public scrutiny of these private, tax exempt projects (Drucker 2020).

Around the world, we witness the financialization of lives and dispossession of millions of citizens, direct seizures of land, and dramatic transformation in what are considered legitimate modes of governance. Relational comparative studies of the restructuring of urban life can provide critical insights into these social transformations and their discontents. Conjunctural transformations are experienced as changing narratives, concepts, political movements, sensibilities, interpersonal relations, and interrelations between governance and other domains of social life (Hall 1979).

The conjunctural analysis and perspective offered here is a call to urban scholars to be forward looking and proactive in their research. Relational research requires looking simultaneously near and far to trace emerging trends and possibilities. It is necessary to not only highlight processual dynamics that continue to reconfigure the relationship between the actors and their interlinked, multiscale networks, but also to provide means of identifying and studying currently emerging and alarmingly authoritarian, antidemocratic trajectories of power.

These alterations must be anticipated in our investigation and theorization of political polarizations, intensifying contradictions, and their possibilities. In a world of increasing legal dispossessions and erosion of rights and voice in the name of “law-and-order,” relational comparative studies of governance will be an ever more pressing need. This form of analysis will allow us to better confront changing conjunctures and understand the relationship

between political claims and movements for social justice as they emerge around the world.

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NOTES

¹Minorities is a contested and contextually defined term. Historically, in Mardin, various populations such as Armenians, Syriac Christians, and Kurds, have been seen and/or defined as minorities. When Syriac Christian émigrés returned from Europe to Mardin, they were generally positioned in regeneration narratives as a “minority,” rather than as returnee migrants or refugees. In this article, we use the term migrants to include these minority returnees.

²In 2000, when our research began, the population of Manchester numbered 107,006 (U.S. Census 2000) within a city-region of 198,378 (U.S. Census 2000; New Hampshire Employment Security 2017; Intown Manchester n.d.). Halle/Salle numbered 246,450, which included the Halle Neustadt (Lübner 2013). Mardin’s city-region reached 705,098 in 2000 (TUİK 2013).

³We define emplacement “as the relationship between the continuing restructuring of place within multiscalar networks of power, and a person’s efforts, within the barriers and opportunities that contingencies of local place-making offer, to build a life within networks of local, national, supranational, and global interconnections” (Çağlar and Glick Schiller 2018, 20–21).

⁴In past publications (Glick Schiller et al. 2006; Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2009; Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2016; Çağlar and Glick Schiller 2018, 20–21), we primarily offered critiques of migration and global cities scholarship.

⁵By 2003, Halle had one of the highest rates of depopulation in former East Germany, losing 8.2 percent of its population (Eurostat 2006, 130).

⁶Between 1987 and 1996, the city operated under State of Emergency Governorship (OHAL Governorship), and until 2002 brought a series of social, economic, and political restrictions, which were justified on the basis of the threats of terror and the presence of violence. For a detailed analysis see Çağlar and Glick Schiller (2018).

⁷This is similar to many European cities facing economic constraints (Hillman 2019).

⁸For an in-depth analysis of this dynamics, see Chapter Five in Çağlar and Glick Schiller (2018).

⁹Fannie Mae, a private corporation that securitizes private home and rental property mortgages with credit from the federal government, backed risky subprime mortgages beginning in 1999 (Holmes 1999).

¹⁰It is important to note that the valorization of the city’s minorities was selective. Neither the significant (Christian) Armenian past of the city nor its Kurdish population were part of the city’s branding strategy. This is because the Turkish state refused to recognize the material and immaterial losses of Armenians during the 1915 genocide and its aftermath, and the Kurds’ claims for independence and/or recognition.

¹¹Mardin, though being located directly on the Syrian border, did not receive massive refugees from Syria and Iraq except for some Kurds from Syria and the Yezidis, who were subject to tremendous ISIS violence. Most of the Sunni refugees went to neighboring cities. Yezidi refugees were placed to a refugee camp close to Midyat in 2014 from where they moved to Europe in the next 5 years.

¹²With the Turkish state moving away from the European Union and its agendas, Mardin fell once more under martial law and state terror, altering the location of the minorities in Mardin's city-making.

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