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ABSTRACT
The paper represents a study of papers published in the Antipode – A Radical Journal of Geography, from 2010 to 2013, in which, as to the author’s assessment, a highly critical stance towards contemporary neoliberalism exists. After the introductory remarks describing the nature of neoliberalism and its definitions, relevant sources regarding the definitions of neoliberalism and its present existing forms were consulted and pointed out. The intent of this paper is to present what kind of critical stance was present in the texts published in Antipode in the period of four years (2010-2013). The discourse that was used to describe, characterize and critically judge the contemporary relationship of neoliberalism towards local communities was identified and analyzed. The basic content analysis of the selected texts from Antipode was made. Emphasizing the importance of scale in studying the processes of globalization and neoliberalisation (among others), the main topics that were studied in the research of neoliberalisation at the local level were: gentrification and privatization of former public space, privatization of local resources, the influence of neoliberalism on the immigrants in specific communities, and the resistance to neoliberalisation through the social protests in local communities. The focus of the analysis was on the words used to describe neoliberalisation of the aforementioned areas of social life and the context in which those words were used, through the analysis of full citations. The analysis has shown that neoliberalisation at the local scale has its specific occurrences, forms, subjects, and objects. The pressure from the private capital is transforming the local communities, and concurrently causing resistance that is taking various forms.

Keywords: neoliberalisation, Antipode, local communities, public space, privatization, urban resistance movements.
1 INTRODUCTION: DEFINITIONS AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

There are dozens of different definitions of neoliberalism. Pointing out just a couple of them, we can state the following:

1. Neoliberalism is a project primarily aimed at freeing capital from the constraints imposed by these “embedded liberalisms”, and more directly as a process ultimately focused on restoring the class power of economic elites. (Harvey, 2005: 11);

2. Neoliberalism names an approach to governing capitalism that emphasizes liberalizing markets and making market competition the basis of economic coordination, social distribution, and personal motivation. It recalls and reworks the 18th and 19th century liberal market ideals of economists such as Adam Smith and David Ricardo. And yet it is new – hence the ‘neo’ – insofar as it comes after and actively repudiates the interventionist state and redistributive ideals of welfare-state liberalism in the 20th century. (Sparke, 2013: 1);

3. Neoliberalism is a simple withdrawal of the state from markets and society via trade liberalization, privatization, reduced entitlements, and government deregulation. (Hess, 2011: 1056);

4. Neoliberalism is an ideological hegemonic project, selectively rooted in the free market and non-interventionist state philosophy of classical liberalism, and internationally propagated by think tanks and intellectuals like Hayek and Friedman in their assault on “egalitarian liberalism”. (Peck and Tickell, 2007);

5. Neoliberalism is a specific policy and program—a process of “creative destruction” that aims to replace the national institutional arrangements and political compromises of Keynesian-Fordism with a “new infrastructure for market-oriented economic growth” set within a globalizing and financializing economy. (Brenner and Theodore, 2002: 362);

6. Neoliberalism is as a form of governmentality, which follows Foucauldian ideas in emphasizing how neoliberal governmental power operates in multiple sites and scales from the state down to the personal level “not through imposition or repression but rather through cultivating the conditions in which non-sovereign subjects are constituted” as entrepreneurial, self-reliant, rational-economic actors (Hart, 2004: 92).

7. “Neoliberalism defines a certain existential norm…. This norm enjoins everyone to live in a world of generalized competition; it calls upon wage-earning classes and populations to engage in economic struggle against one another; it aligns social relations with the model of the market; it promotes the justification of ever greater inequalities; it even transforms the individual, now called on to conceive and conduct him- or herself as an enterprise. For more than a third of a century, this existential norm has presided over public policy, governed global economic relations, transformed society, and reshaped subjectivity.” (Dardot and Laval, 2013: 3);

8. Neoliberalism seeks to disaggregate communities into discrete units, each with an economic value. (Narsiah, 2010: 390).

9. Amid widespread privatization, cuts to public expenditure, and reduced social transfer programs, violence has become both a conduit of societal bigotry and an attempt by beleaguered states to regain their footing (Goldberg, 2009). Violence from above comes attendant to both “roll-back” neoliberalism, where regulatory transformation sees the state narrowly concerned with expanding markets to the peril of social provisions, and “roll-out” neoliberalism which concentrates on disciplining and containment of those marginalized by earlier stages of neoliberalization (Peck and Tickell, 2002). (Springer, 2011: 549).
When discussing the possible answers to the question whether the neoliberalism has completely taken over the world and in what ways, we always have to consider the matter of scale and the categories that we are referring to, since a positive development in one scale/category at the same time can mean a negative development in some other scale/category. For example, the fact that many Asian states are experiencing high growth rates and have managed to pull hundreds of millions of people from the extreme poverty does not mean that the workers in these states are not exploited. Concurrently, the fact that European and North American workers generally experience better working conditions and living standard than Asian does not mean that their position and rights have not deteriorated in the last two or three decades. The changes in the geographic distribution of the economic power, and consequently the political, and military power that have shifted a significant portion of power from the West to Asia, have not significantly changed for the better the position of the majority of the population in the Newly Industrialized Countries (NICs).

Therefore, we always have to keep in mind that we are discussing two different categories/scales:

1) State, region, realm, and continent, as categories, quantified in absolute numbers – measured in absolute scales: GDP, number of political initiatives and its orientation and success, absolute defence spending and so on. In this sense, we can also consider GDP per capita to be an absolute measurement since it provides no information about social inequality, working conditions, environment pollution etc. Besides the quantitative indicators, we can characterize these categories through qualitative descriptions, for example: the regions of East, South, and Southeast Asia have become “the workshops of the world”.

2) Populations of the states, regions, realms, continents – as categories quantified through relative indicators that show the relations between different portions of the population (GINI index etc.), and the economic position of different parts of the population: GNI per capita income, HDI, living standard, working hours and conditions, social security, health insurance, pension schemes etc.

The main problem for the workers all around the world is that “neoliberal globalization has made, through its strategies of class decomposition, marketization, the naturalization of individualism, the intense competitive struggle between every worker on the planet possible” (The Free Association, 2010: 1025). Consequently, the large masses of disciplined workers with skills that are above average for a particular kind of production are the greatest benefit that can maximize the profits of the capitalists. Since these masses of workers can only be found in the afore-mentioned parts of Asia that comprise about a half of the world’s total population, and in the states that mostly have stable regimes (whether democratic or autocratic), they have become the workshops of almost the entire world. The reduction of extreme poverty is one of the achievements of the contemporary era. However, it is mostly based on the exploitation of hundreds of millions that have no alternative – they can either try to survive on subsistence agriculture or become industrial workers, and work in conditions and for wages that are unimaginable for workers in the developed world. The doctrine of neoliberals (There Is No Alternative – TINA) is indeed lived by the hundreds of millions of workers in the developing and emerging economies, but for them it means something completely different than for the elites that are pursuing this doctrine.

The cultural implications of a rapid economic development that occurs in the large parts of Asia can be viewed as the success in gradual acceptance of the contemporary capitalist model, which is intellectually developed in the West. However, these states have kept the role of the state in their development very firm, through the protection of their own markets. The West, as the arena where capitalism has developed, experiences the crisis of that same capitalism. At the same time, capitalism seems to function better in the states that have basically accepted
capitalism, and its different neoliberal forms, which are mostly a heritage of the West. Does that mean that capitalism in the West has passed through its zenith and that geographic re-distributions of capitalism’s successes i.e. the changes in the distribution of the economic power also mean a difference in the temporal stages of capitalism? Is thereby the Western capitalism “older” or “more mature” than the capitalism in Asia, and is that the reason why it is experiencing a crisis that is much less experienced outside the developed, mainly Western states? We can conclude that Asian economies practice two concurrent practices: neoliberalism for the workers, and the state-managed capitalist development, with a full support of the state for the investors and transnational corporations, concurrently protecting their markets.

The connectedness of economies makes this presumption questionable, since if the economies are complementary, then one economy’s difficulties are not automatically another economy’s benefits. If the economies are mutually highly competitive, then we can discuss whether difficulties for one side mean benefits for the other. Nevertheless, the economic development of the world cannot be perceived as a simple zero-sum game, so we definitely cannot conclude that more crises for the developed economies consequently mean more economic growth for the underdeveloped or emerging economies. The current economic crisis has made position of the workers in most of the developed states worse – the living standard of the average family has decreased, health and social insurance are getting more and more expensive, and labor markets have become “flexible”. “Flexible” labor markets in the developed economies mean less workers’ rights, especially referring to a certainty of finding and keeping a decent job in a reasonable time-frame. Neoliberalism has made workers from the underdeveloped and developed states competitors, and that is the biggest achievement of the neoliberal capitalist elite. Concurrently, it is the biggest defeat of the working class that is now highly atomized, with no real aims, goals, and the means to achieve these goals. The worker has become disposable, and the biggest value of product, which is comprised in the work that is necessary for its production, has become even more underappreciated. The capitalists’ profits have “exploded”, just like it was about a hundred or a hundred and fifty years ago, in the era of imperialist and monopolist capitalism. Throughout the middle of the 20th century, capitalism has made concessions, accepting a Keynesian perspective and creating a welfare state in the already developed states, thereby limiting the possibility of a peaceful or non-peaceful socialist revolution in these states. Since the 1970ies and especially 1980ies we are witnessing the era of the neoliberal capitalism, which does not have considerations about the possibility, since it was already clear that the socialist model, as it was realized in the communist bloc, was not so attractive and sustainable, as it was perceived in the 1950ies or 1960ies. Consequently, capitalism has made a full circle in the 20th century, from its brutal and exploitative form of monopolistic and imperial capitalism in the late 19th and in the first four decades of the 20th century, through Keynesianism and the creation of the welfare state, up to a neoliberal, brutal, and more exploitative form, starting from the end of the 20th century and continuing into the 21st century.

After the introductory remarks and the various definitions of neoliberalism, this paper brings a brief study of papers published in Antipode – A Radical Journal of Geography (further in the text: Antipode), from 2010 to 2013, in which, as to the author’s assessments, the neoliberalisation of the contemporary communities, and particularly cities, was discussed, hence there is a well-known historically proven connection between capitalism and urbanization. Therefore, this topic was chosen in order to analyze how the authors that

1 http://antipodefoundation.org/about-the-journal-and-foundation/a-radical-journal-of-geography/
2 “From their very inception, cities have arisen through the geographical and social concentrations of a surplus product. Urbanization has always been, therefore, a class phenomena of some sort, since surpluses have been
published in Antipode from 2010 to the beginning of 2014 studied and discussed the new developments in the contemporary, neoliberal capitalism, primarily regarding the neoliberalisation of cities.

2 METHODOLOGY
The paper analyses the neoliberalisation of communities in the texts published in Antipode in a 2010-2013 period. In order to analyze the discourse that was used to describe and characterize the relationship of neoliberalism towards communities, particularly cities, the basic content analysis was used: the research focused on key words and phrases that were identified in most of the texts, and the presence of these key words and the context in which they were used was the criteria for selecting of the texts that were analyzed. The key words used for the analysis were the following: neoliberalism (i.e. neo-liberalism) and/or neoliberalisation. The context of usage of the key words was also analyzed, through the analysis of sentences and/or full citations in which the key words were used.

3 DISCUSSION
The analyzed texts covered these main topics:

1. Gentrification and privatization of a former public space in the large cities;
2. The privatization of local resources, such as the water supply;
3. The influence of neoliberalism on the immigrants in the specific communities, especially on the illegals;
4. The resilience and resistance to neoliberalisation through the social protests in the local communities.

Gentrification and privatization of a former public space in the large cities

Globalization has brought a more important role of the cities that even before. The process of urbanization is firmly connected with a modern development, as Castells and Hall (1994) and Scott (1998) argue, in the sense that they have become crucial nodes in the formation and management of global economic networks. Additionally, during the same period mass migration has accelerated primarily towards the cities of developed countries, which are becoming more multi-cultural and cosmopolitan. (Labrianidis, 2011: 1801)

A city’s development depends not only on its capacity for value production, but also on its ability to enhance this value and to capture it (Liu and Dicken, 2006: 1232). Yet the endogenous characteristics of an economy are not enough to promote development in times when competition becomes increasingly globalized (Coe et al, 2004). Thus, in relentless competition, cities attempt to attract the largest possible share of mobile capital to their own locale. (Labrianidis, 2011: 1803)

Harvey points out: “A process of displacement and what I call “accumulation by dispossession” also lies at the core of the urban process under capitalism. It is the mirror image of capital absorption through urban redevelopment and is giving rise to all manner of conflicts over the capture of high value land from low income populations that may have lived there for many years.” (…) Also pointing out Mumbai as an example of gentrification, Harvey states: “Financial powers backed by the state push for forcible slum clearance, in some cases violently taking possession of a terrain occupied for a whole generation by the slum dwellers.” (Harvey, 2008: 10-11)
private investment. The nature of capitalism is thereby directly produced into the public space that becomes more and more private, concurrently becoming separated (literally fenced from the new, shrunken public space).

Springer (2011) discusses the public space as emancipation: “By employing radical notions of public space through an ordinary cities approach, we may improve our understandings of the relational geographies of neoliberalism, where each “local” contestation of public space can be read as a nodal point of interconnection in socially produced space.” (Massey, 2005) (527) Democratic struggle grounded in public space offers a chance not only for those most oppressed by neoliberalism to demand social justice, but for the integral totality of human society to seek a new way forward through agonistic politics.” (528)

Springer (2011) further explains: “The realization of a radical democratic ideal grounded in public space is of primary importance to the achievement of any emancipatory goal that seeks to transform neoliberalism’s violent geographies of exclusion, inequality, and poverty, but cautions that this process of transformation itself lamentably runs the risk of violence precisely because the political terrain has been so sharply narrowed by neoliberal anti-politics. Thus, while the focus is theory, the underlying concern is always with a view towards praxis.” (529) “The predominance of neoliberalism means that the ordered vision of public space has become the primary model available to ordinary cities insofar as it represents the interests of capital.” (554)

Discussing the topic of open green spaces in Berlin, Rosol (2012) identifies these as outcomes of neoliberalism as well: “The emergence of open green spaces maintained by volunteers can only be understood against the background of “roll-back” neoliberal urban politics and that their rationality cannot be separated from “roll-out neoliberalism.” (240) “Roll-back” neoliberalism (Peck and Tickell, 2007) involves “new state forms, new modes of regulation, new regimes of governance, with the aim of consolidating and managing both marketization and its consequences” (Peck and Tickell, 2007: 33, see also summary p 34) (240-41).

Didier, Morange and Peyroux (2013) have devoted their paper to the abilities that neoliberalism has to adapt to the local scale. They have discussed the topic of City Improvement Districts (CIDs) in Cape Town and Johannesburg: “The local tension around CIDs has actually led over the past decade to adaptations of the original model, exemplifying the creative capacity of neoliberalism to overcome internal contradictions and local resistance in Johannesburg and Cape Town.” (121) South African cities with their legacy of political struggle, social, and most especially racial inequalities, and the post-apartheid expectations of

In the developed world, dispossession also takes place, slightly different: „Similar examples of dispossession (though less brutal and more legalistic) can be found in the United States through the abuse of rights of eminent domain to displace long-term residents in reasonable housing in favor of higher order land uses (such as condominiums and box stores).“ (Harvey, 2008: 11)


5 Peck and Tickell introduced a helpful analytical differentiation of neoliberalisation processes, distinguishing the “roll-back” of the Keynesian welfare state in the 1980s from the “roll-out” of neoliberal institutions in the 1990s, which they see already as a response to neoliberalism’s immanent contradictions (Peck and Tickell, 2002). This roll-out neoliberalism involves “new state forms, new modes of regulation, new regimes of governance, with the aim of consolidating and managing both marketization and its consequences” (Peck and Tickell, 2007: 33, see also summary p 34) (240-41).
a middle income country constitute a unique terrain far from the heartland of neoliberalism to unravel the dialectical nature of this adaptation, a structural process that fosters the resilience of the model.” (123)

Not omitting the component of social awareness and action, the authors claim: “Unpacking “local Third Ways” rhetoric might also help to strengthen the awareness of those combating neoliberalism, in particular social movements: this approach enables one to see how discourses adopt new political guises while pursuing a similar agenda (see also Peyroux 2012). This awareness can prompt a better political reactivity to the local variations of neoliberalism and contribute to connect CID criticisms and broader mass protest against neoliberalisation in South Africa.” (134)

Lauermann and Davidson (2013) have discussed development strategies across neoliberal urban governance projects: “Viewing particular forms of neoliberalism as functioning always in relation to universal capitalist logics therefore enables an ideologically contextualized analysis of particular governance projects. Calls to focus on capitalism within neoliberalism studies are not new. Using the example of mega events, we have attempted to demonstrate the utility of this framework for understanding the particularities of neoliberalism while at the same time remaining committed to a critical examination of capitalism. (…) Neoliberalism is the currently hegemonic component of ideological processes that make this assemblage possible, and any contestation of neoliberalism necessarily entails a political engagement with fundamental antagonisms within capitalism.” (1293)

The privatization of local resources

Through the discussion about the privatization of water services in Cape Town, South Africa, Narsiah (2010), points out: “Through the product of a Western imaginary, neoliberal ideas and practices have entered into the economic and social life even of recently liberated societies, such as South Africa.” (…) “Neoliberalism has percolated through to the local scale, leading to the neoliberalisation of the local state. One of the ways in which this has been articulated is through privatization strategies.” (374) “In South Africa, and with special reference to the city of Cape Town, the ostensible corporatization of water services is evidence of the “rollout” phase of neoliberalism.” (378)

Wilshusen (2010) discusses the alteration of modes of production in local communities in Mexico, with a special focus on the role of ejidos6: “Drawing on research from nine communities in the state of Quintana Roo, I argue that local producers have accommodated neoliberal policies and programs in creative ways by adopting hybrid logics, property regimes, forms of organization, and modes of exchange.” (768)

Whereas neoliberal policies emphasized individuals and small producer groups as their main economic subjects, collectivism focused on the role of ejidos and ejido associations.” (777) Wilshusen also points out: “As one of the primary formal institutions that define the

6 Ejido, in Mexico, village lands communally held in the traditional Indian system of land tenure that combines communal ownership with individual use. The ejido consists of cultivated land, pastureland, other uncultivated lands, and the fundo legal (town site). In most cases the cultivated land is divided into separate family holdings, which cannot be sold although they can be handed down to heirs. The increasing fragmentation of the land caused by the family inheritance pattern has in some cases resulted in an inefficient scale of operation. This result, together with a lack of capital and limited educational attainment, has retarded progress in ejido agriculture. Some cooperatively run ejidos, however, particularly in the cotton-raising areas, have shown great success.

bureaucratic field of community forestry in Mexico, changes to national forest policy illustrate this hybridization of neoliberalism and collectivism.” (778) “In this case, neoliberal reform did not produce a sudden and complete transformation at the local level but rather represented one of many historical waves of state-led institutional changes that evoked local responses within the context of existing political histories and cultures.” (793).

In the text that covers the topic of local energy supply, Hess (2011) suggests the benefit of an analytical distinction between the ideological and distributional dimension of policies: “For example, the deregulation of a heavily regulated industry may allow increased competition and lower prices for consumers, thus reducing elite profits and enhancing savings for a wide range of consumers in the short term. In this sense, a neoliberal policy has a redistributive effect, and in fact neoliberal policies are often framed by such promises in order to gain widespread political support. However, in the longer term the industry may respond to the increased price competition by reducing wages or undergoing consolidation, thus moving the distributional impact of the policy up the continuum toward elite accumulation.” (1060-61)

“On first glance, the gradual transition of the American electricity industry that occurred from the 1970s, from a highly regulated public utility system to marketplace competition, might be viewed as a transition from social liberalism to neoliberalism.” (Hess, 2011: 1063) “In terms of the typology developed above, green pricing arrangements are an example of the ethical markets of redistributive neoliberalism that have been enabled by wholesale competition in electricity markets. In this case, environmentally concerned customers pay a voluntary tax that, in theory, supports a marginal increase in green power generation that is locally and publicly owned. Again, what might first appear to be a neoliberal policy (a voluntary green tax) is associated with local public ownership.” (Hess, 2011: 1071)

**The influence of neoliberalism on the immigrants in the specific communities, especially on the illegals**

In his text about illegality as a technique of neoliberal governmentality, Hiemstra (2010) emphasizes “how neoliberalism permeates scales, and comes to be reflected and embedded in local-scale economic, political, and social processes involving immigrants in the USA.” (…) “Understanding illegality as governmentality is a powerful tool for scrutinizing the local scale, a scale at which neoliberalism’s diffuse operations become particularly visible.” (75)

Hiemstra (2010) also points out the following: “While neoliberalism viewed through the lens of governance draws the scholarly gaze to macroscale, unidirectional state practices (Leitner et al 2007c), neoliberalism understood through the lens of governmentality draws attention to neoliberalism’s scattered, indirect impacts that include both state and non-state practices, as well as combinations of the two.” (…) He then applies this framework to Leadville, Colorado, “a place that is experiencing dramatic economic, social, and demographic changes due to neoliberalism.” (77) “Illegality, through the power of the law and the accompanying discourse, operates as an indirect yet profoundly powerful technique of governmentality in support of the contemporary neoliberal system by enforcing and naturalizing spatial and economic distance. Many residents are lulled into complacency with neoliberalism, not bothering to question the blatant disparities in class and space along racial markers.” (93-94).

Matejskova (2013) examines how middle-aged and older post-Soviet immigrants in eastern Berlin navigate the neoliberalised landscape of work-based integration in face of their long-term unemployment: “I first show how these immigrants’ own insistence on the centrality of paid work for their feeling integrated contributes to their experience of collective
despondency and enrollment in exploitative quasi-markets, including workfare. Focusing on this insistence, I examine how it draws strength primarily from their continued subscription to the conceptions of self as deeply socially embedded, and of work as a practice of such an embedding, adopted through their Soviet-era socialization into the culture of dispersed personhood and obligation to work, rather than from their adoption of neoliberal concepts of citizenship in Germany.” (984)

Buckley (2013) discusses processes of neoliberalisation in Dubai through a case study of the local politics surrounding migrant construction workers in the city. The author studies “what specific strategies have characterized the contemporary regulation of Dubai’s foreign construction workforce and what do they reveal about processes of neoliberalisation underway in the city?” He also studies “how equipped are critical theories of neoliberalism to make sense of these strategies, and how do they shape our understandings of the constraints and possibilities for labor justice in an autocratic, authoritarian city-state?” He suggests that “depictions of autocratic neoliberalism in Dubai which view the state as territorially hegemonic tend to ignore the informal and fragmented labor politics at work in the city, and overlook some of the antagonisms between the state’s autocratic and neoliberal interests.” (257)

**The resilience and resistance to neoliberalisation through the social protests in the local communities**

Cumbers, Helms and Swanson (2010) studied the resilience to neoliberalisation in the old industrial cities, mostly using the examples from the United Kingdom: “Individuals drawn into criminal activities (and other forms of coercive social relations) to supplement household incomes clearly constitute a risk to both their communities and themselves. However, mass land occupations by disposed rural dwellers or the illegal reconnection of electricity supplies in South African shanty towns following privatisation clearly are significant self-valorisation actions on behalf of oppressed groups.” (59)

“Resilience takes diverse forms. Poor work conditions can inspire high levels of turnover and absenteeism evident in many low-paid service sector activities, particularly pronounced in Glasgow’s booming call centre industry (Helms and Cumbers 2006). It can also take more socially destructive forms such as the high levels of school dropout rates in Britain’s deindustrialised cities or working in drug related and other forms of criminal activity. Although important not to glorify such activities, particularly given that the incidence of violent (especially knife-related) crime is almost entirely felt in poorer urban neighbourhoods and predominantly on young working class men, it is important to understand the rationalities at work. For young people who are either uninterested or unable to afford to stay on at school beyond 16 and go to university, the employment options in the service-based economy are restricted.” (63)

White and Williams (2012) are discussing the ways of resistance to neoliberalism, pointing out the Zapatista movement: “This radical commitment to re-reading the orthodox neoliberal approaches to “the economic” has led to diverse, multiple and heterogenic modes of economic conceptualization, representation, meaning and materialization being identified and represented. This in turn has resulted in far richer contemporary economic landscapes emerging, within which the capitalist mode of production in is seen to be highly uneven and incomplete.” (1626) “Under the bright inspiring lights of the Zapatista struggle, I had begun to forget just how many people continue to resist neoliberalism, the deadlock of consumer-led market fundamentalism and the patronizing dead hand of representative democracy in a
wealth of untold ways; often putting their own liberty on the line to struggle for a better, more equal society where everyone has a say in how it is built.” (1641)

Manderscheid (2012) points out the role of social movements that are promoting intergenerational and intragenerational solidarity and inclusion in the spatial planning strategies: “By obliterating the crucial social significance of movement and relations as constituting social participation and inclusion, the ongoing conflict between equity and ecological goals concerning motorized transportation remains outside the picture. Overall, these representations of socio-spatial problems foster the primacy of the economic, the strengthening of roll-back neoliberalism, and its legitimization in seemingly emancipatory sustainability terms as well as the ongoing subordination of the political sphere.” (212)

Laing (2012) analyzed postcolonial struggle theories in Bolivia, describing the protests of the Indigenous population: “Tens of thousands of Bolivian citizens lined the streets along the route chanting in solidarity with the marchers and demanding the cancellation of the government’s planned highway set to cut through the ancestral lands of the lowland indigenous people of the Yuracares, Mojenos and Tsimanes. Such an outpouring against the once popular President, Morales, reflected the anger of the Bolivian people that he had contradicted his international discourse surrounding climate justice, anti-neoliberalism and indigenous rights. Two days later the President announced the cancellation of the road.” (1051) “The “post-neoliberal” frame of analysis is undoubtedly important, especially in a country that suffered hugely under radical neoliberal restructuring. However, it is imperative that the academy does not turn a blind eye to other modes of analysis for the Bolivian people by focusing solely on the Zeitgeist of “post-neoliberal” enquiry. For many of the indigenous ethnic groups of Bolivia, the notion of “colonialism” represents a more substantive and enduring lens in which to analyze current political trajectories. For the indigenous marchers of the tierras bajas the Bolivian government represents a renewed colonialist regime following a 500-year history of exploitation since Spanish rule.” (1052-53)

Waquar (2012) discussed the anti-Enron movement in India: “BJP and Shiv Sena had never been sympathetic to socialist ideas in India—they dismissed socialism as a western concept. They viewed neoliberalism favorably, though they preferred a nationalist, and often jingoist, slant to it. Yet, so militant was their antagonism to Enron that a large section of the population accepted the Shiv Sena–BJP alliance as political leader of the movement. The Shiv Sena–BJP alliance, while opposing the DPC project, maintained a clear distinction between neoliberalism, which they viewed favorably, and Enron, who they opposed.” (1071)

Newman (2013) discussed citizenship and the urban movements in urban Paris: “Urban movements’ orientation towards “collective consumption” and the use value of urban space (see Castells, 1985) are transformed under neoliberalism; one feature of neoliberal governmentality is that “grassroots” organizations are increasingly supplanting the managerial function of states (Ferguson 2002).” (949)

The same author then continues with observations about the nature of neoliberalism at the local scale: “Analyses of urban design and neoliberalism often invoke a restrictive and repressive vision of power; Foucault’s famous metaphor of Bentham’s panopticon has loomed large in scholarship on surveillance in particular. However, the approach I elaborate here by emphasizing “built-in” vigilance emphasizes the generative aspects of power and is better captured through Foucault’s theorization of architecture as an instrument in the creation and molding of individual subjectivities.” (952) “This managerial and productive function of neoliberal citizenship highlights the Janus-faced nature of grassroots politics under a political orthodoxy in which municipalities are always eager to downsize, “right-size”, or otherwise place the burden of providing public goods on citizens. The protest movement demanded a
green space and a voice in making sure it met the long neglected needs of northeast Paris residents.” (961)

Shin (2013) discussed a neoliberal transformation of China’s cities, especially the policies of assembling urban land and transferring of land use rights: Since the early 1990s, China’s major cities have seen the intensification of urban redevelopment. Beijing, for instance, saw the introduction of a new set of policy tools in 1990, which heavily relied on inputs, both technical and financial, from developers who are not necessarily private. The rapid urban transformation through inner-city redevelopment as well as suburban expansion has been driven by urban accumulation needs that rest on mobilising land resources (Hsing, 2010; Wu, 2009). The accumulation needs involve the conversion of rural farmlands under villagers’ collective ownership into urban construction lands for urban governments to secure more land resources. The assembly of urban land and the transfer of land use rights have become critical to local state’s performance and public finance (Ding, 2005). In this process, clearance and demolition have also become the norm of urban spatial transformation, accompanied by a large scale of displacement. While there is a growing emphasis on establishing the “rule of law”, opportunities for citizens to put forward their legal claims are still limited. Because of this, protestors often make use of various “non-legal modes of resistance, including protests, petitions, and deadly confrontations” (Cai, 2007: 94). (Shin, 1171-1172)

4 CONCLUSION
The analysis of texts that have been published in Antipode from 2010 until the end of 2013 has shown that neoliberalism has permeated the local scale, and is rapidly changing large cities. The authors have devoted their texts to various topics, which can be grouped in the four main groups: the changes in public space governance (gentrification, privatization, and “fencing” of the public space) in large cities; the privatization of management regarding resources at the local level (water supply, electricity supply etc.); the treatment of foreign and migrant workers in various communities, and especially the influence of neoliberalism on the illegal workers; and the resistance actions i.e. movements against neoliberalism at the local level. In most of the texts that were analyzed, there are introductory, general i.e. theoretical remarks about neoliberalism, in which mostly Harvey, as well as Peck and Tickell, were cited.

The topics discussed have covered various aspects of neoliberalisation at the local scale:
- The topic about privatisation of the public space and gentrification dealt with general notions about these afore-mentioned processes, and the processes that have been going on regarding open green spaces in Berlin, city improvement districts (CIDs) in Cape Town and Johannesburg, and urban governance projects in general;
- Privatization of local resources was covered through the discussion about privatization of water services in Cape Town, alteration of modes of production in local communities in Mexico, with a special focus on the role of ejidos in Quintana Roo state; various aspects of the privatization of electricity supply and production of green energy in the U.S.A.;
- The topic about immigrants and illegality has covered the examples from Leadville, Colorado, as well as Berlin and Dubai;
- The most covered topic was the resilience and resistance to neoliberalisation at the local scale through social movements. Besides discussing general remarks, the authors have mostly published the papers about what is referred to as “anti-colonial” (actually neo-colonial) struggle of mainly Indigenous peoples in Mexico and Bolivia, anti-
Enron movement in India, the urban resistance movement against neglect of northeast Paris residents in France, and the struggle against displacement in Chinese cities.

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