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Making the future



A shift toward a
municipalist,
peri-urban
territorial order

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Minim is a municipalist observatory that amplifies the voice of municipalism by sharing practical and theoretical knowledge with the support of a community of activists, scholars, journalists, and public officials.

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MAKING THE FUTURE: A SHIFT TOWARD A MUNICIPALIST, PERI-URBAN TERRITORIAL ORDER

The global crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic has revealed the urgent need to review the way in which we produce and organize our cities and regions. This urgency is all the more acute in Latin America due to the high rates of inequality that have affected the vast majority of the population for decades, which render any analysis rather complex¹. The persistence of structural problems in urban and rural areas on the continent (imbalances, fragmentation, environmental vulnerability) raises questions about the ways in which we interact with the land: How do we live? Where do we live? How do we move? What do we produce and consume? And, above all, who produces it and how?

The power that lies in these simple questions about our lifestyles should not be underestimated. By politicizing elements of our everyday lives that appear to be inevitable or beyond question, we can open up the discussion—traditionally reserved for academics and technocrats—on how to approach land-use planning and management from different perspectives: How is land managed? What are the specific mechanisms (resources, rules, regulations, practices, narratives, spatial representations, etc.) that are deployed to organize multiple activities in a space? What is the sense of territorial order underpinning those mechanisms? What is land managed for? For whom? What are the criteria used to establish the ‘desired use’ of a town or city?

By pondering these questions, prefigurative municipalism offers an appealing image of the future and, most importantly, a specific strategy for tackling these issues and developing real alternatives to promote more equitable, egalitarian land-use planning. In this context, this report aims to share ideas for challenging the meanings, tools and practices that shape land manage-

1 According to a report from the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) and the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), after seven years of slow growth, Latin America and the Caribbean may be about to witness the steepest decline in regional GDP in a century (-5.3%), which will lead to an increase in extreme poverty, affecting a total of 83.4 million people. The impact on hunger will also be severe, with 53.7 million people already experiencing food insecurity in 2016-2018 (ECLAC-FAO 2020).

ment, based on the activism of Ciudad Futura² in Santa Fe, Argentina.

Inequalities in the current model in Santa Fe

Cities and metropolitan areas in Latin America have undergone major changes to their urban fabric in recent decades. New topological configurations have developed in a context of neoliberal restructuring, with a proliferation of new financial instruments and approaches to institutional regulation and public administration (Schiavo, Vera & Gelfuso 2017). Latin American cities have been used as geographical targets and institutional laboratories for testing neoliberal formulas. During the same period, as a result of a particular, perverse combination of events, processes of decentralization have been progressively implemented and the autonomy of local powers has increased as the restrictions imposed upon them by macroeconomic adjustment have fallen away (Rolnik 2009). Social inequality continues to be a recurring characteristic in urban expansion processes in the region.

With the dawn of the 21st century and the arrival of governments linked to the pink tide or turn to the left, difficulties in mapping out post-neoliberal policies in cities continued. Despite the relative autonomy between politics and the market that has characterized many of these governments in Latin America, development caused by neoliberal processes continued to shape land-use planning (Theodorem, Brennet & Peck 2009). This experience suggests that the main challenge lies not only in distributing income but also in distributing power to tackle existing inequalities.

Currently, there is no political compass or direction outlining a common horizon at the regional level. It seems that the systemic crisis (medical, environmental, economic, etc.) we are facing is exacerbated by a crisis of alternatives. There is no doubt that worsening territorial destruction

2 Ciudad Futura is a political party founded in 2013 in the city of Rosario in the south of Santa Fe province (Argentina) as the product of a union between two social movements: the 'Movimiento Giros' and the 'Movimiento 26 de Junio'. A decade-long process of territorial construction has highlighted two structural problems with the urban model: land disputes in response to growing property speculation and rising urban violence, both of which are present on the periphery of Rosario. Defining itself as a movement party, it aims to focus political debate on the absence of cities and towns in processes of national and regional change, ways of tempering the direct consequences of political decisions and economic interests on the land and the need to expand the scope of individual conflicts to challenge urban models more generally. One of the concepts underpinning its political practice is social management, which refers to a set of social relations that prefigure other ways of doing and managing the common good, combining territorial construction, the electoral process and work by local and provincial institutions in a single model. In recent years, the party's provincial seat in Congress has opened up an opportunity to expand its political project to other locations in Santa Fe.

and an absence of solutions are inherent characteristics of the current political situation across the continent. In essence, there is no clear indication as to how to empower people and the community so that they can appropriate tools to transform their surroundings. This will be part of the great challenge of the future.

Argentina in general and the province of Santa Fe³ in particular have not been spared the territorial consequences of the neoliberal model in Latin America. Santa Fe is part of a regional-global productive axis, with significant agricultural production and existing infrastructure for land and river transport in the form of the Paraná-Paraguay Waterway megaproject, a kind of highway over the Paraná river that carries soy to destinations around the world (Ministry of Government 2016). Of course, this model comes at a price. Large expanses of land are used to maintain an extractivist model based on agro-export monoculture and livestock farming, encroaching upon wetlands and forests with a severe environmental impact⁴ on the region's biodiversity and a territorial impact affecting management of fluvial, rural and urban spaces, as well as the economic activities that are central to the population's wellbeing and survival.

3 Santa Fe is located in Argentina's coastal region, on the banks of the Paraná River, and has more than 3,200,000 inhabitants, representing approximately 8% of the country's population and making it the third most populous province after Buenos Aires and Córdoba. The province covers a total area of 133,007 km², similar to that of Greece. In demographic terms, 40% of the population is concentrated in two metropolitan areas, Rosario and Santa Fe (capital), which are economic and political hubs, while the remaining 60% live in peri-urban areas, discontinuous urban areas, semi-urban areas, semi-rural urbanized areas and rural areas, divided into more than 365 small cities, towns and communes with different political and economic weights. This demographic imbalance leads to constant expansion of the agricultural frontier, putting pressure on the natural environment. The five regions that make up the province of Santa Fe have very different productive, climatic and environmental characteristics, ranging from the Submeridional Lowlands in the north to the Humid Pampa in the south. It is a rich, diverse region in terms of its geography, history and culture, although there is extreme inequality because the province's natural wealth is subjugated to the dominant model of agribusiness that injects dollars into the country's economy.

4 A study conducted by the organization Taller Ecologista (2020) defines territorial impacts as a series of aspects in which biological, social, political and cultural factors converge. They are the result of successive, incremental and combined effects, including the effects of other activities. These impacts can no longer be hidden and derive primarily from the expansion of the agricultural frontier, the presence of agro-port facilities and the spillover of financial activities into property speculation.

The constant expansion of the agricultural frontier and the resulting destruction of forests and burning of wetlands⁵, both of which are proliferating from the Amazon to the Paraná Delta, causes a loss of flora and fauna and reduces the ability of soils to absorb rainwater, resulting in recurring floods. Over-exploitation through monocultures and direct seeding causes soil deterioration and decay, which is exacerbated by the intensive use of agrochemicals on crops and in populated areas. Doctors and residents in several parts of the province have been reporting this contaminating activity for almost two decades now.

In turn, land ownership is concentrated within a small group of people, as is typical in the agribusiness model, and this displaces other, smaller-scale activities such as agroecological cultivation, fruit plantation and traditional livestock activities. This displacement has had impacts on the labor market, as monoculture requires far fewer workers than traditional cultivation and advanced technology that only large corporations can afford. This situation has led to high levels of forced migration and the loss of livelihoods for small agricultural producers and indigenous communities.⁶

Santa Fe's role in the country's economy and in global trade networks also puts pressure on the transport system and road infrastructure, focusing on exportation to the detriment of the productive apparatus between regions. One example of this is the asymmetrical relationship between short-distance passenger transport and long-distance freight transport, showing that the lives of the majority and the country's productive model operate at very different speeds.

As the system revolving around agribusiness is modernized and made more efficient, urban transport is collapsing due to a lack of planning and objectives. While the city 'of the streets', based on public spaces and facilities, is left to die, exposed and unprotected, the market is immediately able to convert any vague objective into large-scale transport infrastructure, ports, agricultural machinery, land values and real estate products.

5 Although the issue drew particular attention in 2020 when, in addition to tackling the pandemic, enormous efforts were made to try to contain the fires (which in Argentina alone devastated more than two million hectares), this is not a new phenomenon. It has recurred year after year for decades. The current context also exposed the struggles of the different levels of the state to fully comprehend the implications of climate change and the increased impact of extreme events such as droughts and floods, as well as pandemics. Despite several attempts, they have failed to develop effective programs and instruments to respond to these crises (Spataro, 2020).

6 The expansion of the agricultural frontier and property speculation, which lead to changes in land use, deforestation and monocultures, have disastrous consequences: environmental desertification is compounded by social desertification as the living conditions of rural communities deteriorate. Small producers, peasant families and indigenous populations cannot sustain their sources of work or the level of production necessary for their subsistence. They are expelled from the land. Young people are forced to emigrate, commercial circuits are reduced and schools are closed (Tedin, 2020). Rural life is lost while precarious conditions in urban areas worsen.

As another outcome of this process of economic concentration, the metropolitan areas of the capital city and the city of Rosario are home to more than 300 slums where there are alarming housing shortages and an inaccessible real estate market. The precarious nature of urban life goes beyond the most vulnerable sectors of society, affecting the lives of the middle classes as well.

In practice, neoliberalism is a social order that is projected and materialized directly onto the land, and Santa Fe is no exception. These territorial impacts are the result of a strategy intended to maximize profit via a model that has not received majority consent or been discussed publicly with residents of the areas that suffer the consequences.

Rather than listing bad news, our aim is to cast light on the current situation in order to understand the scale of the challenge involved in implementing a new territorial order. Far from being paralyzed by this complex scenario, we work on the hypothesis that each city and town in the province is able to find new ways to move forward through concrete experiences that reveal other methods and applications of urban and rural land management that do not jeopardize life.



Photo: Diego Cazzaretto

From fear to hope: moving toward a new territorial order

‘Cities have the huge challenge of being on the frontline of that wave of fear that is imposed on us’ ‘the most fruitful laboratory for developing alternatives to stop capitalism.’

Gerardo Pisarello

Reflecting on the successes and shortcomings of recent political experiments in Latin America, we must continue to develop other collective faculties to distribute power and allow the population to organize itself and manage its own public goods. Political recognition that public goods can be produced, protected and used by and for the community forms the basis of a framework for a post-capitalist transition.

We must be able to transform these proposals into genuine alternatives and prefigure other ways of life in order to influence territorial organization in terms of the environment, production, and access to land, housing or public space. We must challenge the idea of territorial order through land management. With these considerations in mind, prefigurative municipalism has proven to be a fruitful strategy for the future. But what are we talking about when we refer to prefigurative municipalism?

One of the key characteristics of prefigurative municipalism is its ability to challenge the ongoing advance of neoliberalism: in Argentina, municipalities and communes have the legal authority to draw up land-use policy and this is an essential regulatory tool for enabling or rejecting the advance of certain urban developments or economic activities. This is vital to encourage the transformation of cities and towns and puts them in an excellent position to challenge neoliberal projects by implementing projects to increase autonomy in the use of public goods.

Moreover, in the context of towns and cities, prefiguration, or the anticipation of a future time in the present, tends to take place on two parallel but interrelated levels. On the one hand, through the prefiguration of a specific political approach to inhabiting the State (contrary to mercantile or statist approaches to state occupation), which may be referred to as new statehood. On the other hand, prefiguration as a material, socio-territorial transformation that encourages post-capitalist ways of life, which we refer to as social management. These two levels are intrinsically interrelated, combining greater rights with deeper democracy.

This interrelation highlights another dimension of prefigurative municipalism: the spatial (the ‘where’) and material dimension (with tensions between the individual and the collective regarding the ‘how’) involved in extending rights and deepening democracy, or the (re)construction of public space as a place that is available to everyone. In the words of Subirats (2016), ‘... the basis

of citizenship is to keep those key elements that make the city a city in common spaces. Therein lies the importance of public spaces, common spaces in the city...'. This political approach involves creating and seeing the urban space from these two different perspectives simultaneously in order to forge a positive link between them: public space, understood in urbanistic terms and in political terms as a space for democratization, where multiple spheres overlap and the common good is produced and managed.

Now, why is it important to adopt a municipalist, prefigurative strategy in processes of territorial ordering?

Considerations in territorial ordering

Latin America experienced a setback in terms of land-use planning during the 1980s and 1990s due to the implementation of neoliberal policies, but territorial considerations made a comeback during the early 21st century in the form of strategic visions and participatory formulas. A critical analysis of the experiments that took place during that time reveals the central notion underpinning them: territorial ordering serves as a practical tool for dealing with a conflict or 'disorder' to be addressed by the State, situated above individual interests, by coordinating the work of the institutions involved in planning (Arzeno 2019).

Instead of this perspective, we suggest an approach that emphasizes power struggles, exposing the (economic, political) interests of the different parties involved in land disputes. Within this approach, the concept of territorial ordering takes on another meaning⁷. In this context, what mechanisms are required to guarantee a democratic, efficient and responsible use of land as a public good?

If we analyze existing instruments, it is clear that land-use planning laws are broadly developed on the basis of two questions that are worthy of study. On the one hand, a perspective focusing on urban aspects rather than on rural ones. On the other, a perspective focusing on the problems facing large cities rather than the circumstances of towns and smaller cities. In the case of Santa Fe, the bills submitted for parliamentary scrutiny tend to employ traditional or fragmented instruments that deal only with minimal aspects of the territorial issue despite being interesting projects with well-developed principles and objectives.

7 Following Foucault (2016), ordering could be thought of as a technology of governance. Thinking in these terms entails viewing it as part of a general economy of power and turns the spotlight on how that power is exercised and which concrete mechanisms are used to do so.

Against this backdrop, we believe that this approach must be transformed and the current rules of the game must be changed, albeit in a realistic manner rather than by proclaiming rights that can never be put into practice. With that aim in mind, we decided to build a toolbox⁸ for 21st-century territorial ordering based on two basic premises. Firstly, there is no single recipe to be applied to all areas indiscriminately. On the contrary, the aim of the toolbox is to provide each community with the resources that are best-suited to its capacities and particularities. It is no longer appropriate to impose hegemonic models that do not respect or acknowledge other identities, as has been the case so far. Instead, a wide range of tools and resources that can be adapted locally should be supplied, expanding the possibilities of each city, town and commune so that they are free to choose their own destiny without subordination, discrimination or regionalist bias. Secondly, the toolbox is intended to enhance integration between rural and urban landscapes. The way we use and manage urban and rural land is historically centered on the imposition of a single focus based on competition. Competition between humans and nature, between people and the city, between urban and rural areas, and between cities themselves. This time, we propose a completely different understanding. The objective is to break free from exclusionary, oppressive binary thinking and generate specific tools that allow us to apply the principles of solidarity and cooperation to the land.

The following considerations must be taken into account to ensure that our towns and cities are equipped to decide on their territorial ordering apparatus:

- Rural Land Occupancy Factor: In cities, debate has been underway for some years now as to the different land uses to be set out by the State to counter the chaos caused by unregulated urbanization and economic interests, identifying residential, industrial, mixed and commercial areas. This is known as the Land Occupancy Factor (LOF). However, a similar

8 The methodology used to develop the toolbox involved a process of co-production with multiple actors in the province, including political parties, social organizations, producers and members of local governments. Mayors, community presidents, councilors, development commissions, provincial deputies and senators were encouraged to participate, along with technical representatives from each of these spaces. We also sought opinions from other territorial actors such as neighborhood organizations, social organizations, developers, rural producers, professionals, science and technology organizations and national universities. To this end, we applied methodologies and virtual collaboration mechanisms, adapting the initial plan to the circumstances arising from the pandemic. We produced two surveys and held two rounds of exchange of views to find out participants' needs and opinions on territorial planning. After a process lasting more than seven months, which coincided with the beginning of the global pandemic, we drew up some key considerations that, we hope, will extend the range of possibilities for organizing rural urban land use in an equitable manner. See: <http://municipalismorururbano.igc.org.ar/>

debate has not prospered in rural locations. On the contrary, the current model is characterized by an ongoing battle against productive diversification. The expansion of the agricultural frontier and property speculation, which bring about changes in land use, clearing and monoculture, result in ecosystem simplification. In turn, the ecosystem is no longer seen as a prerequisite for life but as a commodity from the neoliberal perspective of the market (Tedin 2020).

Some things are more important than others, especially when it comes to the sustainability of a non-renewable resource like land. Given this, we must fight for the implementation of a rural land occupancy factor (Rural LOF) as a way to establish basic rules and criteria to enable different types of use according to the suitability and quality of the land.

Rural LOF is a key tool because it stipulates the percentage of a plot that may be used for a particular activity to encourage productive diversification and conservation of areas of ecological value, taking into consideration detailed local analyses and productive development policies for each area of the territory.

- > **Plans for Peri-Urban Areas:** The main challenge facing peri-urban areas lies in their strategic value: their proximity to the city offers exceptional opportunities for urban development, resulting in competition for the use of space, decline in productive capacity and loss of non-renewable environmental resources. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that they are, to a great extent, the few fruit and vegetable production areas that remain today and that they produce much of the food that is consumed by residents of cities. In smaller communes and towns, peri-urban areas are directly disputed due to agrochemical spraying.

The struggle of many communes and municipalities to manage peri-urban land, alongside jurisdictional limitations, is more evident in metropolitan areas where few tools are available to implement a joint approach that moves beyond isolated interventions and succeeds in strengthening the agriculture sector in the face of pressure from more economically profitable activities. Local governments often yield to the pressure to urbanize, reclassifying rural land as urban and reinforcing a market that is becoming increasingly exclusive, expansive and difficult to govern (SAPLAT Litoral 2021). In this context, plans for peri-urban areas must be drawn up to define the criteria governing land-use planning in these types of areas. It is important for these plans to promote productive biodiversity at a scale that reduces dependence on pesticides, while providing a barrier from the soybean matrix that prevails in the region.

- > **Municipal Urban Development Enterprises:** Among state instruments for management and regulation, it is important for each municipality to be able to implement its own urban de-

velopment policies⁹. This is no innocent task, as it involves transforming areas of the city while avoiding speculative maneuvers that may hinder development. In some medium-sized cities and small communes, the problem is aggravated by the arrival of open or gated neighborhoods aimed exclusively at high-income groups seeking to escape the big cities. These projects tend to override any authority or municipal planning.

The purpose of municipal urban development enterprises is to intervene directly in property development in each location by providing urban land (land plus infrastructure) for projects such as housing and service networks, either self-provided or in association with provincial or national government organizations, cooperatives and community associations. That is, to provide cities and communes with the powers they need to acquire urban and rural land or buildings by giving them priority over any private buyer, acquisitions by debt exchange, tax executions and expropriation.

- > Urban Integration Zones and Fund: In 2016, a group of social movements drew up the first National Register of Slums in the country, known as RENABAP (by its acronym in Spanish). This was used as the basis for Law 27453 on Social-Urban Integration, which declared all of the properties housing the slums listed in the register to be declared for public use and subject to expropriation. However, putting this law into practice in each province will be a complex process hindered by the weight of state bureaucracy. There are over 4,000 slums in the country, 333 of which are located in our province; they suffer urban segregation and overcrowding, and lack formal access to electric power, tap water, sewerage and natural gas.

This points to the need to incorporate the concept of social-urban integration into land-use planning law for the first time, giving municipalities the power to identify Social-Urban Integration Zones to promote the development of vulnerable areas within cities and to draft multidimensional Intervention Projects for these zones via Urbanization Committees formed by local governments and community associations. In the same way, there is a need for an Urban Integration Fund at the municipal and communal level to finance development works, infrastructure and facilities, especially in parts of the city with inadequate connectivity, infrastructure, housing quality, urban and environmental quality¹⁰.

- > Strategic Environmental Evaluation: The current situation shows that standard environmen-

⁹ In 2016, Ciudad Futura submitted the Public Real Estate project to Rosario City Council. The project was intended as a new municipal state tool to ensure that the city is planned in accordance with the needs and desires of its inhabitants rather than the interests and profits of private groups. See: <http://argentinamunicipal.com.ar/argentina/presentan-rosario-proyecto-inmobiliaria-publica-division-alquileres/>

tal impact studies are insufficient to identify the magnitude of territorial destruction. We must restructure the procedure to take into consideration territorial impacts on the landscape, environment, places and buildings with characteristics that are highly valued by residents. Strategic Environmental Evaluations must therefore be introduced, creating a system that actively combines environmental considerations with the process for formulating public policies, plans and local government programs. These impacts must no longer be approached as a single factor ('the environmental issue') and must instead become the main focus underpinning any plan. Municipalities must be able to conduct their own environmental audits and, when drawing up plans, the Environmental Load Capacity should be used as a boundary to indicate the maximum population size supported by a location at a given time.

Networks of cities and towns to boost people power

'Municipalism must be the foundation of any multi-level strategy, not vice versa. Anyone who tries to build a house from the roof down will end up without a home, without a neighborhood and without people. And without people, revolution is impossible.' Shea Baird & Roth

Those of us who are convinced that the reinvention of politics goes beyond finding new ways to govern are obliged to consolidate territorial social management practices, especially in this post-pandemic context. It is not enough for territorial ordering projects to involve citizens in the planning process. Our daily task is to go one step further and design and implement new ways of consumption, communication, organization, education and cultural expression that are capable of generating different social connections.

In this regard, there are at least two challenges to building a fairer, more egalitarian territorial order. On the one hand, we should not believe that the State can solve everything. Those of us who experienced the 2001 crisis have one main challenge: to ensure that processes of territorial construction and organization are not overlooked. Nevertheless, our presence in the State must not reinforce vertical hierarchies; instead, it must share out power and boost the community's role in its own processes.

In this context, politicizing concepts like land-use planning and territorial ordering and translating them into multiple languages is a pre-requisite for opening up the discussion and focusing on questioning our lifestyles in a pedagogic, sustained manner. This is the first step in ensuring that the community sees itself as a key player. In general, the language surrounding urban and rural land use is complex and based on technocratic, economic considerations. Sometimes, terminology from the private sector is used excessively. This opacity is sufficient to privatize the debate, limiting it only to experts. As well as democratizing the debate, we must also provide the community with the appropriate tools to ensure that it is represented in the land-use planning

process. This is why, as well as regulatory instruments, it is important to organize the multiple productive, educational, cultural projects, etc. that are already organizing the territory in new ways from a social management perspective.

However, it is important to bear in mind that it is impossible to maintain the autonomy that each city and town achieve if they stand alone. That is why municipalism develops in the local sphere in an attempt to create territorial connections that do not depend on existing political geographies. As an example, progress is being made on the construction of the Network of Cities and Towns for Wellbeing that brings together collectives from different parts of Santa Fe province. The network is unique as it emerged as an answer to a question raised within Ciudad Futura: How can a political project grow without creating structures that homogenize its components? Or alternatively, how can a project be shaped to make room for a particular policy that reflects the diverse territorial sensitivities that are part of it? Instead of seeking to impose a hegemonic approach from 'the big city', we wish to build networks between heterogeneous communities. This does not mean that the network simply contains different realities but rather that it is looking to approach politics from a different angle, viewing the network as a new way of doing things. The idea is to build a platform that allows different initiatives to be developed that may have an impact on a provincial level, even if their benefits do not immediately materialize in the local area.

Here, the municipalist strategy gives us an opportunity to link two spheres of political practice: the State sphere, where the necessary regulations and consensuses must be in place to ensure a sustainable urban and rural land use policy (that takes into account territorial diversity, integrates urban and rural landscapes, and reassesses the knowledge developed through community practice); and the social management sphere, where we can transform the way in which land is produced and managed, building networks between towns and cities and protecting the political process so that the progress made can withstand the onslaughts of destructive corporations and economic interests.

Final reflections

This toolbox, which is necessary to change the current rules of the game as regards how and for whom a territory is ordered, loses all meaning if it remains a merely theoretical proposition. Therefore, Ciudad Futura views entering the Chamber of Deputies in Santa Fe province and obtaining the presidency of the Housing and Urban Planning Committee as an excellent political opportunity to make the tools set out here a reality. We are aware that it will be difficult to argue the need for a Territorial Ordering and Equity Law that combines all these tools because of the obvious institutional obstacles involved when trying to move forward in a debate that is

so structural and inaccessible to ordinary people. Regardless, the most important work must be done outside the Chamber of Deputies, creating networks where each community can make these tools their own. The only guarantee is to build bridges and boost interpersonal relationships as an initial line of defense, linking up to existing experiments that are already beginning to use some of these tools in their areas.

To prevent laws from getting stuck in the bureaucratic apparatus, we must build tools and institutions outside the political sphere of debate at the state level, with its committees and legislative assemblies. Regulations must be made not only by the people who benefit from private investment but also those affected by this investment.

To attempt to decentralize urban and rural land use without a municipalist strategy allowing policies to be coordinated between participants is to limit the practice of planning to a merely rhetorical exercise. Not everything depends on the State, but rather on the tools that are being developed out there, in the infra-political sphere, outside Congress, in the neighborhoods, in the countryside. Tackling the eco-social and territorial crisis is dependent on an ability to prefigure, based on images of the future that allow people to visualize new everyday lives and give meaning to the social changes that we demand. Because the future isn't just what's going to happen, it's what we're going to make of it.

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