

# Saskia Sassen slides for URBAN ENCOUNTERS at Tate Britain

- HERE THE MAIN SOURCES:
- S.Sassen, Expulsions: Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy (Harvard University Press 2014).
- “*The Global Street: Making the Political*” Globalizations. October 2011, Vol. 8, No. 5, pp. 565–571
- “Interactions of the Technical and the Social: Digital Formations of the Powerful and the Powerless.” *Information, Communication & Society*. DOI 10.1080/1369118X.2012.667912

For more info see [www.saskiasassen.com](http://www.saskiasassen.com)

# BEFORE METHOD

The fuzzy edges of paradigmatic knowledges

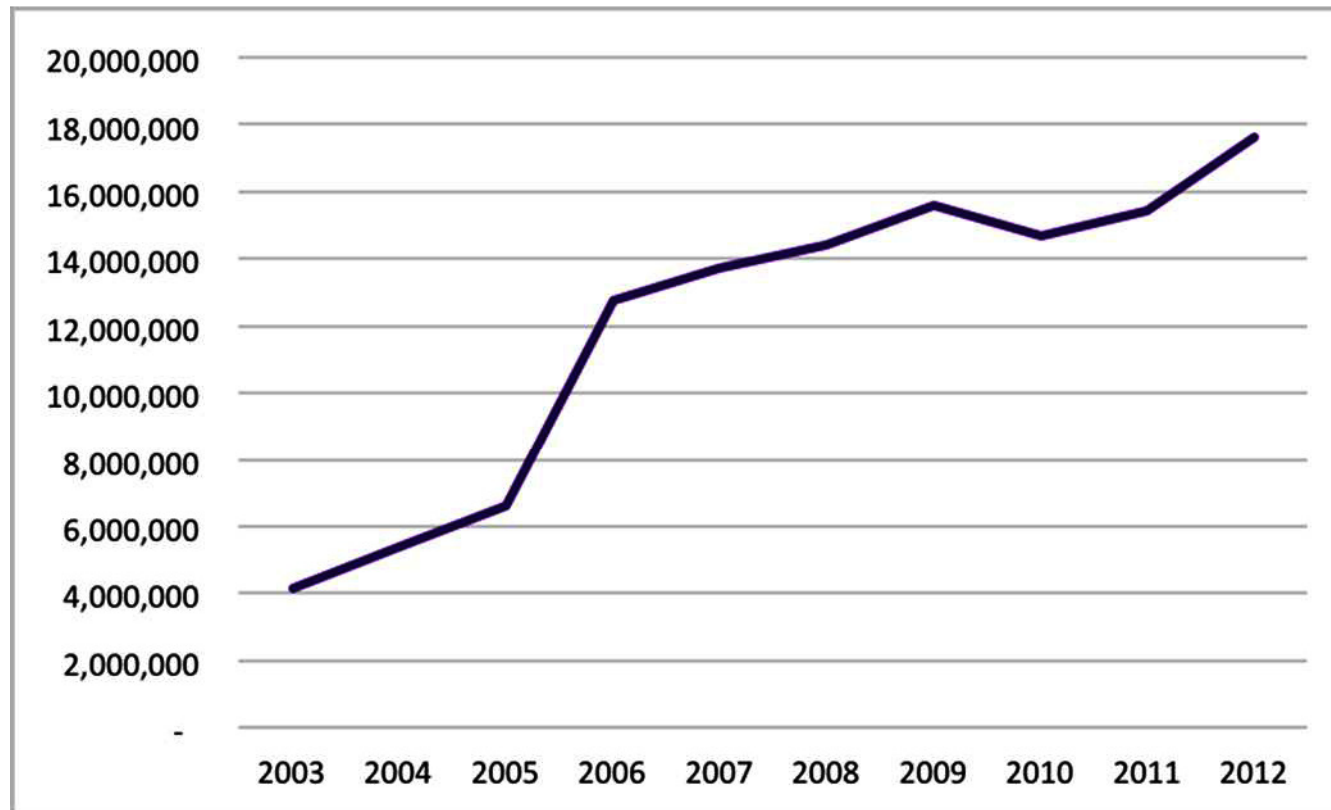
Analytic Tactics

# Analytic Tactics

- Destabilizing stable meanings
- In the shadows of powerful explanations
- When territory exits conventional framings:  
it becomes institutionally mobile, nomadic and can alter  
the meaning
- EXPULSIONS
- The making of it all

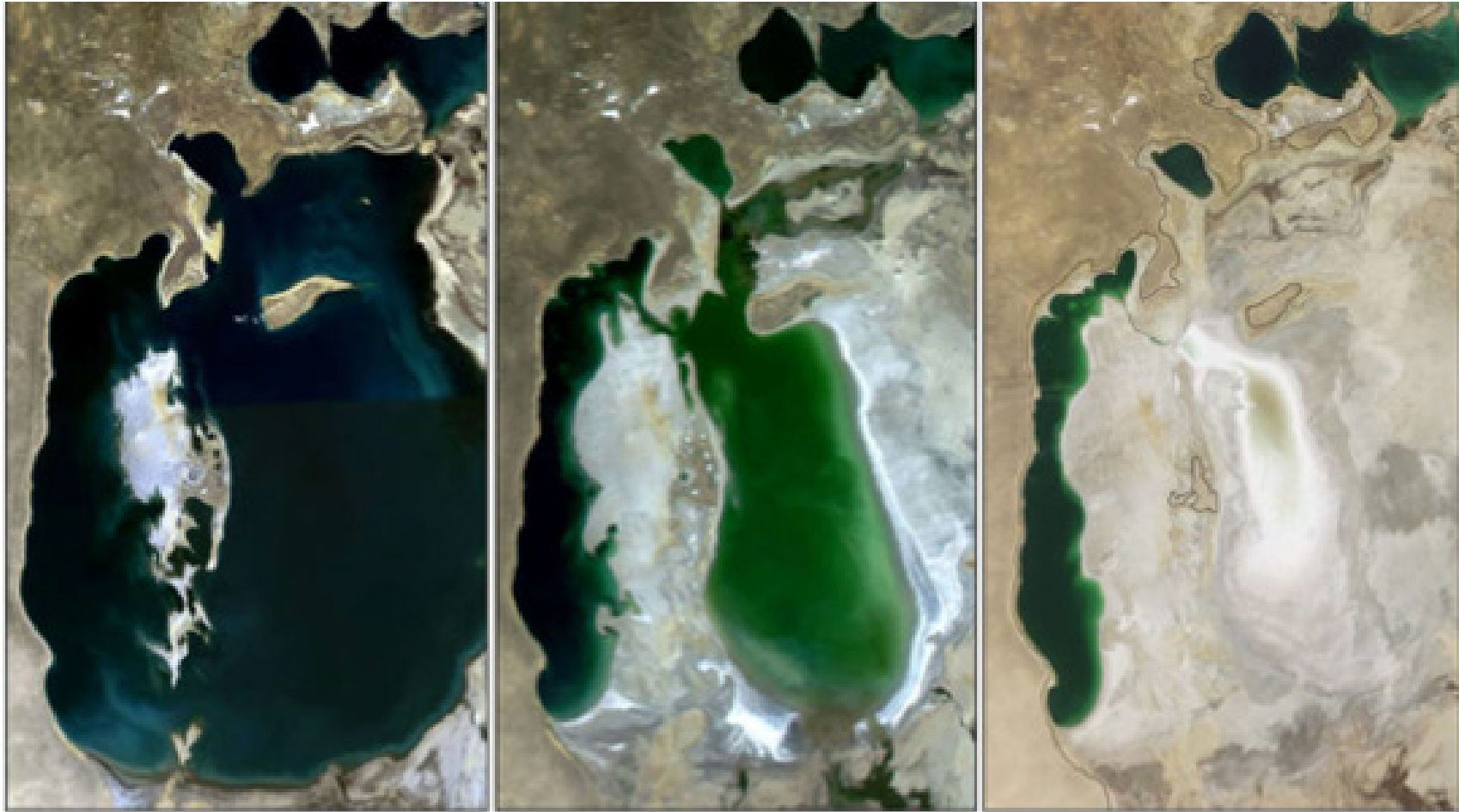
we make...

### Exhibit 2.4.a. Internally Displaced People, 2003-2012

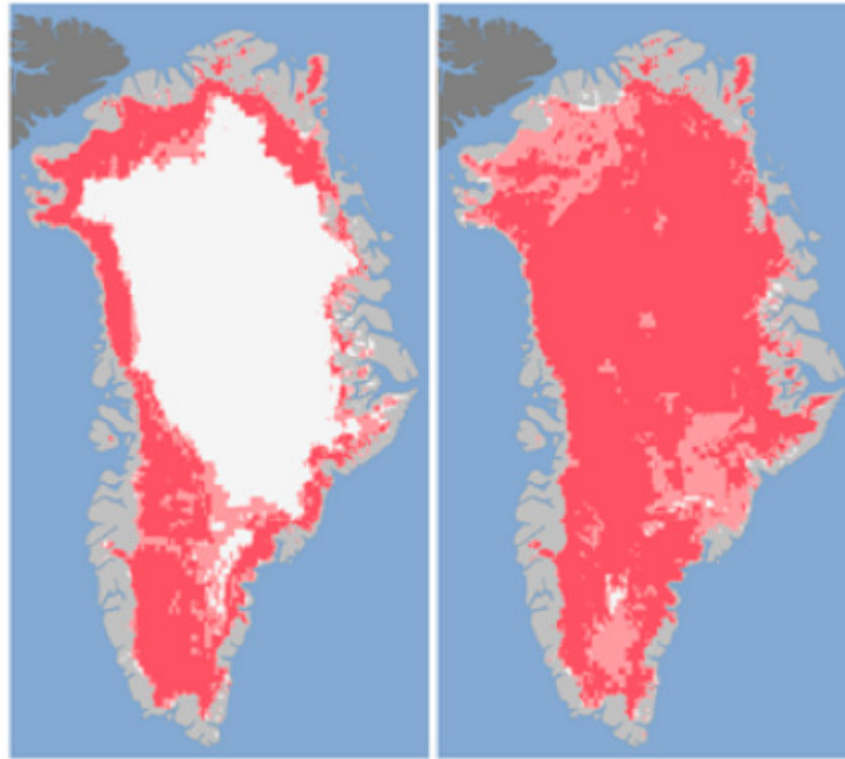


Source: UNHCR Global Trends (2012) Displacement: The New 21<sup>st</sup> Century Challenge - Annexes.  
Table 23: Refugees, asylum-seekers, internally displaced persons (IDPs), returnees, stateless persons, and others of concerns to UNHCR by region, 2003-12, accessed on June 21 2013:  
<http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c4d6.html>

## Exhibit 5.9. Aral Sea, 1989-2009



## Exhibit 5.11. Extent of Surface Melt over Greenland's Ice Sheet, 2012



Source: Viñas, Maria-José. "Satellites See Unprecedented Greenland Ice Sheet Surface Melt." NASA. Accessed July 30, 2012.  
<http://www.nasa.gov/topics/earth/features/greenland-melt.html>.

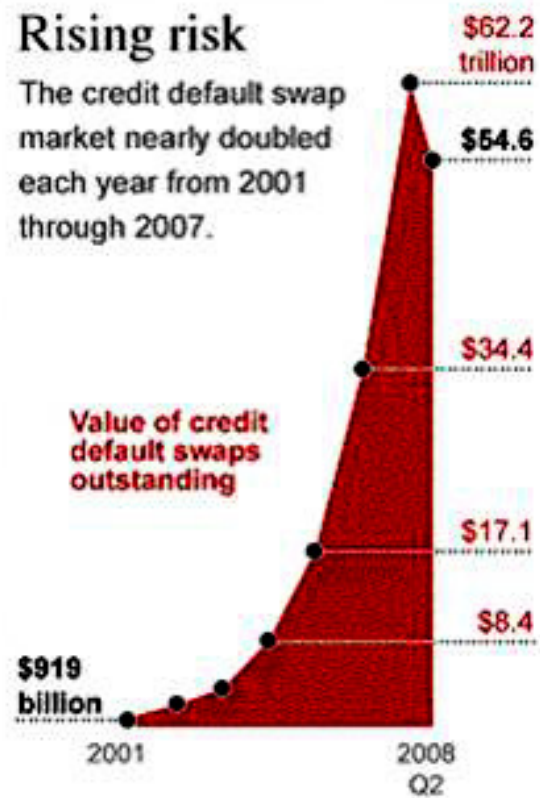
WHAT IS THE STEAM ENGINE  
OF OUR EPOCH?

THAT WHICH CAN MAKE A NEW  
ORDERING.

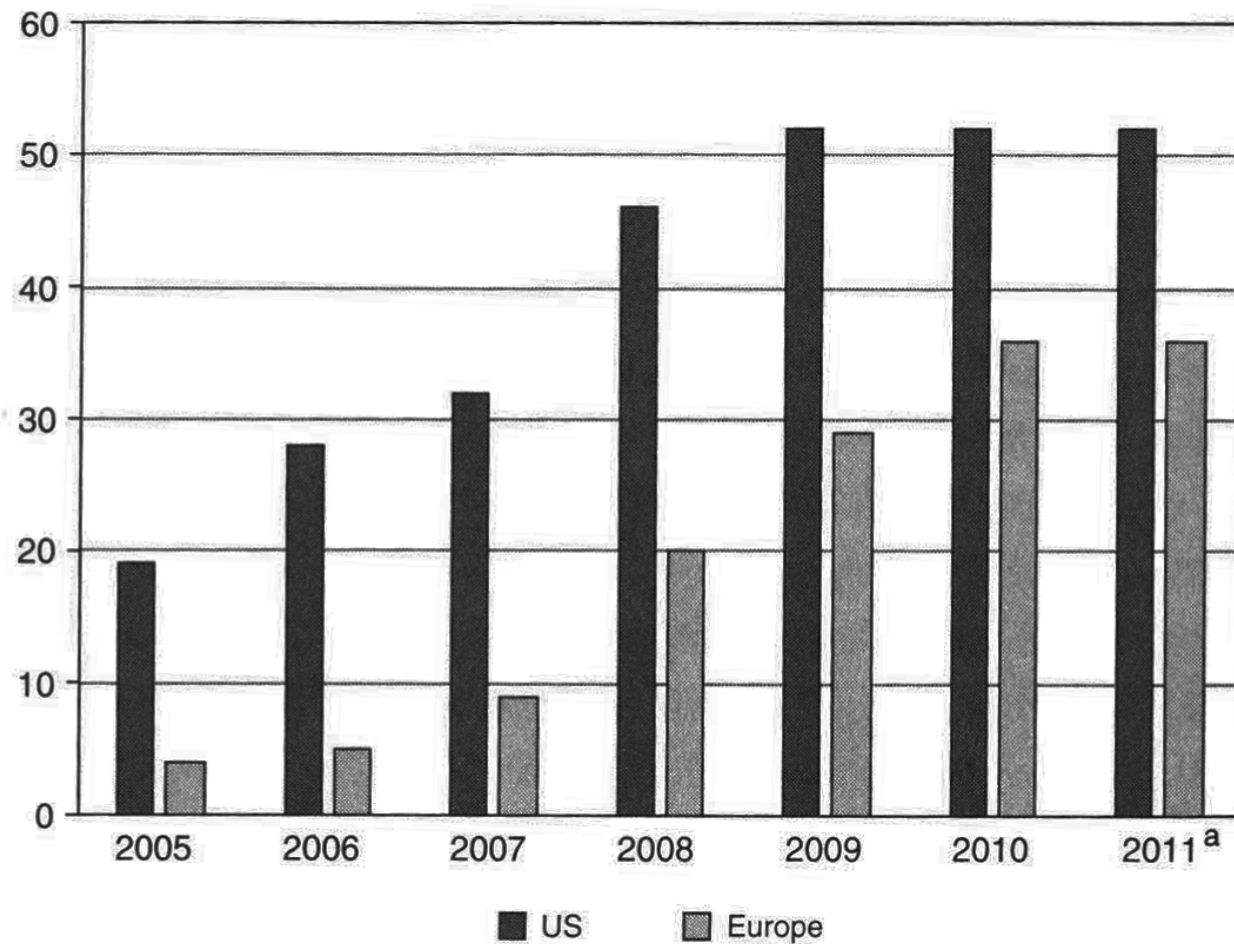
WHAT IS IN AND WHAT IS OUT?

## Rising risk

The credit default swap market nearly doubled each year from 2001 through 2007.



SOURCE: ISDA



**FIGURE 3.5** Number of Dark Pools in the United States and Europe, 2005–2011

Source: Economist 2011b, referencing data from TABB Group.

Note: a. Through August

# When modest neighborhoods become part of global finance

- The making of instruments that enable the use of modest elements/assets to build a powerful financial instrument useful to top level investors: sub-prime mortgage for low- and modest-income households.
- The key is that the source of profits for investors is NOT payment on the mortgage. All that is needed is a signed contract.
- The source of profits is the bundling of a large number of these mortgages with high-value debt to sell them on to investors, including banks and foreign investors. It worked because they were mixed up with high quality debts of all sorts.

## Expulsions: New foreclosures *per year*(2006-14)

- 2006 : 1.2 million foreclosures, up 42% from 2005. This is: One in every 92 U.S. households
- 2007: 2.2 million foreclosures, up 75% from 06
- 2008: 3.1 million, up 81% from 07
- 2009: 3.9 million (or 1 in 45 US hholds)
- (From 2007 to 2009: 120% increase in forecls)
- 2010: 2.9 mill forecls. (2006-2010: over 13 mil)
- Source: Data from the Fed Reserve, organized by RealtyTrac 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010.

- **2011:** 2,698,967 (3.4 percent decrease from 2010)
- **2012:** 2,304,941 (3 percent decrease from 2011)
- **2013:** foreclosures filed on 1,361,795 properties
- **First half of 2014:** foreclosure filed on 613,874 properties

Source: RealtyTrac

## U.S. Properties with Foreclosure Filings

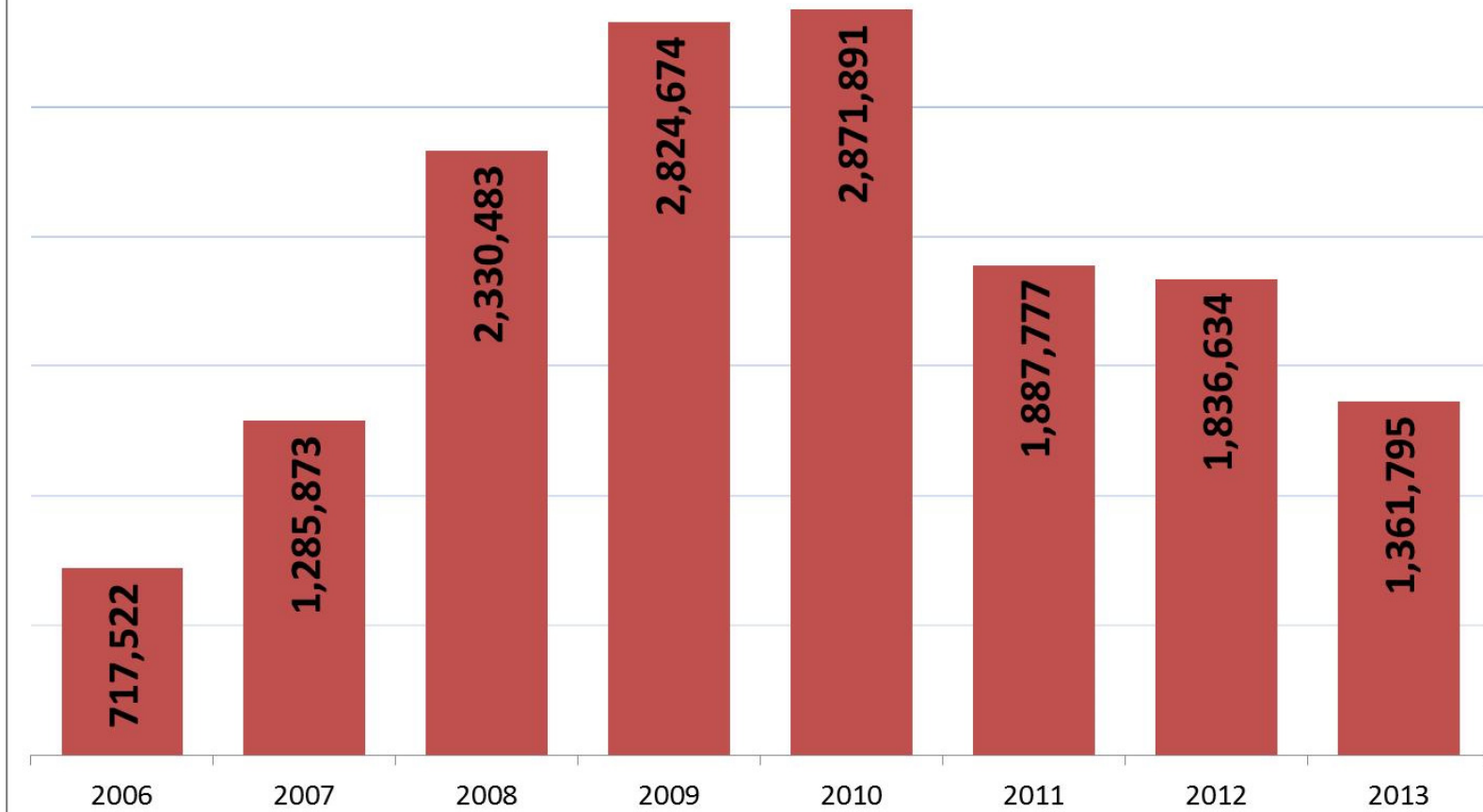


Fig 2. European Countries with Either Highest or Lowest Number of Foreclosures, 2007–2009

	Number of foreclosures		
	2007	2008	2009
Highest foreclosures:			
Hungary	225,663	245,597	71,683
Germany	91,788	88,379	86,617
Spain	25,943	58,686	93,319
United Kingdom	27,869	46,984	54,014
Lowest foreclosures:			
Bulgaria	449	886	1,570
Finland	506	825	1,036
Denmark	1,015	1,942	2,860
Netherlands	1,811	1,961	2,256

Source: White, A. (2013) "Foreclosure Crisis in Europe vs US", Credit

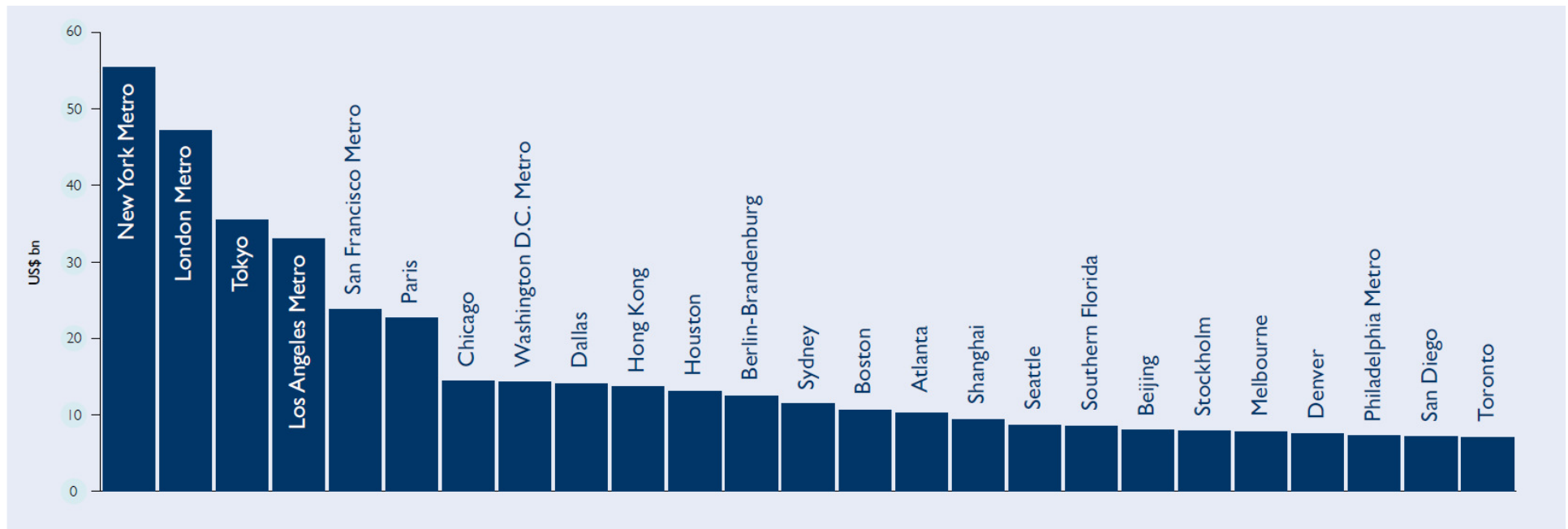
THE OUTCOME:  
EMPTY URBAN LAND

# YET ANOTHER MUTATION OF URBAN LAND

## TOTAL(NATIONAL AND FOREIGN) INVESTMENT VOLUMES (EXCEPT DEV. SITES, Q3 2013 – Q2 2014)

METRO	VOLUMES (US\$)	GROWTH*
1 New York Metro, United States	55,438,566,041	10.9%
2 London Metro, United Kingdom	47,253,731,038	40.5%
3 Tokyo, Japan	35,466,760,763	30.4%
4 Los Angeles Metro, United States	33,058,667,672	6.9%
5 San Francisco Metro, United States	23,788,360,196	7.8%
6 Paris, France	22,668,417,844	37.2%
7 Chicago, United States	14,379,076,128	31.9%
8 Washington D.C. Metro, United States	14,353,183,299	-29.0%
9 Dallas, United States	14,076,849,569	32.5%
10 Hong Kong, China	13,725,693,505	-28.9%

## TOP 25 CITIES FOR TOTAL PROPERTY INVESTMENT (EXCEPT DEV. SITES, Q3 2013 – Q2 2014)

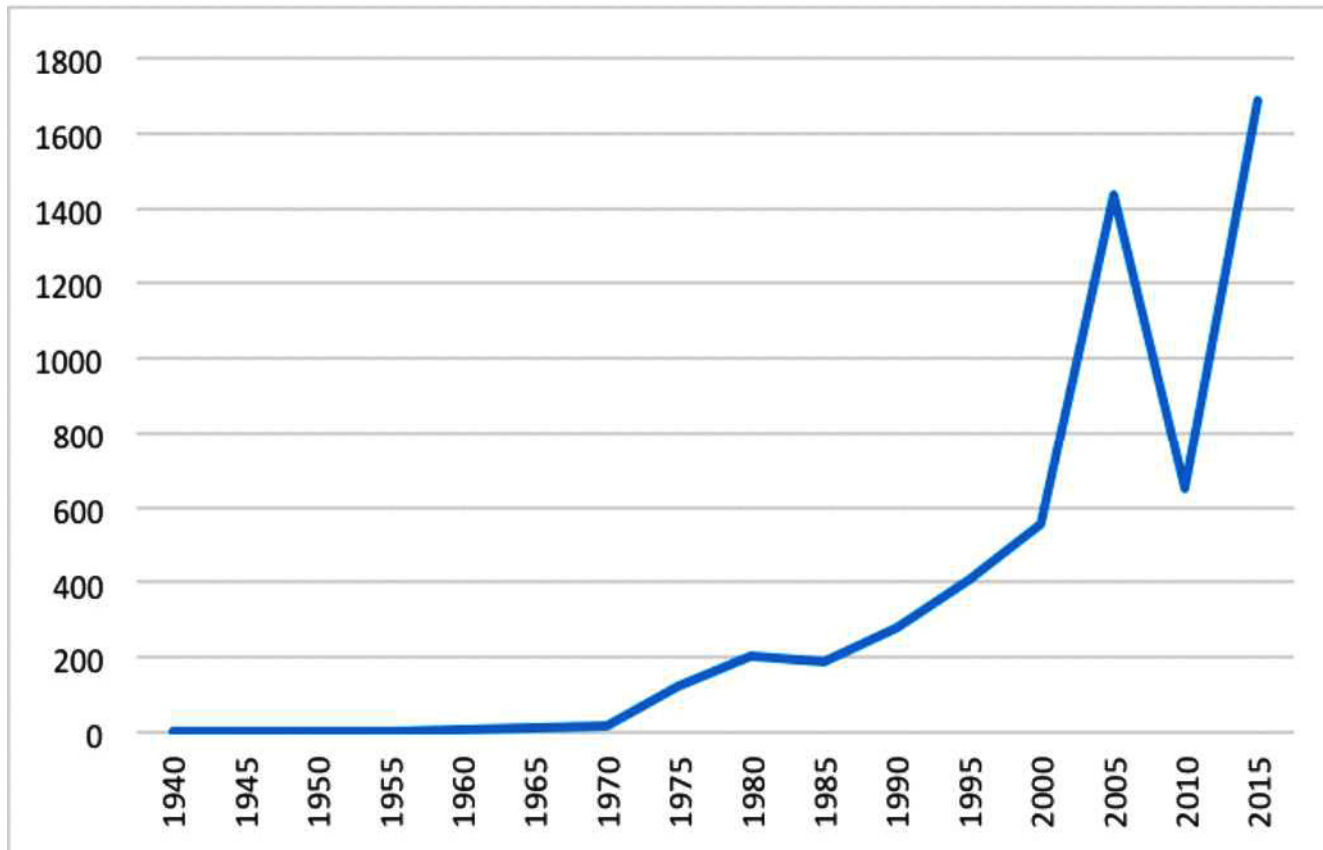


# TOTAL FOREIGN INVESTMENT VOLUMES (Q3 2013 – Q2 2014)

METRO	VOLUMES (US\$)	GROWTH*
1 London Metro, United Kingdom	29,370,466,865	37.67%
2 New York Metro, United States	11,364,607,926	68.53%
3 Paris, France	11,057,422,477	47.75%
4 Shanghai, China	10,039,035,493	150.25%
5 Sydney, Australia	6,660,953,814	75.81%
6 Los Angeles Metro, United States	5,994,728,581	65.09%
7 Shenzhen, China	4,968,623,569	426.35%
8 Tokyo, Japan	4,632,840,984	66.19%
9 Amsterdam/Randstad, Holland	3,991,616,088	248.30%
10 Melbourne, Australia	3,603,892,879	80.01%

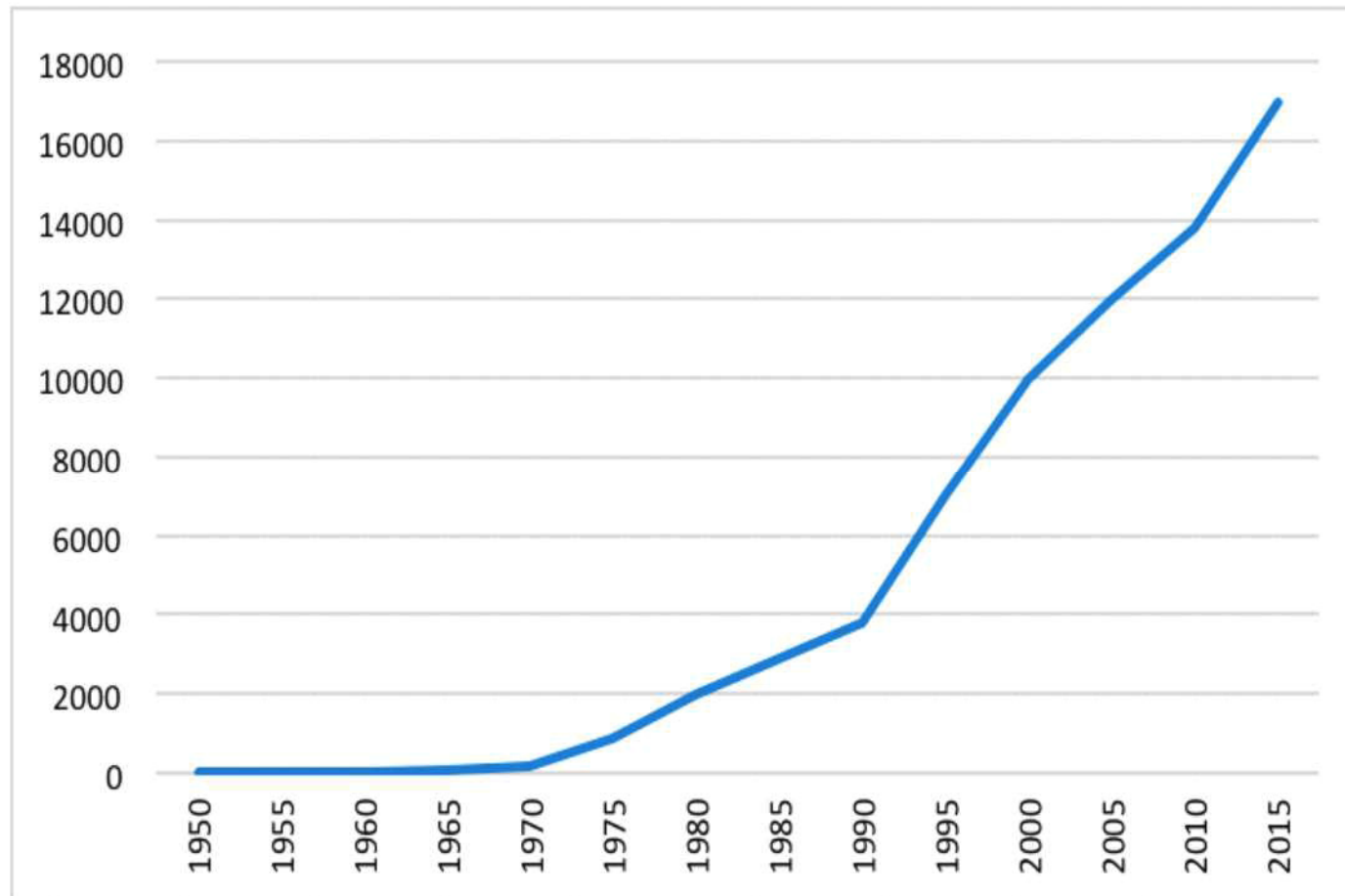
**NEW SYSTEMICS?**

**Exhibit 2.1.a: Corporate Profits after Tax in the US, 1940s-2010s (in billions)**



Source: FRED Economic Data, St. Louis Federal Reserve Bank. Published 2012 on [http://research.stlouisfed.org/fred2/graph/?s\[1\]\[id\]=CP#](http://research.stlouisfed.org/fred2/graph/?s[1][id]=CP#)

**Exhibit 2.1.b: Corporate Assets in the US, 1940s-2010s (in billions)**



Source: FRED Economic Data. 2012. Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis found at <http://research.stlouisfed.org/fredgraph.png?g=eco>

**Exhibit 2.1.c: Central Government Debt (% of GDP) in Fourteen Countries, 1980-2010**

Country:	Year:			
	1980	1990	2000	2010
Australia	8.0	6.1	11.4	11.0
Canada	26.1	46.6	40.9	36.1
China	1 <sup>(a)</sup>	6.9	16.4	33.5
Germany	13.0	19.7	38.4	44.4
Greece	...	97.6 <sup>(b)</sup>	108.9	147.8
Italy	52.7	92.8	103.6	109.0
Japan	37.1	47.0	106.1	183.5 <sup>(d)</sup>
Portugal	29.2	51.7	52.1	88.0
Spain	14.3	36.5	49.9	51.7
Sweden	38.2	39.6	56.9	33.8
United States	25.7	41.5	33.9	61.3

Source: OECD Stat Extracts and World Economic Outlook Database of the International Monetary Fund, accessed on January 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2013.

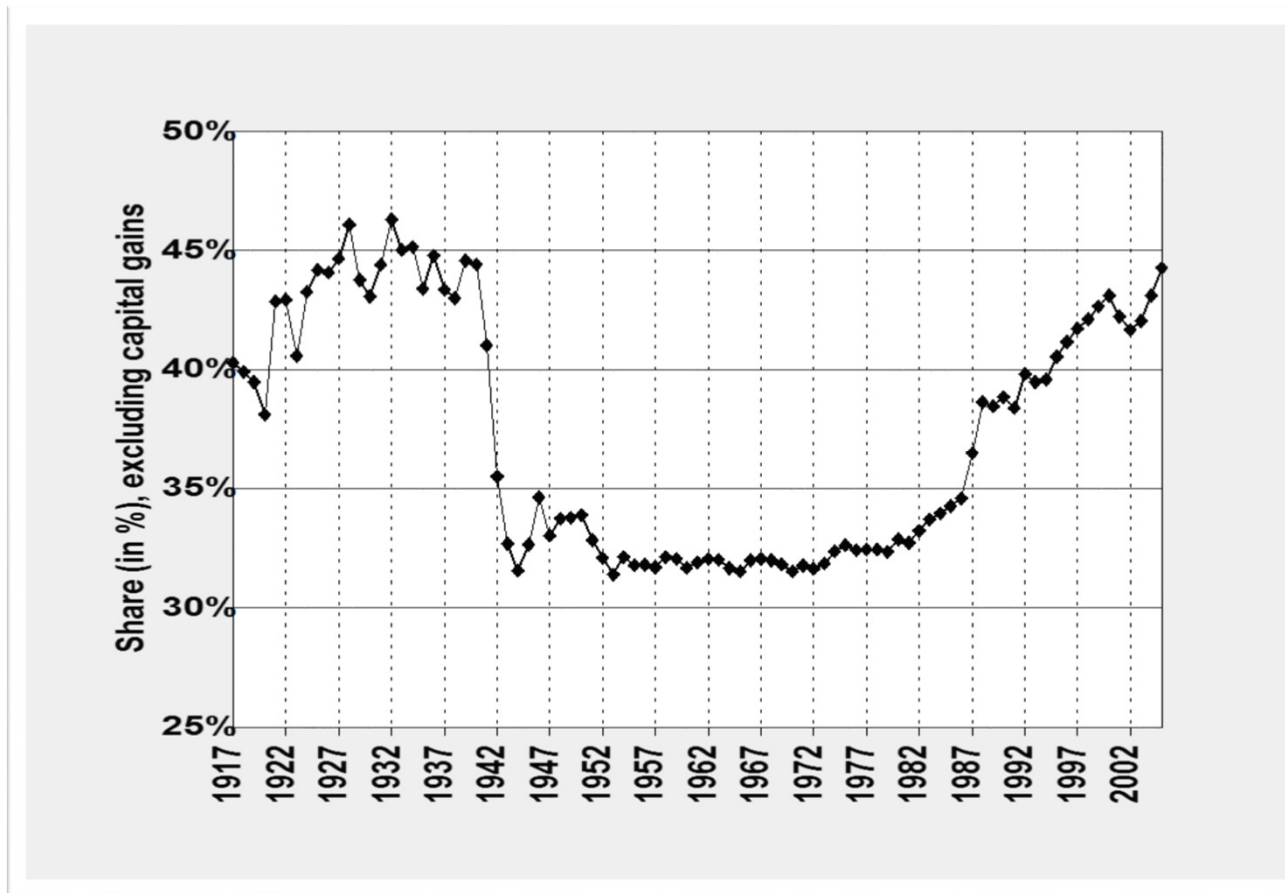
Notes: (a) Data for 1984.

(b) Data for 1993.

(c) Data for 1991.

(d) Data for 2009.

# Income Share of top 10% earners, USA 1917-2005



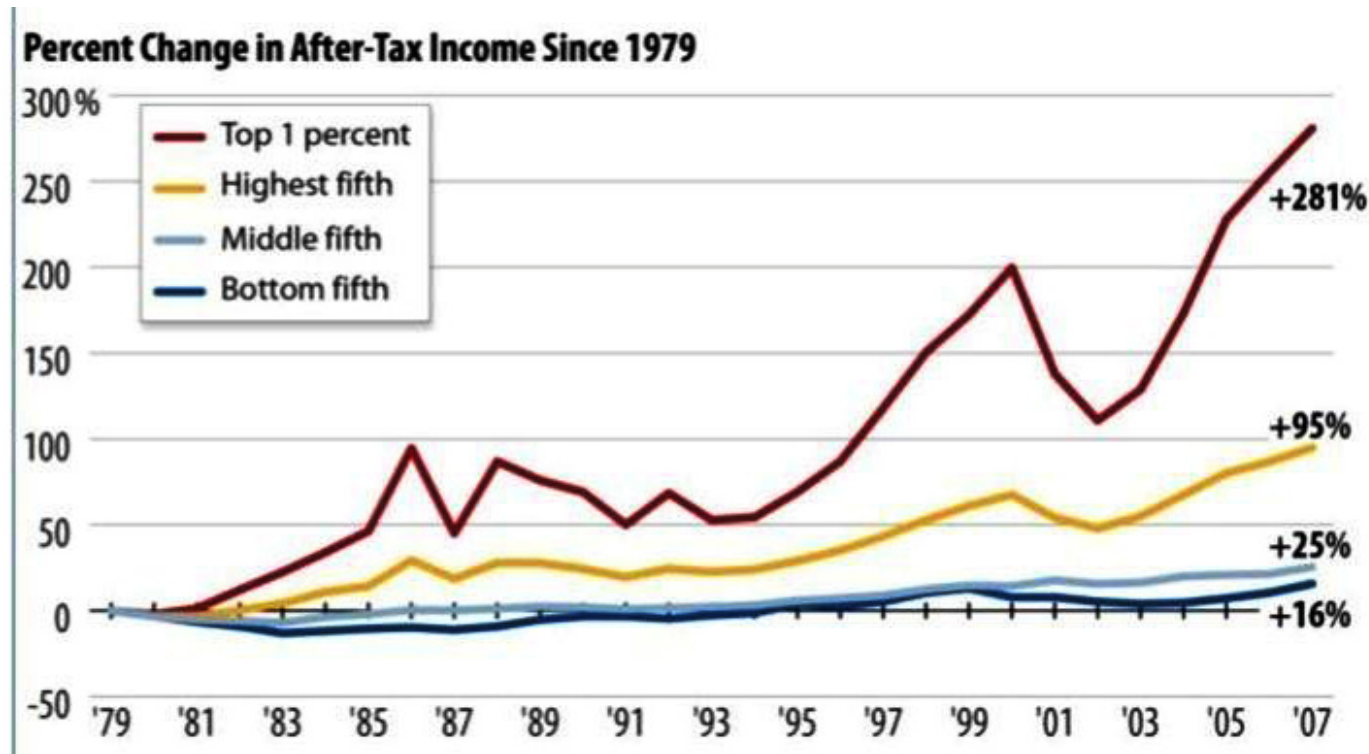
\*Income is defined as market income but excludes capital gains

Source: Mishel, L. 2004. "Unfettered Markets, Income Inequality, and Religious Values." *Viewpoints*. May 19, 2004.

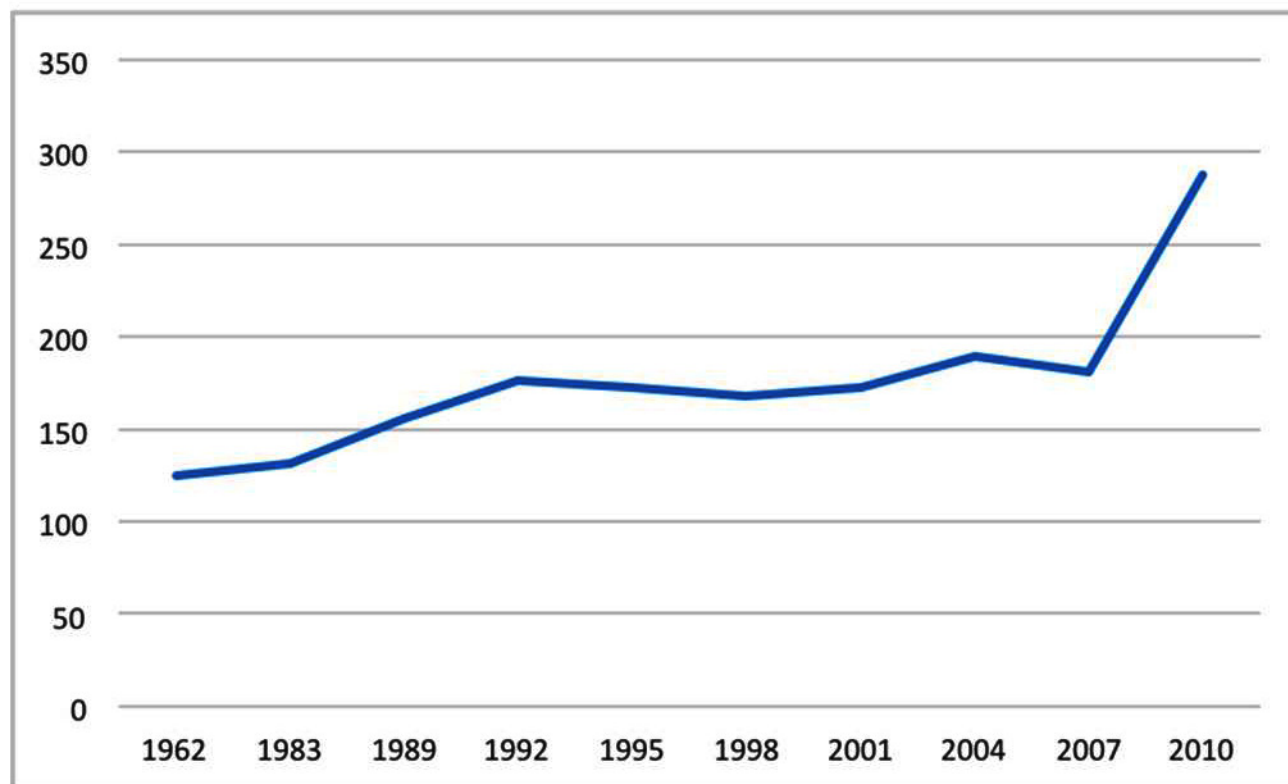
Economic Policy Institute. Retrieved July 26, 2008 [

[www.epi.org/content.cfm/webfeatures\\_viewpoints\\_moral\\_markets\\_presentation.](http://www.epi.org/content.cfm/webfeatures_viewpoints_moral_markets_presentation.)]

# % Growth in After-Tax Income, USA 1979-2007



**Exhibit 2.2.e: Ratio of 1% Wealth to Median Wealth, 1962-2010**



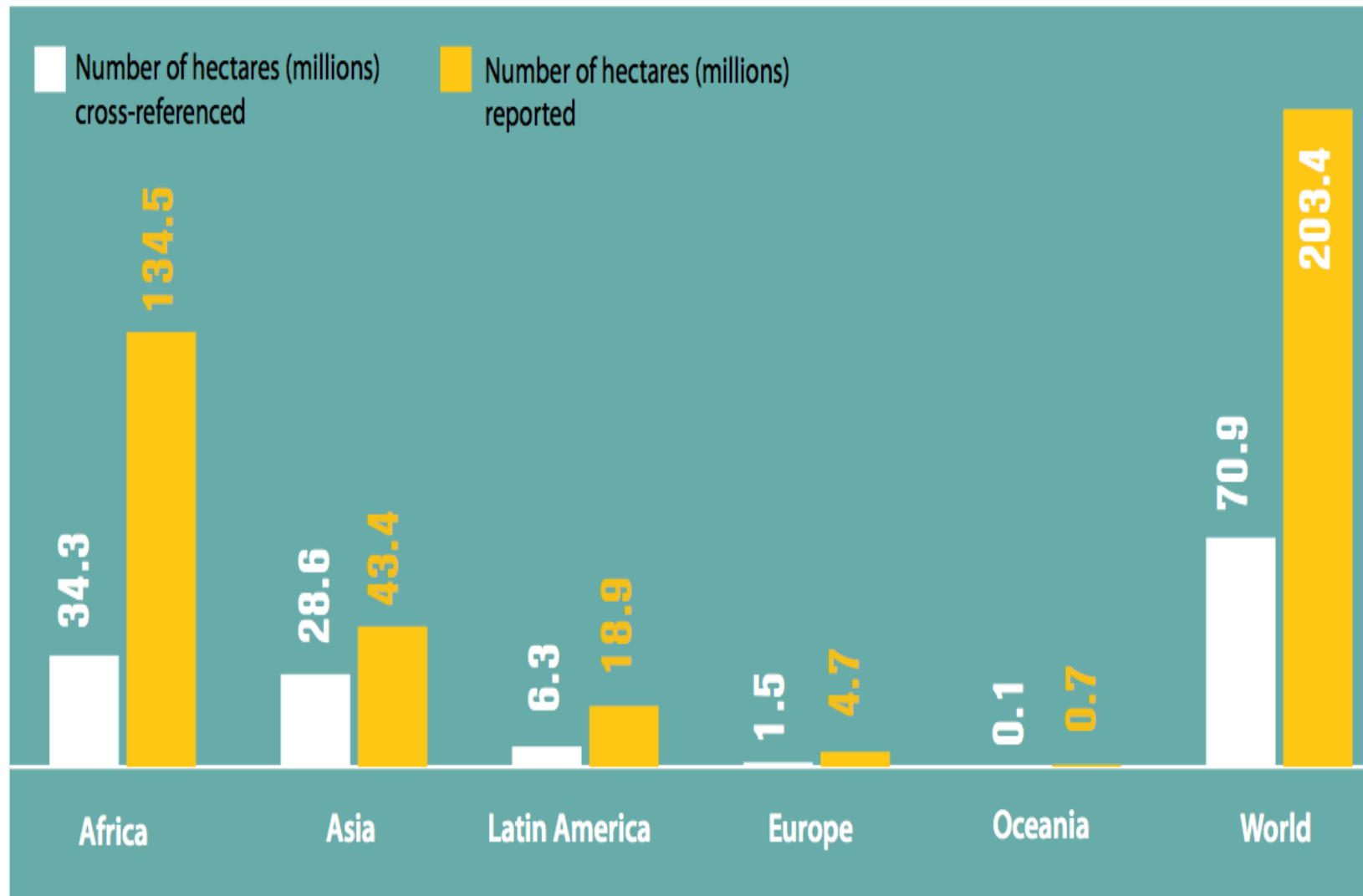
Source: Economic Policy Institute (2013) "The ratio of average top 1% wealth to median wealth, 1962-2010", *The State of Working America*, doi: <http://stateofworkingamerica.org/data/>, accessed on 9 February 2013.

# IN THE SHADOWS OF URBANIZATION

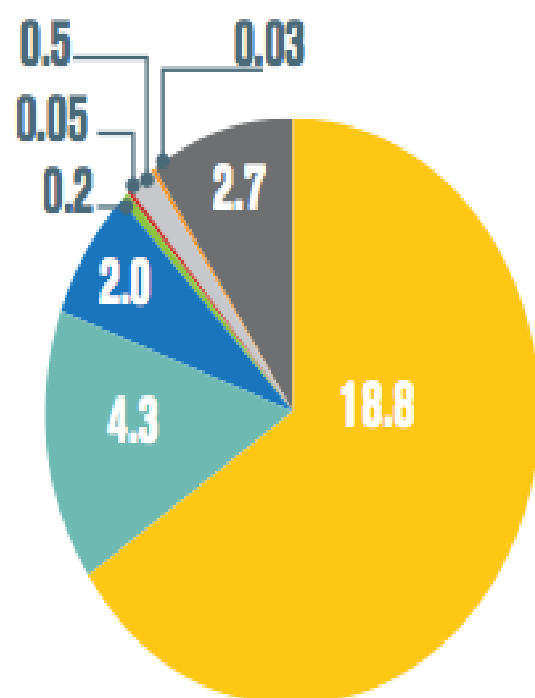
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One instance of what we measure as development but is actually a massive expulsion

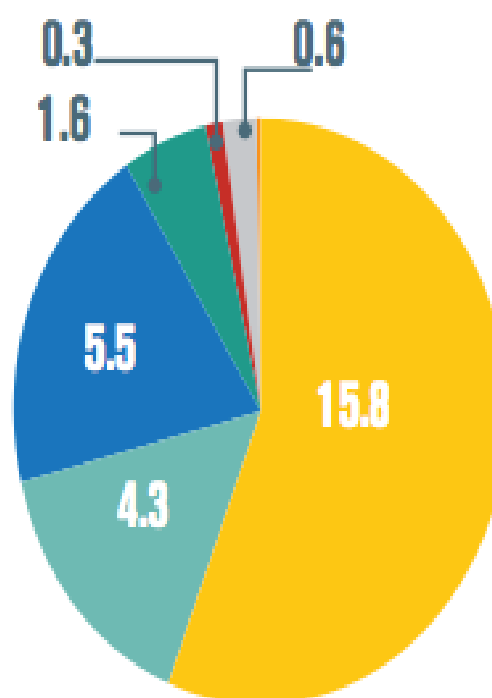
- From 2006 to 2010: 220 million hectares of land in Afri, LatAm, Cambodia, Ukraine etc bought/leased by rich governments, firms, financial firms
- The land is now more valued than the people or activities on it
- The active making of surplus populations
- Novel assemblage of Territory/Authority/Rights



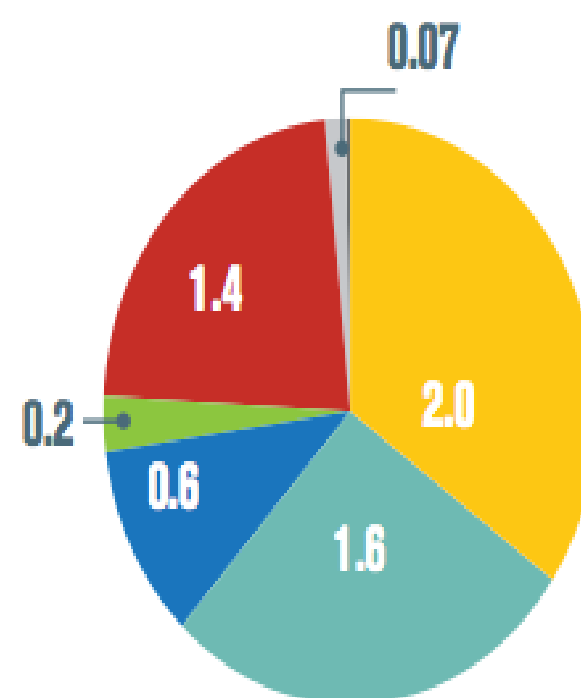
Number of hectares (millions) cross-referenced



AFRICA



ASIA



LATIN AMERICA

Nature of investment

Biofuels

Food crops

Forestry

Industry

Livestock

Mineral extraction,  
including petroleum

Non-food agricultural  
commodities

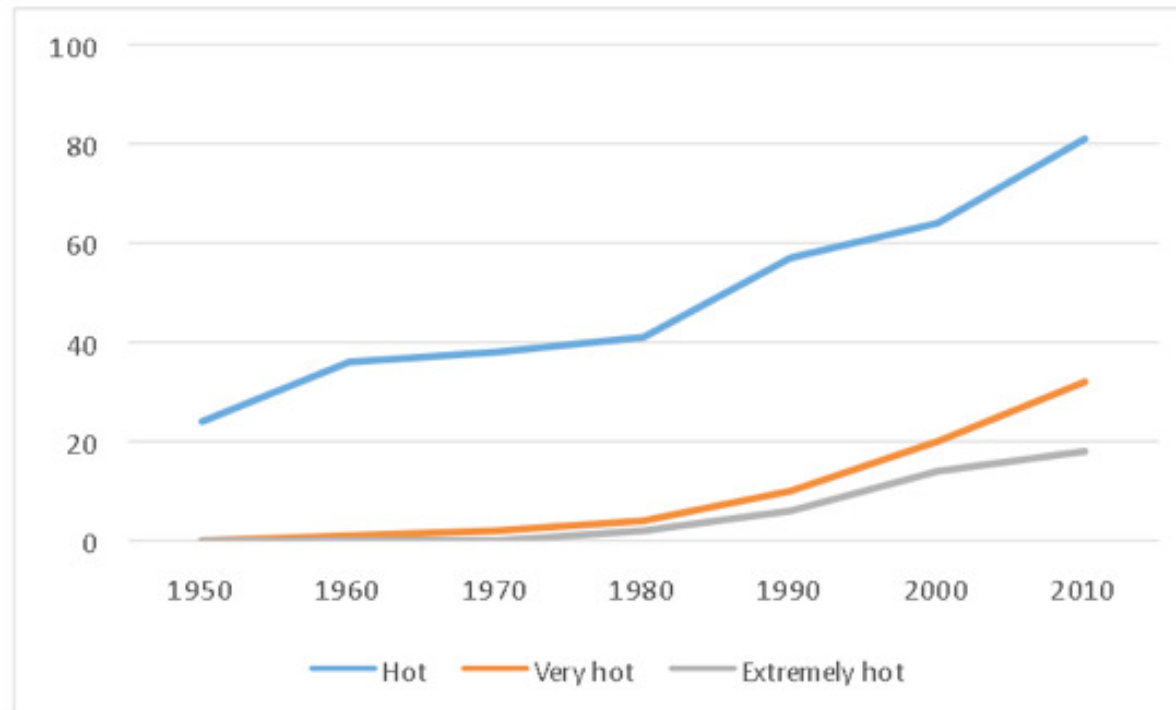
Other

Tourism

Source: Land Matrix

**MORE LAND GRABBING BECAUSE  
MUCH LAND IS BEING KILLED**

# Northern hemisphere: Land Area with Hot, Very Hot, and Extremely Hot Temperatures, 1960-2010



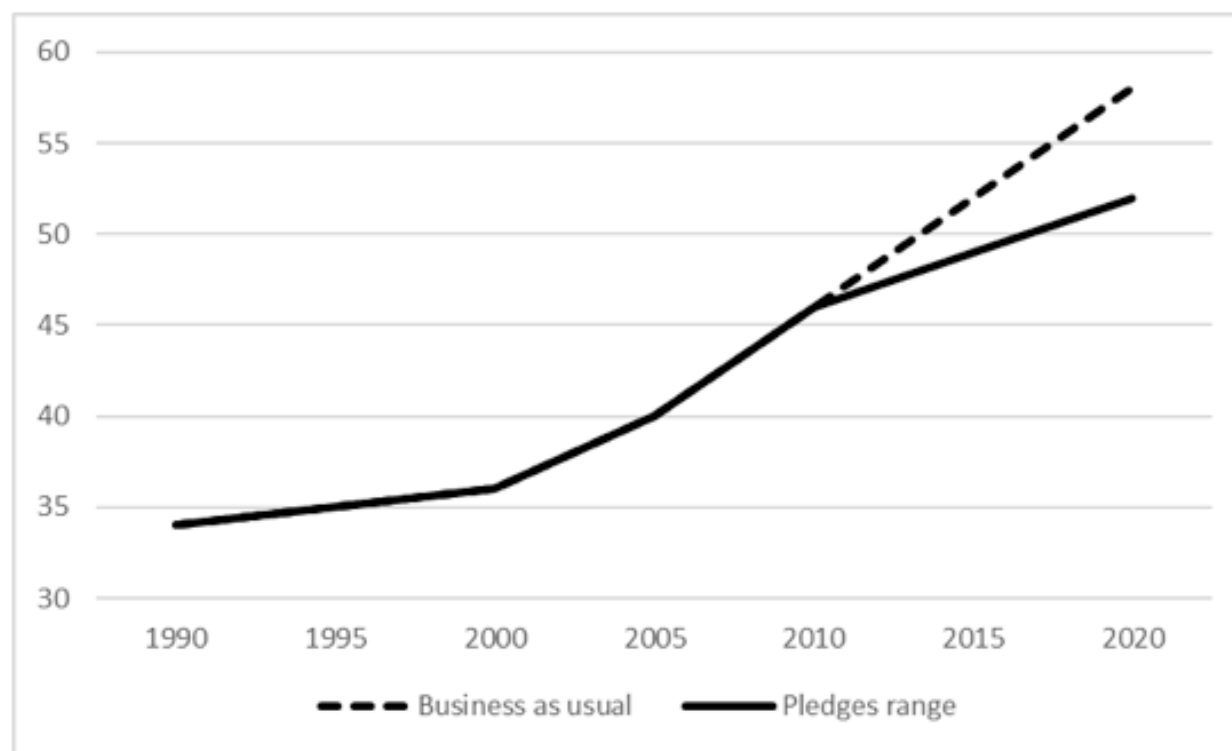
Source: World Bank (2013) *The Heat Turn Down: Why a 4C Warmer World Must Be Avoided*. Figure 18: Northern Hemisphere land area covered by hot ( $>0.43\sigma$ ), very hot ( $>2\sigma$ ) and extremely hot ( $>3\sigma$ ) summer temperatures, accessed on June 26<sup>th</sup> 2013.

## Exhibit 5.8. Water Already Limiting Agricultural Productivity, 2009



Source: Gonzalez-Valero, Juan. *Climate, Land Degradation, Agriculture and Food Security: Means to Adopt*. Report. September 2009. Accessed July 30, 2012.  
[http://www.wmo.int/wcc3/sessionsdb/documents/WS10\\_Gonzalez.pdf](http://www.wmo.int/wcc3/sessionsdb/documents/WS10_Gonzalez.pdf).

## Exhibit 5.12 Annual Greenhouse Gas Emissions With Full Implementation of Agreements, 2010-2020



Source: World Bank (2013) *The Heat Turn Down: Why a 4C Warmer World Must Be Avoided*.

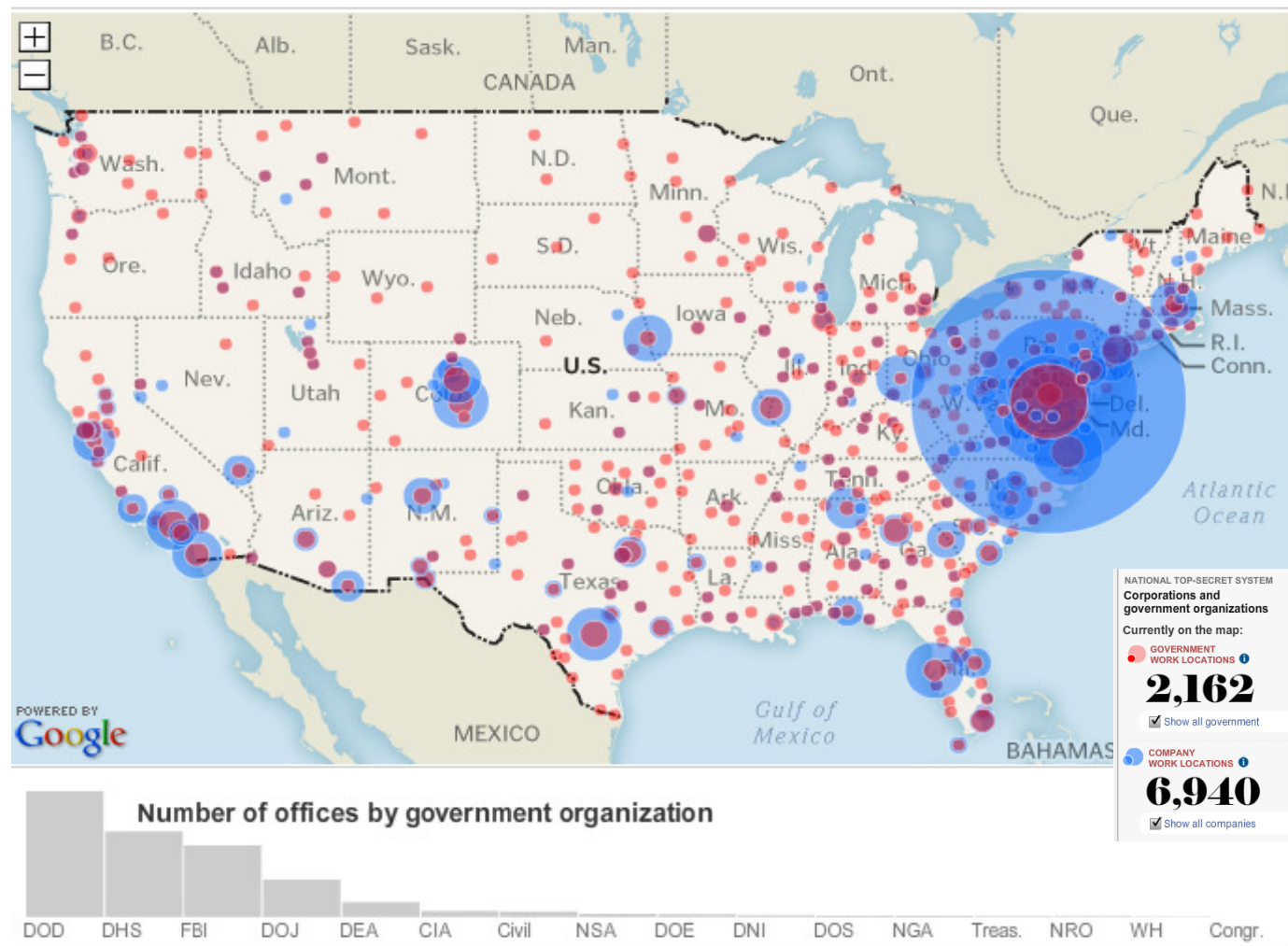
Figure 2B: Total greenhouse gases, historic and projected emissions, accessed on June 29<sup>th</sup> 2013.

# UNSTABLE MEANINGS

- Given all these negatives.....
- more and more expulsions from increasingly scarce livable space?
- GROWING inequality  
Rapidly growing population of refugees and internally displaced –about 60 million +
- ALL OUR LIBERAL DEMOCRACIES HAVE INSTITUTED  
PARTIAL SECURITY EMERGENCIES WHICH ALLOW THEM TO  
VIOLATE THEIR OWN LAWS REGARDING CITIZENS

.....WHO ARE WE THE CITIZENS?

# Map of government and private surveillance agencies in the US



Source: Washington Post. 2010. "Top Secret America," Interactive Maps. *Washington Post*, July 2010. <http://projects.washingtonpost.com/top-secret-america/map/>

,

- In Washington and the surrounding area, 33 building complexes for top-secret intelligence work are under construction or have been built since September 2001.
  - Together they occupy about 17 million square feet
  - the equivalent of almost three Pentagons or 22 US Capitol buildings.
-

# US Surveillance and Intelligence Agencies

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# The Black Budget

- US funding for the National Intelligence Program's agencies totaled \$52.6 billion 2014
- The top 5 spending agencies are
  1. Central intelligence Agency
  2. National Security Agency
  3. National Reconnaissance Agency
  4. National Geospatial-Intelligence Program
  5. General Defense Intelligence Program

# Spending mostly goes towards

Spending mostly goes towards

1. Data collection
2. Data analysis
3. Management
4. Facilities and support
5. Data processing and exploitation

And targets 5 objectives

- Warning U.S. leaders about critical events (\$20.1 billion)
- Combating terrorism (\$17.2)
- Stopping spread of illicit weapons (\$6.7)
- Conducting cyber operations (\$4.3)
- Defending against foreign espionage (\$3.8)

# .Who is dangerous

Department of Homeland Security issued warnings against:

- Veterans: right-wing extremists might recruit and radicalize "disgruntled military veterans."
- Environmentalists: "mainstream organizations with known or possible links to eco-terrorism."
- Nation of Islam: sent a report titled "Uncertain Leadership Succession Poses Risks"

FBI

- Improperly spied on American activists involved in First Amendment-protected activities
- Listed the Green Party as potential future target of eco-terrorism investigation.

What *We Know* the NSA Can Do

....So Far

thank you: [Jody Avirgan](#);

E.Snowden's Docs

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- It can track the numbers of both parties on a phone call, + location, time and duration. ([More](#))
- It can hack Chinese phones and text messages. ([More](#))
- It can set up fake internet cafes. ([More](#))
- It can spy on foreign leaders' cell phones. ([More](#))
- It can tap underwater fiber-optic cables. (Clarification: Shane Harris explains that there were reports the NSA was trying to tap directly into cables using submarines, but is now more likely trying to intercept information once it has reached land.) ([More](#))
- It can track communication within media organizations like Al Jazeera. ([More](#))
- It can hack into the UN video conferencing system. ([More](#))
- It can track bank transactions. ([More](#))
- It can monitor text messages. ([More](#))
- It can access your email, chat, and web browsing history. ([More](#))
- It can map your social networks. ([More](#))
- It can access your smart-phone app data. ([More](#))

- It is trying to get into secret networks like Tor, diverting users to less secure channels. ([More](#))
- It can go undercover within embassies to have closer access to foreign networks. ([More](#))
- It can set up listening posts on the roofs of buildings to monitor communications in a city. ([More](#))
- It can set up a fake LinkedIn. ([More](#))
- It can track the reservations at upscale hotels. ([More](#))
- It can intercept the talking points for Ban Ki-moon's meeting with Obama. ([More](#))
- It can crack cellphone encryption codes. ([More](#))
- It can hack computers that aren't connected to the internet using radio waves. (Update: Clarification -- the NSA can access offline computers through radio waves on which it has already installed hidden devices.) ([More](#))
- It can intercept phone calls by setting up fake base stations. ([More](#))
- It can remotely access a computer by setting up a fake wireless connection. ([More](#))

- It can fake a USB thumb drive that's actually a monitoring device. ([More](#))
  - It can crack all types of sophisticated computer encryption. (Update: It is *trying* to build this capability.) ([More](#))
  - It can go into online games and monitor communication. ([More](#))
  - It can intercept communications between aircraft and airports. ([More](#))
  - It can physically intercept deliveries, open packages, and make changes to devices. ([More](#)) ([h/t](#))
  - It can tap into the links between Google and Yahoo data centers to collect email and other data. ([More](#)) ([h/t](#))
- It can monitor, in real-time, Youtube views and Facebook "Likes." ([More](#))
- It can monitor online behavior through free Wi-Fi at Canadian airports. ([More](#))

- It can shut down chat rooms used by Anonymous and identify Anonymous members. ([More](#))
- It can use real-time data to help identify and locate targets for US drone strikes. ([More](#))
- It can collect the IP addresses of visitors to the Wikileaks website. ([More](#))
- It can spy on US law firms representing foreign countries in trade negotiations. ([More](#))
- It can post false information on the Internet in order to hurt the reputation of targets. ([More](#))
- It can intercept and store webcam images. ([More](#))
- It can record phone calls and replay them up to a month later. ([More](#))
- It can harvest images from emails, texts, videoconferencing and more and feed it into facial recognition software. ([More](#))

# just now

- A new European commission counter-terror plan will require the blanket collection and storage for up to five years of personal data records of all passengers flying in and out of Europe
- breaches a recent European court of justice ruling that blanket collection of personal data without detailed safeguards is a severe incursion on personal privacy.

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- who are we, the citizens?
- the need for transversal solidarities
- the city as a space that can unsettle surveillance

City: - complex but incomplete system

- spaces where the powerless also can *make* --a history, a culture, a future
- indeterminacy –the street, the global street

Camps: should they be allowed to become cities?

# The Global Street

- A space for making by those who lack access to formal instruments for making.

-making presence/estamos presentes

-no explicit (conventional, standard)  
objective

Urban capabilities –arising out of a mix of people  
and space

Does the City Have Speech

