Yara Sa'di-Ibraheem

# Out of Home, Out of Time. Temporalities of Displacement and Urban Regeneration

SCRIPTS Working Paper No. 54

SCRIPTS
CLUSTER OF EXCELLENCE
Contestations of the Liberal Script

## CLUSTER OF EXCELLENCE "CONTESTATIONS OF THE LIBERAL SCRIPT (SCRIPTS)"

SCRIPTS analyzes the contemporary controversies about liberal order from a historical, global, and comparative perspective. It connects academic expertise in the social sciences and area studies, collaborates with research institutions in all world regions, and maintains cooperative ties with major political, cultural, and social institutions. Operating since 2019 and funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG), the SCRIPTS Cluster of Excellence unites eight major Berlin-based research institutions: Freie Universität Berlin, the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, the Berlin Social Science Center (WZB), as well as the Hertie School, the German Institute for Economic Research (DIW), the Berlin branch of the German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA), the Centre for East European and International Studies (ZOiS), and the Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient (ZMO).

## SCRIPTS WORKING PAPER SERIES

The SCRIPTS Working Paper Series serves to disseminate the research results of work in progress prior to publication to encourage the exchange of ideas, enrich the discussion and generate further feedback. All SCRIPTS Working Papers are available on the SCRIPTS website at www.scripts-berlin.eu and can be ordered in print via email to office@scripts-berlin.eu.

Series-Editing and Production: Dr. Anke Draude,
Isabela De Sá Galvão, and Carol Switzer

Please cite this issue as: Sa'di-Ibraheem, Yara 2025: Out of Home, Out of Time. Temporalities of Displacement and Urban Regeneration, SCRIPTS Working Paper No. 54, Berlin: Cluster of Excellence 2055 'Contestations of the Liberal Script (SCRIPTS)'.

Cluster of Excellence
"Contestations of the Liberal Script (SCRIPTS)"
Freie Universität Berlin
Edwin-Redslob-Straße 29
14195 Berlin
Germany

+49 30 838 58502
office@scripts-berlin.eu

www.scripts-berlin.eu
Twitter: @scriptsberlin

## CONTENTS

Author

Abstract

1 Introduction 3

2 Time in human geography 5

3 Methodology 6

4 Narratives of temporalities 7
4.1 Baku 7
4.2 New Saigon 7
4.3 Recife 8
4.4 Jaffa 9

5 Discussion 10

6 References

## AUTHOR

**Yara Sa'di-Ibraheem** is a Human Geography scholar whose research explores the social-political aspect of infrastructure in colonial settings, particularly telecommunication, children's geographies and playgrounds, as well as neoliberal planning and governance and its effects on the spatial-temporal experiences of marginalised and Indigenous communities. She earned her PhD from the Department of Geography and Human Environment at Tel Aviv University in 2021, with a dissertation that investigated neoliberal planning in contested spaces through a micro-geographical lens. Her research has been published in several leading journals, including *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space, Time & Society, and Political Geography.*

yarasadi@gmail.com

# Out of Home, Out of Time

## Temporalities of Displacement and Urban Regeneration

Yara Sa'di-Ibraheem


### ABSTRACT

Dispossession, eviction, and displacement caused by neoliberal urban regeneration have become a major topic for criticism in the fields of geography and planning. Yet, recent critical research has argued that urban regeneration schemes are often explored through a universalising approach, detached from the local histories of the places studied. Furthermore, a significant part of published research on urban regeneration has not heeded the extensive literature on the role of temporalities in space production, despite its half-century presence in human geography. Hence, I suggest focusing *on time* as a tool for exploring *actually existing* neoliberal urban regeneration processes in the present. Furthermore, I underscore the need to examine non-Eurocentric temporalities and develop a *rooted* lexicon to reconceptualise urban processes by analysing four studies on the temporal experiences of residents living in neighbourhoods undergoing urban regeneration in Baku, Azerbaijan; New Saigon, Vietnam; Recife, Brazil; and the pre-1948 Palestinian city of Jaffa, Israel.


### 1 INTRODUCTION

This article follows some of the questions and leads suggested by critical geographers (Harris 2008; Lees 2012; Robinson 2011; Roy 2005; Schiller 2012; Ward 2010) regarding what urban regeneration, the process of redeveloping urban areas to address physical, social, and economic challenges, in the 21st Century might look like from a bottom-up perspective. Specifically, it examines residents' experiences: How is urban regeneration experienced? And how, through a grounded lens, could it be conceptualised and studied globally free of Eurocentrism? This article attempts to contribute to these debates by analysing urban regeneration schemes as both spatial and temporal phenomena. Arguably, *time* and residents' temporal experiences form a foundation and a lexicon for a more inclusive and *rooted* – as termed by Gautam Bhan (2019) – conceptualisation of urban processes.

Similar to other disciplines in the social sciences (Alatas 2003; Go 2016), a significant tranche of geography research has recently underscored the field's Eurocentric framing of processes and phenomena such as urban regeneration schemes (Harris 2008). Despite the fact that urban regeneration has become a global phenomenon, it is still conceptualised as a continuation of the history of European policy, which aimed to clear slums and reconstruct cities. This policy reached a peak in the 1940s, and, in the 1980s, it took a neoliberal turn, involving the private sector (Shaw/Butler 2020: 97). As a result, urban regeneration in the neoliberal era became a market-driven redevelopment strategy prioritising profit over social equity and public needs.

The end-products of regeneration and associated marketing campaigns also often underscore *modern* European liberal values, such as multiculturalism, eco-friendliness, and LGBTQ-friendliness, even when these values might be alien to some neighbourhoods' history and present-day culture (Ali et al. 2020; Boyer 1992; Hatherley 2011; Kreis 2012). For some, the resulting schemes may even be oppressive and cause displacement and dispossession (Harvey 2003).[1] Hence, recent studies

1 The large numbers of people displaced annually are often not

challenge not only the outcomes of such approaches but also the Eurocentric conceptualisation of urban regeneration. These scholarly efforts have revealed the *actual existing* – as termed by Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore (2002) – racial neoliberalism and identified how urban regeneration is merged into historical racial power relations and violent colonial structures that can perpetuate the dispossession and displacement of Indigenous populations and marginalised communities (Bhagat 2018; Coulthard 2014).

These studies highlight the different contexts in which regimes influence planning schemes, including forms of state intervention and historical, cultural, and economic powers. For example, Andrew Harris (2008) contrasts London's state-facilitated gentrification projects, focused on attracting global capital, with Mumbai's redevelopment schemes, where slum clearance and displacement are deeply intertwined with local political patronage and class inequalities, offering a comparative perspective on Eurocentric and non-Eurocentric models of urban regeneration. Moreover, most studies suggest a greater focus on cities from the Global South (including the insights from settler-colonial and marginalised geographers), not as case studies but, rather, as sources for theorisation (González 2016; Harris 2008). The four cases presented in this article further highlight the absurdity of categorising and discussing certain processes (such as those embedded within settler-colonialism) as pertaining to urban regeneration when their actual context is altogether different.

Yet, despite recurring critiques, urban regeneration schemes are still frequently employed by government bodies and policymakers as a universal panacea based on identifiable stages and framed within a specific timeline. Moreover, research on their more detrimental consequences, such as displacement and dispossession, seems to be limited in both scope and nuance. For example, displacement has traditionally been reduced to processes involving purely spatial events, and only in the last decade has *time* been foregrounded in studies examining its effects on the displaced (Davidson 2009: 223; Kern 2016: 444; Lees 2012: 155). Furthermore, the few scholars that have addressed time in urban regeneration processes have done so through an abstract lens, alluding to a Newtonian mode of predictability, linearity, and singular cause-and-effect (Adam 1998: 46). In this regard, struggles in the literature against displacement tend to focus solely on the *event* of eviction and the ensuing claims for compensation, hence limiting the discourse to what Libby Porter (2014: 399) called „possessory politics" – politics of rights recognition framed around possessory rights. Consequently, debates and claims are not only restricted in scope but also conceal the very power structures, both local and historical, that cause displacement in the first place (Porter 2014: 399).

Over the last decade, a growing body of research (addressing spatio-temporal experiences, temporal power relations, temporal modes, and time presentation) has suggested that *representational* time[2] be explored as an analytical framework in urban studies (Lombard 2013; Sakizlioğlu 2014). This approach seeks to expose cultural expressions of time, such as memory, spatio-temporal experiences, and the poetics of space and time (Bachelard 2014), and to incorporate them in the conceptualisation of urban-making processes.

Building on this stream of scholarship, I suggest linking the recent literature on time as an analytical framework in urban studies with critical

acknowledged by governmental bodies and real-estate companies as an inherent structural feature of the neoliberal urban regeneration process. Rather, displacement is positioned as simply a regrettable byproduct of a necessary evolution.

2 Alluding to Lefebvre's (1991) representational space, which is more about people's lived experience than the perceived and conceived spaces.

approaches, including new comparative urbanism. The bulk of research on time and urban regeneration could, I believe, function as a valuable foundation for theorisation that stems from the experiences of Indigenous and marginalised communities rather than imposing a global discourse rooted in Europe. In Part 1 of this article, I address the re-emergence of time in human geography. Part 2 elaborates the methodology used, based on the relational urban comparison approach. Part 3 adopts the *narratives of temporalities* lens to engage with four studies on the temporal experiences of residents living in neighbourhoods undergoing urban regeneration. Finally, in Part 4, I discuss some of the temporal modes arising from these four cases to consider how urban regeneration processes and displacement might be explored in a way that is rooted in bottom-up data and grounded in first-hand accounts of the impacts of such interventions.

## 2 TIME IN HUMAN GEOGRAPHY

The notion of *time geography* is frequently associated with Torsten Hägerstrand (1970). Yet, his research is often criticised for its *physicalist* approach, in which space and time are taken as absolute (Merriman 2012: 16, citing Thrift 1977), and for its lack of attention to human agency and power relations based on ethnicity, gender, and class (Massey 1991; Merriman 2012: 12; Rose 1993). Subsequent approaches to time and temporality and their relationship to space were developed in various directions (Harvey 1969; Lefebvre 1991; Massey 2005; Pred 1977; Thrift 1977). In her documentary investigation, Fraya Frehse (2021: 392) identifies three kinds of social temporalities in the works of prominent scholars'[3] works conceptualising the spatial dimension of their objects of study. The first is *immediacy*, most prevalent among sociologists, referring to the *now*. The second is *historicity*, which Frehse (2021) calls an entanglement between categories related to the past, present, and future – for example, Lefebvre's (1991: 42) primary research focuses on social practices and everyday life as historical products. Therefore, his conception of the „social space" dialectically combines the past, the present, and „the possible".[4] The last of the three is *history* (Frehse 2021: 392), understood as a „diachronic sequence of social transformations brought about by powerful social forces". This concept draws on Pierre Bourdieu's (1996) thesis on the contribution of the *habitus*, which embodies history (and the immediate) to constitute the habitat. Frehse (2021) demonstrates how canonic sociologists use combinations of these temporalities when employing different forms of space as methodological tools to explore the production of space.

Despite the extensive literature on temporalities regarding space production and almost fifty years since its reemergence in human geography, time is still not fully integrated into urban studies research, particularly in studies dealing with urban regeneration. Büge Sakizlioğlu (2014), for example, demonstrates how a temporal approach may afford a basis for rethinking core concepts in the field, such as approaching urban regeneration as a *process* that residents experience even before the eviction, rather than as an event that can be simply researched from a pre or post perspective. Her argument is also essential in facilitating the linkage of urban studies with the growing tranche of literature regarding spatio-temporal experiences, such as *waiting* and Bourdieu's (1996) notion of *empty time*, both of which are experienced by various disempowered groups, including immigrants, colonised people, inhabitants in informal neighbourhoods, and the unemployed (Bayrat 2007; Chakrabarty 2000; Jeffery 2008; Lombard 2013). Some of these studies have emphasised

3 Considered to be more sociologists than geographers.

4 According to Frehse (2021: 396), in Lefebvre's (1991) conceptualisation, "immediacy and historicity coexist within social practice".

the need to focus on emerging alternative temporalities instead of addressing waiting as empty time (Brun 2015; Colon 2011; Gray 2011; Kracauer 1995; Lombard 2013; Mountz 2011).

Returning to urban regeneration studies, as noted earlier, more and more scholars have begun to consider time with greater scrutiny. For example, following Lefebvre's „Rhythmanalysis" (2013), several studies have explored the temporal tensions generated under urban alteration processes (Edensor 2012; Kärrholm 2009; Simpson 2008). Some demonstrate how urban regeneration, including gentrification, reorganises social life, imposing rhythms and time spaces that prioritise the events and practices of economic activities as opposed to residential needs in low and middle-class neighbourhoods (Degen 2010; Kern 2016). Not only do such new temporalities change the rhythms of the residents' lives, but they also pose a barrier for those unable to participate in the new regulated time, causing their temporal displacement (Kern 2016: 442). Therefore, in such cases, time is both the subject of change *and* a tool through which gentrification's „slow violence" is enforced (Kern 2016: 442). Nevertheless, as well as capturing the power of the imposed temporalities of evictions and displacements, many of these studies also highlight the multiplicity of experiences of rhythms and temporalities, including marginalised ones, and the dynamic nature of time-space (Degen 2017). For example, by focusing on residents' sense of time in the context of informal urban settlement, Melanie Lombard (2013) identifies multiple temporalities aside from waiting and uncertainty, including the construction of identity, hope, and belonging, and time-bound tactics of resistance.

Yet, as Monica Degen (2017) points out, the potential of these dynamics and the un-dichotomous temporalities might be missed, as scholars tend to focus on a specific period of time – a temporal window in which the remaking of the neighbourhood occurs. Therefore, methodologically, she argues, there is a need for a longitudinal exploration that enables us to discern alterations in temporalities, such as in her study on Barcelona's cultural quarter regarding the dominion of neoliberal powers and the rise of what she defines as „resistance of place" (Degen 2017: 142) This methodological intervention is arguably crucial when thinking globally and exploring urban regeneration in marginalised spaces where structural – colonial and racial – power relations are embodied.

## 3 METHODOLOGY

Following the call to theorise from the Global South – to move away from universal theories and, instead, develop new ones and a lexicon derived from their contexts (Alatas 2003; Harris 2008; Roy 2005) – in this study, special attention is given to grounded empirical research in cities outside Western Europe, focusing on the Global South, the Middle East, or former Soviet Republics. In addition, the study follows a *relational comparative* approach, recognising that urban processes and city politics in the neoliberal era are interconnected in a dynamic sense (Ward 2010: 482). For example, some urban regeneration schemes are supported by global and non-local investors, such as the World Bank. Moreover, many projects target international tourism and wealthy foreign communities. Hence, cities and neighbourhoods should not be addressed separately but rather as part of broader *global* systems and processes (Massey 1991; Ward 2008). Following Kevin Ward (2010), Ananya Roy (2003), Jane Jacobs (2012), and others, this article attempts to move away from the classical comparison that concentrates on similarities and differences between cases and contexts. Instead, it heeds the suggestion to think in terms of multiplicity (Jacobs 2012: 906), exploring the entanglements between the dynamics and trajectories of different cities

and supporting a relational comparison ‚that uses different cities to pose questions of one another' (Ward 2010: 480).

Here, I focus on four studies exploring residents' sense of time in neighbourhoods undergoing urban regeneration in Baku, Azerbaijan; New Saigon, Vietnam; Recife, Brazil; and the pre-1948 Palestinian city of Jaffa, Israel. While my discussion may signal certain similarities or differences in temporalities and time spaces across these cases, my goal is to apply holistic, interconnected thinking to temporalities – both those created as a result of global policies and schemes and the opposing or alternative ones emerging in different contexts. I also bring in Frehse's (2021) categorisation of temporalities into this analysis.

## 4 NARRATIVES OF TEMPORALITIES

### 4.1 BAKU

In 2011, Human Rights Watch (2012) published a report based on 67 interviews with residents living in middle-class neighbourhoods undergoing urban regeneration in Baku, Azerbaijan. According to the report, the scheme involved the expropriation and illegal demolition of thousands of properties to construct parks, modern infrastructures, touristic venues, and luxury residential buildings. For example, the coastal neighbourhood, Bayil, became the National Flag Square, covering 60 hectares and Baku Crystal Hall, a huge indoor arena, was built there to host the 2012 Eurovision Song Contest. The Human Rights Watch (2012) report documents how, to make way for these large-scale developments, residents were forcibly displaced, buildings were destroyed or made inhabitable, and homeowners were detained without explanation. Time and timing played a major role in the disempowerment of residents, who were kept waiting and rendered uncertain: people did not know when the bulldozers would come to demolish their homes or when evictions might occur. Infrastructures and parts of buildings were destroyed gradually and systematically, yet seemingly randomly, for months.

While the report focuses mainly on the violent events surrounding the evictions, the illegal expropriations, and the unfair compensation, residents' narratives of their own experiences reveal additional aspects of their displacement. For example, some interviewees relate their present displacement to their past: „We lost our past"[5]; „My husband's grandfather built our house; it has been in our family for over 100 years".[6] For others, displacement also overshadowed their future plans: „I'm 47 years old, and I should be helping my children get on with their lives. But, instead, I'm starting everything from scratch because they wrecked everything we've built for ourselves".[7] Losing control over time and freedom of choice materialises in their decisions regarding compensation: „I don't want to take the apartment that they are offering us. I prefer monetary compensation so that I can make my own choice about where to live".[8] Hence, these interviewees do not engage in what Porter (2014) terms „possessory politics" but rather express the symbolic and physical violence they experienced, including waiting, pressure, living in uncertainty, and having their life trajectories forcibly redirected.

### 4.2 NEW SAIGON

Temporal experiences similar to those of Baku's residents can be found in other studies worldwide, albeit at different times and on different scales. For example, an urban regeneration

5 Interview with Bashkhanum Abbasova, Baku, interview by the Human Rights Watch (26 January 2012).

6 Interview with Firuza Gulieva, Baku, interview by the Human Rights Watch (2 June 2011).

7 Interview with Aysel A., Baku, interview by the Human Rights Watch (11 December 2011).

8 Interview with Firuza Gulieva, Baku, interview by the Human Rights Watch (2 June 2011).

scheme approved in 1998 in New Saigon (Thu Thiem), Vietnam, led to the eviction of approximately 15,000 households, some relating to families who had lived in the area since the French colonial era. Due to repeated delays, demolition and evictions continued for several years, during which people were forced to live among piles of rubble. Similar to Baku's interviewees, residents in New Saigon demonstrate a conception of time regarding displacement that stretches beyond the urban regeneration project timeframe and even their lifetime. In his study on this scheme, Erik Harms (2013: 360) describes how residents are upset about their displacement from the land that, as one resident explains, has „been in the family for three generations, and which held the tombs of his parents, as well as a significant shrine (*miˆeu*) to his lineage" (Harms 2013: 360).

Moreover, Harms (2013: 346) argues that, despite the scheme's timeframe being based on a linear logic directed toward the completion of the project, matters of *when* and *how long* are unknown components that become the core of the alienating temporal relations of uncertainty and contradictions among locals. Hence, residents lose control over time, and their lives become intertwined with the temporality of development, planning, and funding streams. Nevertheless, the study shows that not all residents experience temporal uncertainty in the same way. The effects of „eviction time" vary, Harms (2013) argues, depending on class and gender, among other variables. As a result, while some people suffer from an inability to plan their future, others (frequently, well-off men) are turning toward an alternative temporality based on spontaneous possibilities: „their indifference to time lets them play with time" (Harms 2013: 365).

This group transforms waiting into an economically productive form of social experience. Although it can hardly be considered an „unconscious resistance", according to Harms (2013), it seems to echo the majority of studies on alternative temporalities and agency-under-waiting among disempowered groups. Nevertheless, the cases documented by Harms (2013) in New Saigon seem to represent individualistic choices and strategies of playing with time. This raises the question of individual versus collective alternative temporalities and their implications within the context of neoliberal time. The diversity of time experiences and choices in forming new temporalities seem more limited in less diverse communities – in terms of class and ethnicity – as shown in the following two studies.

### 4.3 RECIFE

Martijn Koster (2020) conducted a 15-year anthropological study in a marginalised urban area in the north of Recife in Brazil. The city, home to approximately 1.6 million residents, has traditionally been the destination of large inflows of migrants from the arid rural areas of north-eastern Brazil. Koster (2020: 189) emphasises that „many of these migrants have settled in illegal dwellings and, over the years, have lived through several urban interventions that targeted their homes and surroundings". Moreover, the city is characterised by its *pro-poor* approach, which „has emphasised social inclusion and presented urban development as a vehicle to improve the living conditions of the poor" (Koster 2020: 189).[9] In his research for the study, Koster (2020) focused on temporality through an anthropological methodology, which enabled him to capture different forms of time (*people's time* versus *project time*), the diversity of the population affected by urban planning, and how urban regeneration interventions have become a constant presence in people's lives.

9 According to Koster (2020: 189), „especially through a system of laws that was implemented in 1987 to legalise the slums and provide them with infrastructure and prioritise shelter and user rights over property rights among others".

While these themes seem to be shared throughout residents' experiences in other cities, both Koster's (2020) longitudinal research and the infrastructural conditions of the *favelas* (slums) shed light on a less-discussed aspect: the long-term implications of urban schemes. Moreover, Koster's (2020) follow-up with interviewees after their displacement and subsequent resettlement enabled him to capture their homes as „temporal landmarks of births and deaths", as described by Eugênia Motta (2014: 148). The stories gathered by Koster (2020) demonstrate that urban interventions constitute significant life events for these marginalised city residents, probably more so than for other groups, as they shake the residents' fragile interconnected facets of life such as employment and social networks, which seem to collapse faster once residents are displaced or their homes demolished. In this regard, Koster (2020: 196) argues: „Spatial stability, living in a place with good prospects of staying there, has become a privilege in the continuously changing city – a privilege not granted to the urban poor". Despite the *pro-poor* approach adopted in Recife, this research also reveals the authorities' failure to include people's status – their quality of life – as part of efforts to improve the space itself: while the built space was enriched, residents were unable to improve their status despite the compensations and facilities they were offered.

### 4.4 JAFFA

The final study I reference revolves around the Al-'Ajami neighbourhood in Jaffa (Sa'di-Ibraheem 2020). During the British Mandate of Palestine, Jaffa was an economic and cultural urban centre. However, during the 1948 war (the Nakba or Palestinian catastrophe), 95% of Jaffa's inhabitants became refugees, leaving only 3'647 inhabitants (Tel Aviv Municipality 1984: 12). In the aftermath of the Nakba (The Palestinian catastrophe), the Israeli Military Government, established to govern the remaining Palestinian population, concentrated this population in the district of Al-'Ajami, placing them in other displaced refugees' houses together with newly arrived Jewish immigrants. In the following years, the city was neglected, and although not implemented (until the mid-1980s), urban regeneration plans were proposed in the municipality, aiming to transform the area into middle- and upper-class neighbourhoods.

In the aforementioned study, interviewees narrated the different temporalities and rhythms they had faced throughout the various stages of the urban alteration scheme and their ways of coping with its challenges. In the first few years after 1948, residents described the prolonged *waiting mode* to which they were subjected while all renovations were banned and houses were demolished around them. Yet, unexpectedly, along with the continuity of the *freezing* policies, through personal and communal initiatives, residents turned *empty time* into a „breathing space" (Sa'di-Ibraheem 2020) and managed to establish a multitude of grassroots organisations and develop a community identity and sense of belonging.

However, in the early 1990s, a new phase of displacement and dispossession was implemented by Israeli official bodies and private actors through urban regeneration tools that included building and renovations, which led to a sudden acceleration in the rhythm of Palestinian lives. Eventually, the two expressions of control over residents' time – first, through an imposed empty time and, later, through rapid acceleration and uncertainty – followed the same rationale. Both time rhythms were premised on the deprivation of a sense of normalcy among the Palestinian citizens and were targeted at their displacement and replacement by *affluent Jewish residents*.

While Jaffa may perhaps seem overly unconventional to be considered an urban regeneration case, it is often treated and discussed as such in academic and professional discourse. Hence, it

offers insights into the historical power relations of settler colonialism and its continuity through – and disguised under – urban planning schemes. It seems that *playing with time* helped some residents at certain stages and for short periods, yet it kept the community as a whole *out of time*. Similar to the Recife case, tracking Jaffian residents' experiences over several decades revealed the dynamic changes to time and space and their long-term effects on lives far beyond the events and instances of renovation. This methodology proved crucial in addressing settler-colonial geographies, enabling the identification of structural violence and displacement against native communities. Moreover, it added a collective-political-temporal dimension to people's experiences and narrations.

## 5 DISCUSSION

These four cases not only deal with non-Western-European countries but also demonstrate a variety of historical contexts, including Soviet, colonial, and settler regimes. This very variety renders their grouping under one common banner and within a unified Eurocentric discourse peculiar and accentuates the challenges of global research. While some studies have underscored time as a methodical tool to deconstruct the unified conceptualisation of urban regeneration and show how it is experienced, they have kept such examinations local and case-based. Hence, departing from the notion of the necessity of integrating time as an analytical framework in urban regeneration studies, in this section, I seek to tackle the question of how addressing multiple cases can shed new light on urban processes and how they might be studied from a critical perspective. To do this, I consider the temporal terms and logics derived from the four studies combined with Frehse's (2021) temporal categorisations.

Studies on time and urban regeneration have already raised potential alternative lexica, such as *waiting* and *uncertainty*. Such terms position urban regeneration alongside less common contexts in planning, such as refugee camps and immigration experiences. According to the four cases surveyed here, it would seem that the temporal experiences of residents in neighbourhoods undergoing regeneration intensify in periods marked by delays – unexpected postponements in the linear real-estate timeframes. Yet, repeatedly, the corporations and government bodies demonstrate the capacity to deal with such *non-abstract time* and even use it as temporal means of pressuring and displacing the residents. Nevertheless, studies also show that these *grey* periods create opportunities for residents to initiate, negotiate, and *play with* time, such as in the case of New Saigon and Jaffa in the 1980s.

Turning to Frehse's (2021) temporal categorisation, the waiting (and the different ways of coping with it) corresponds mainly with the notion of *immediacy* – temporalities experienced in the window of time when regeneration schemes are about to start or are already underway. Similar to the scholars Frehse (2021) references, *immediacy* temporalities are primarily captured in the four aforementioned studies through more than one form of space, which leads to exploring various aspects of the phenomenon and its relation to multiple theories. For example, the waiting mode and how residents coped with it came to light in different *situations* – such as those described in Baku, where residents did not know when their house might be demolished; in the *everyday life* of residents living among the rubble in Jaffa in the 1950s–1980s; and in the *social space*, where ethnicity-, gender-, and class-based power relations exerted a direct influence on how waiting was experienced and coped with. Moreover, such experiences reveal that urban regeneration processes are not necessarily marked by slippery, aesthetic, and *slow violence* but, rather, by various types

of violence, unpredictability, and an unreliable rhythm.

While most studies on time and urban regeneration seem to be bound within the temporal logic of *immediacy*, interviewees continuously raised additional types of temporality, some of which have received little attention. Certain temporal experiences may allude to the *historicity and history temporalities*, as suggested by Frehse (2021), where the past and future are more active in exploring the present. For example, *historical temporality* may be captured when residents relate their displacement to their past – the family who had lived in that house or on that land for generations – and, hence, to memories, belonging, and identity. Moreover, temporality also refers to their imagined future, control of their destiny, and control over time. In this sense, displacement affects their time conception that begins before their birth, endures during their lifetime, and is projected onto the lives of future generations. This notion is evident in the Baku case, where an interviewee expressed misgivings regarding her children's destiny now that she has to start from scratch as a direct result of displacement. Similar sentiments were expressed by a Jaffian activist, who feared that the younger generation would, one day, be forced out of Jaffa as they would not be able to afford the ever-rising cost of housing in the city's regenerated neighbourhoods.

While *historicity* plays a significant role in residents' displacement experiences, its enduring, dialectal, and dynamic nature makes it elusive when researching temporalities in a specific (narrow) period. Therefore, longer-term studies that engage with interviewees regarding their past and future not only enable researchers to capture dynamic spatial power relations (Degen 2007) but also assist in uncovering various expressions of *historicity*. This methodology contributes to understanding the choices, reasons, and, eventually, the static situation of Recife's residents, for instance. Moreover, *historicity* might shed light on the various experiences under waiting conditions in contexts beyond urban regeneration.

Related yet different are Jaffians' time narratives, which seem to have an additional temporal layer. Interviewees' stories share a collective starting point: the Palestinian catastrophe in 1948. Moreover, other political events and policy shifts also consist of themes that interweave their personal stories with a collective narrative. This time conception alludes to a consciousness of historical subjects or to what Mark Rifkin (2017) called „temporal orientation": how natives look at their places and how these places are being transformed.

Hence, in this article, I offer methodological approaches that can be followed to widen our understanding of how urban regeneration and displacement are perceived and experienced by residents *beyond* spatiality. I argue for the need to employ *time* as an analytical concept to study urban processes beyond the temporality of *immediacy* locally and globally. While only a few terms and temporalities are discussed here, there are probably many more to be gleaned from further studies. Yet, they exemplify how such temporalities are needed to capture the variety of the *actual existing* urban regeneration processes in the present, as well as to explore the interplay of such schemes within collective and personal histories and futures. Arguably, such temporalities not only demonstrate a grounded perspective on urban processes but also challenge the Eurocentric basis for understanding the global neoliberal urban planning phenomenon.

## REFERENCES


Adam, Barbara 1998: Timescapes of Modernity. The Environment and Invisible Hazards, Hove: Psychology Press.

Alatas, Syed Farid 2003: Academic dependency and the global division of labour in the social sciences, *Current Sociology* 51(6): 599–613.

Ali, Lena / Haase, Annegret / Heiland, Stefan 2020: Gentrification through green regeneration? Analysing the interaction between inner-city green space development and neighbourhood change in the context of regrowth. The case of Lene-Voigt-Park in Leipzig, Eastern Germany, *Land* 9(1): 1–24.

Bachelard, Gaston 2014: The Poetics of Space, New York, NY: Penguin.

Bhan, Gautam 2019: Notes on a Southern urban practice, *Environment and Urbanization* 31(2): 639–654.

Bayart, Jean-François 2007: Global Subjects. A Political Critique of Globalisation, Cambridge: Polity.

Bourdieu, Pierre 1996: Physical Space, Social Space and Habitus, Report No. 10, Oslo: University of Oslo & Institute for Social Research.

Boyer, M. Christine 1992: Cities for sale. Merchandising history at South Street Seaport, in: Sorkin, Michael (ed.), *Variations on a Theme Park. The New American City and the End of Public Space*, New York, NY: Hill & Wang, 181–204.

Brenner, Neil / Theodore, Nik 2002: Cities and the geographies of ‚actually existing neoliberalism', *Antipode* 34(3): 349–379.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh 2000: Provincializing Europe. Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Conlon, Deirdre 2011: Waiting. Feminist perspectives on the spacings/timings of migrant (im) mobility, *Gender, Place & Culture* 18(3): 353–360.

Coulthard, Glen Sean 2014: Red Skin, White Masks. Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Davidson, Mark 2009: Displacement, space and dwelling. Placing gentrification debate, *Ethics, Place & Environment* 12(2): 219–234.

Dear, Michael 2005: Comparative urbanism, *Urban Geography* 26(3): 247–251.

Degen, Monica 2010: Consuming urban rhythms. Let's ravalejar, in: Edensor, Tim (ed.): Geographies of Rhythm. Nature, Place, Mobilities and Bodies, Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 21–32.

Degen, Monica 2017: Urban regeneration and ‚resistance of place'. Foregrounding time and experience, *Space and Culture* 20(2): 141–155.

Edensor, Tim 2010: Walking in rhythms. Place, regulation, style, and the flow of experience, *Visual Studies* 25(1): 69–79.

Frehse, Fraya 2021: Time and the production of space in sociology, *Sociologia & Antropologia* 11(2): 389–414.

Go, Julian 2016: Globalising sociology, turning South. Perspectival realism and the Southern standpoint, *Sociologica* 10(2): 1–42.

González, Sara 2016: Looking comparatively at displacement and resistance to gentrification in Latin American cities, *Urban Geography* 37(8): 1245–1252.

Gray, Breda 2011: Becoming non-migrant. Lives worth waiting for, *Gender, Place and Culture* 18(3): 417–432.

Hägerstrand, Torsten 1970: What about people in regional science?, *Papers in Regional Science* 24(1): 7–21.

Harms, Erik 2013: Eviction time in the new Saigon. Temporalities of displacement in the rubble of development, *Cultural Anthropology* 28(2): 344–368.

Harris, Andrew 2008: From London to Mumbai and back again. Gentrification and public policy in comparative perspective, *Urban Studies* 45(12): 2407–2428.

Harvey, David 1969: Explanation in Geography, London: Edward Arnold.

Harvey, David 2003: Accumulation by dispossession, in: Harvey, David (ed.): The New Imperialism, New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 137–182.

Hatherley, Owen 2011: A Guide to the New Ruins of Great Britain, London: Verso Books.

Human Rights Watch 2012: ‚They took everything from me'. Forced evictions, unlawful expropriations, and house demolitions in Azerbaijan's capital, New York, NY: Human Rights Watch, Inc., https://www.hrw.org/report/2012/02/29/they-took-everything-me/forced-evictions-unlawful-expropriations-and-house (accessed 5 June 2021).

Jacobs, Jane M. 2012: Commentary. Comparing comparative urbanisms, *Urban Geography* 33(6): 904–914.

Jeffrey, Craig 2008: Waiting, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 26(6): 954–958.

*Kärrholm, Mattias* 2009: To the rhythm of shopping. On synchronisation in urban landscapes of consumption, *Social & Cultural Geography* 10(4): 421–440.

Kärrholm, Mattias 2017: The temporality of territorial production. The case of Stortorget, Malmö, *Social & Cultural Geography* 18(5): 683–705.

Kern, Leslie 2016: Rhythms of gentrification. Eventfulness and slow violence in a happening neighbourhood, *Cultural Geographies* 23(3): 441–457.

Koster, Martijn 2020: An ethnographic perspective on urban planning in Brazil. Temporality, diversity and critical urban theory, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 44(2): 185–199.

Kracauer, Siegfried 1995: Those who wait, in: Kracauer, Siegfried (ed.): The Mass Ornament. Weimar Essays (ed. and transl. by Levin, Thomas Y.), 129–140.

Kreis, Amanda M. 2012: Gay gentrification. Whitewashed fictions of LGBT privilege and the new interest-convergence dilemma, *Law & Inequality* 31(1): 117–163.

*Lees, Loretta* 2012: The geography of gentrification. Thinking through comparative urbanism, *Progress in Human Geography* 36(2): 155–171.

Lefebvre, Henri 1991: The Production of Space, Oxford: Blackwell.

Lefebvre, Henri 2013: Rhythmanalysis. Space, time and everyday life, London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Lombard, Melanie 2013: Struggling, suffering, hoping, waiting. Perceptions of temporality in two informal neighbourhoods in Mexico, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 31(5): 813–829.

Massey, Doreen 1991: The political place of locality studies, *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 23(2): 267–281

Massey, Doreen 2005: For Space, London: Sage.

McFarlane, Colin / Robinson, Jennifer 2012: Introduction. Experiments in comparative urbanism, *Urban Geography* 33(6): 765–773.

Merriman, Peter 2012: Human geography without time-space, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 37(1): 13–27.

Motta, Eugênia 2014: Houses and economy in the favela, *Vibrant: Virtual Brazilian Anthropology* 11(1): 118–158.

Mountz, Alison 2011: Where asylum-seekers wait. Feminist counter-topographies of sites between states, *Gender, Place & Culture* 18(3): 381–399.

Nijman, Jan 2007: Introduction. Comparative urbanism, *Urban Geography* 28(1): 1–6.

Porter, Libby 2014: Possessory politics and the conceit of procedure. Exposing the cost of rights under conditions of dispossession, *Planning Theory* 13(4): 387–406.

*Pred, Allan* 1977: The choreography of existence. Comments on Hägerstrand's time-geography and its usefulness, *Economic Geography* 53(2): 207–221.

Rifkin, Mark 2017: Beyond Settler Time, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Robinson, Jennifer 2011: Cities in a world of cities. The comparative gesture, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 35(1): 1–23.

Rose, Gillian 1993: Feminism & Geography. The Limits of Geographical Knowledge, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Roy, Ananya 2003: Paradigms of propertied citizenship. Transnational techniques of analysis, *Urban Affairs Review* 38(4): 463–491.

Roy, Ananya 2005: Urban informality. Toward an epistemology of planning, *Journal of the American Planning Association* 71(2): 147–158.

Sa'di-Ibraheem, Yara 2020: Jaffa's times. Temporalities of dispossession and the advent of natives' reclaimed time, *Time & Society* 29(2): 340–361.

Sakizlioğlu, Büge 2014: Inserting temporality into the analysis of displacement. Living under the threat of displacement, *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie* 105(2): 206–220.

Schiller, Nina Glick 2012: A comparative relative perspective on the relationships between migrants and cities, *Urban Geography* 33(6): 879–903.

Shaw, Kate / Butler, Tim 2020: Urban regeneration, in: Kobayashi, Audrey (ed.): International Encyclopedia of Human Geography, Amsterdam: Elsevier, 97–103.

Simpson, Paul 2008: Chronic everyday life. Rhythmanalysing street performance, *Social & Cultural Geography* 9(7): 807–829.

Smith, Michael Peter 1995: The disappearance of world cities and the globalisation of local politics, in: Knox, Paul L. / Taylor, Peter J. (eds.): World Cities in a World System, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 249–266.

Solomon, Marisa 2019: ‚The ghetto is a gold mine'. The racialised temporality of betterment, *International Labor and Working-Class History* 95: 76–94.

Tel Aviv Municipality 1984: The Arabs of Jaffa. Situation Review, Summary and Recommendations in the Field of Welfare, Tel Aviv: Department of Social Services.

Thrift, Nigel 1977: Time and theory in human geography. Part I, *Progress in Human Geography* 1(1): 65–101.

Ward, Kevin 2008: Toward a comparative (re)turn in urban studies? Some reflections, *Urban Geography* 29(5): 405–410.

Ward, Kevin 2010: Towards a relational comparative approach to the study of cities, *Progress in Human Geography* 34(4): 471–487.

Wunderlich, Filipa Matos 2013: Place-temporality and urban place-rhythms in urban analysis and design. An aesthetic akin to music, *Journal of Urban Design* 18(3): 383–408.

## RECENT SCRIPTS WORKING PAPERS

**No. 30 2023** Daniel Wajner
Delegitimizing International Institutions. How Global Populism Challenges the Liberal International Order

**No. 31 2023** Steven Livingston
The Nature of Beliefs. An Exploration of Cognitive Science and Sociological Approaches to the Crisis of Democracy

**No. 32 2023** Jiwei Ci
States, Scripts, and Democratisation

**No. 33 2023** Heiko Giebler, Lukas Antoine, Rasmus Ollroge, Jürgen Gerhards, Michael Zürn, Johannes Giesecke, and Macartan Humphreys
The "Public Attitudes towards the Liberal Script" (PALS) Survey. Conceptual Framework, Implementation, and Data

**No. 34 2023** Tanja A. Börzel, Valentin Krüsmann, Julia Langbein, and Lunting Wu
Colliding Scripts in Asia? Comparing China's Belt and Road Initiative and the EU Global Gateway Strategy

**No. 35 2024** Alexander Kalgin
How Economics and Sociology Contest the Meaning of "Social Inequality". The Russian Case

**No. 36 2024** Arie M. Kacowicz
Before and After the Liberal International Order. Overlapping and Diverging Trajectories of the International Society and the Liberal Order

**No. 37 2024** Cristiane de Andrade Lucena Carneiro and Mariane Monteiro da Costa
Institutions of the Inter-American Human Rights System and Their Role in Shaping the Liberal International Order

**No. 38 2024** Adriana Cuppuleri
20 Years of LIO Contestation(s). A Computational Text Analysis of Russia's Foreign Policy Discourse (2003–2023)

**No. 39 2024** Jessica Gienow-Hecht and Steffen Just
Music and Human Rights Since World War II

**No. 40 2024** Xinyuan Dai and Lucie Lu
Beyond Liberal Narratives. China and the International Human Rights Order

**No. 41 2024** Roberta Astolfi
Between Populism and Technocracy. The Impoverishment of the Individual's Political Role and the Vulnerability of Liberal Democracy

**No. 42 2024** Mattias Kumm
Academic Freedom in Liberal Constitutional Democracies. Justifications, Limits, Tensions, and Contestations

**No. 43 2024** Ettore Recchi
Fighting "Scandalous Inequalities". A Global Policy Proposal for a Humanity Identity Card and Basic Income

**No. 44 2024** Michael Zürn, Nieves Fernández Rodríguez, Lena Röllicke, Maximilian Weckemann, Alexander Schmotz, and Stefan Gosepath
Towards a Typology of Contestation. Four Clusters of Contestants

**No. 45 2024** Thomas Risse
Deep Contestations and the Resilience of the Liberal International Order

**No. 46 2024** Johannes Heß and Tobias Klee
Putting the Masculinity into Liberalism. Gender Essentialism and Catalan Self-Perception as a Progressive Liberal Democracy

**No. 47 2024** Gülay Çağlar and Jessica Gienow-Hecht
Putting the Masculinity into Liberalism. Gender Essentialism and Catalan Self-Perception as a Progressive Liberal Democracy

**No. 48 2024** Jessica Gienow-Hecht, Tobias Klee, Marlene Ritter, and Lesar Yurtsever
Welcome to the Liberal State! Place Branding as a Historical Practice

**No. 49 2024** Simon Clemens, Lorena Drakula, and Julian Heide
U.S. vs. Them. How Populism and Polarization Challenge the Liberal Order

**No. 50 2024** Dmitry Uzlaner
Religion and Contestations of the Liberal Script. Non-Liberal, Illiberal and Beyond Liberal

**No. 51 2024** Jürgen Gerhards and Johannes Giesecke
Non-Discrimination in Access to the Labour Market and its Support by Citizens in 26 Countries around the World

**No. 52 2025** Juan Díez Medrano
Mediation Analysis of the Effect of Education on Anti-Migration Attitudes

**No. 53 2025** Jorge Caldeira and Lourdes Sola
The Plural Dynamics of State Institutionalisation in Brazil. The Building Blocks of the Nation's Political Structures

**No. 54 2025** Yara Sa'di-Ibraheem
Out of Home, Out of Time. Temporalities of Displacement and Urban Regeneration

All SCRIPTS Working Papers are available on the SCRIPTS website at www.scripts-berlin.eu and can be ordered in print via email to office@scripts-berlin.eu

Hosted by:

FREIE UNIVERSITÄT BERLIN

Berlin University Alliance

In Cooperation with:

HUMBOLDT-UNIVERSITÄT ZU BERLIN

WZB Berlin Social Science Center

Hertie School

DIW BERLIN

ZOIS Zentrum für Osteuropa- und internationale Studien Centre for East European and International Studies

GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies Leibniz-Institut für Globale und Regionale Studien

MO Z LEIBNIZ ZENTRUM MODERNER ORIENT

The Cluster of Excellence
"Contestations of the Liberal Script (SCRIPTS)"
is funded by:

DFG Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft
German Research Foundation