

GENERATIVE JUSTICE IN PLACES Exploring the values of ‘Spatial Justice’

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Abstract. What might generative justice look like in places? Are there forms of development and occupation in the city that may reveal where extractive values predominate, or where unalienable values may be in circulation or are under threat? The emerging literature on generative justice has been rightly concerned for the most part, on the forms and effects of extractive values on livelihoods through analyses of labor, ecologic and social value. While illuminating, there has arguably been less focus on the spatial means through which these are occurring, and the values could be mistaken as being necessarily universal and aspatial. We argue that a key form of value extraction in the city in terms of ‘top-down’, rather than ‘bottom-up’ values, occurs through urban re-developments – often labelled either ‘urban renewal’, urban regeneration’ or ‘urban re-habilitation’. Our methodology featured a longitudinal case study of change in a London neighbourhood spanning key interventions over a period of 30 years. We reflect here on the identification and assessment of key values, as well as their implications for generative ‘spatial’ justice in places. We conclude by reflecting on alternate forms of emerging ‘spatial justice’ that is more bottom-up, and whether any could ever be really ‘generative’ in cities.

Keywords: *Regeneration, spatial-justice, assessing-values, urban planning, programme-design.*

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“In liberal democratic societies, public involvement in the affairs of the city is largely taken for granted, through elected officials or through direct participation. But even in liberal democracies¹, the ability of citizens to interfere in the affairs of the city is limited by the belief that only technicians and experts are able to do so in an effective way”

Rocco, 2015

¹Parekh (1992) defines clearly the type of ‘Liberalism’ and ‘liberal democracy’, when analyzing Generative Justice in terms of the concept of spatial justice:

“Although democracy preceded Liberalism in western history, in the modern age Liberalism preceded democracy by nearly two centuries and created a world to which the latter had to adjust. Liberal democracy is basically a liberalized- or liberally-constituted democracy; that is, democracy defined and structured within the limits set by Liberalism. Liberalism is its absolute premise and foundation and penetrates and shapes its democratic character.”

1. Introduction

When thinking of ‘generative justice’ we tend to take for granted that these injustices occur in space and place. The self-organized flows of three values comprising this emerging theory of justice (ecological value, value from labour, and social value) have been proposed as underlying how social justice and environmental sustainability can be enhanced (Eglash & Garvey, 2014; Eglash, 2016). Other key concepts relate to the effects of ‘value extraction’ as opposed to ‘value-recycling/upcycling’ – the former concept being a linear, one-way movement of value out of the social or ecological generator, ‘alienating’ it from the source - while the latter concept embodies a circular economy of value, replenishing the generator (Eglash, 2018). And conversely these elements of social ecologies will influence in what ways generative justice can be analysed and assessed.

The aim of this paper is to identify (and find ways of evaluating) the intentionality of spatial interventions and whether they demonstrate generative justice. Often ‘value’ is commonly spoken of as either ‘monetary worth’ or as architectural quality, when assessing urban (re-)developments. When we think of ‘justice’, taking account of ‘legal’ or ‘moral’ justice is also worthy of consideration. And the notion of ‘well-being’ is gaining traction as a significant component of economic success (Stiglitz *et al.*, 2018). Well-being is philosophically about ‘values’ defined in relation to a society, in terms of ‘justness’, i.e., ‘deep values’ beyond the notion of social or economic ‘extractive values’. Parekh (1992) presents an argument for such values of ‘universalism’ (standards of human rights) and ‘cultural diversity’ as sitting comfortably alongside one another, inside a category of ‘Liberalism’ where liberal democracy is situated. It is from this perspective that this paper aligns considerations of the spatiality of ‘generative justice’. So what does this perspective of a broad definition of ‘value’ mean for an exploration of generative justice in spatial terms?

Spatial justice and urban value-extraction cycles

Urban regeneration and renewal of older housing estates and employment areas are often legitimized by reference to the need to improve social and physical infrastructure outcomes, expressed as a set of ‘deprivation’ indicators (IMD in UK) represented by the media through stigmatizing language; ‘slums’, ‘ghettos’, crime infested ‘sink-estates’, etc (Lees, 2013). This perspective has been characterized by critics, as representing a ‘deficiency’ or needs-based approach that does not ascribe the communities involved, any positive attributes, nor agency in addressing their situation (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993).

The resulting programme management techniques set urban planning policy-related targets for numbers and quality of new dwellings to be delivered and a range of physical outcomes like community facilities (open space ratios, school places, health centres). These measurables are lodged in time and place to be monitored as indicators to achievement. Questions have been raised about whether the achievement of such indicators serves spatial justice, or actual community needs? (Brownhill, 1990; Florio & Edwards, 2010; Lees, 2013) There is no clear benchmarking of whether the physical and financial targets meet delivery of *equitable outcomes* for a community. Failure might indeed be measured by whether public service revenue costs rise say 10 years after a programme is completed: higher costs of graffiti removal, a rise in other social

services usage like children’s support, troubled families interventions, more call on employment support and so on. Or, alternatively an increase in vacant properties and fall-off of use of local community facilities might indicate the neighbourhood is failing to thrive economically.

Critiques of these traditional approaches to neighbourhood regeneration and renewal, have highlighted the reliance on property developers (in the UK) for implementation of a range of ever-shifting programme regimes –either of ‘physical regeneration’ such as in London’s old Docklands 1980s-90s, or the later ‘social regeneration’ focus on jobs and training, and subsequent mixed, ‘heritage-led’ or ‘arts-led’ regeneration, that followed (Carmona, 2009) –as all proceeding from the same underlying assumptions of deficiencies and needs (i.e., a ‘glass-empty’) view of existing non-middle class and/or non-white communities and their capabilities, and the need for market-forces’ to address their identified deprivations (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993).

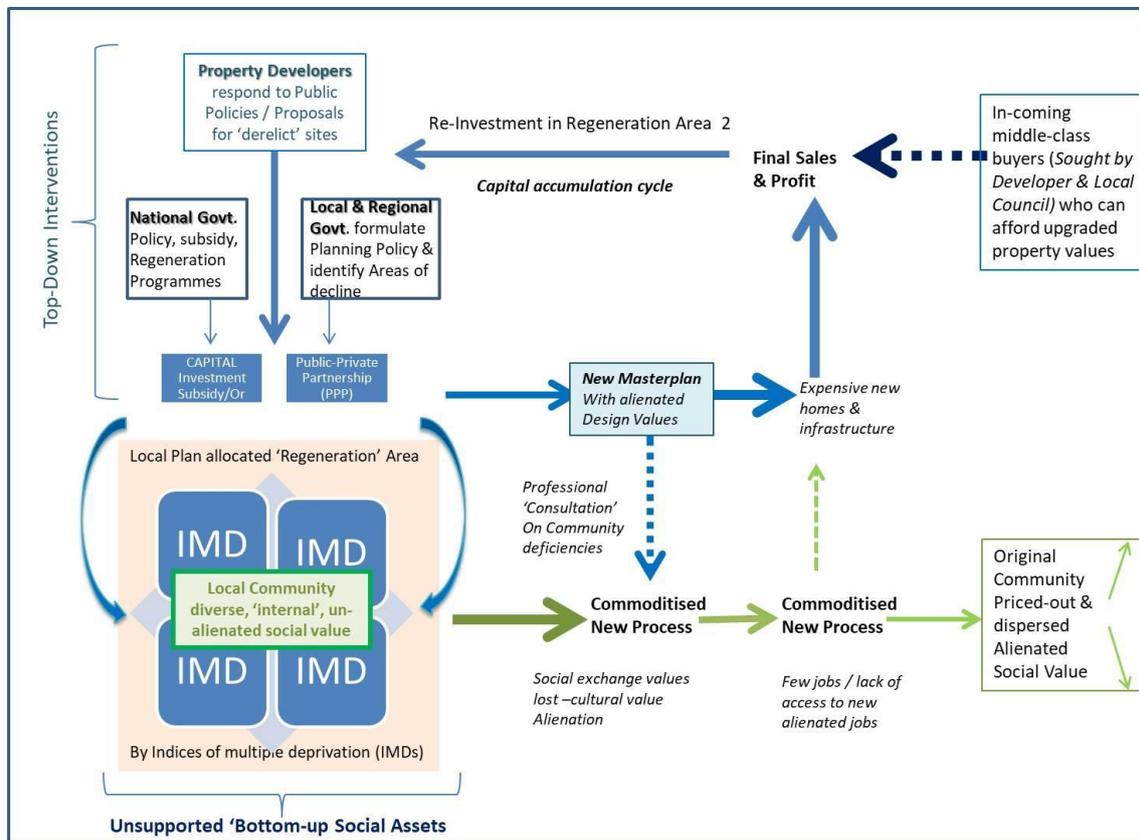


Figure 1. The Spatial In-Justices of Urban Capital accumulation cycles
(Source: Odeleye & Bissett Scott, 2021)

This view has been heightened in the contemporary neo-liberal era, with (taken for granted) needs of capital given free-rein to accelerate urban re-development accumulation cycles. The neighbourhood reviewed in this paper, is an example of one subjected to three decades of such programmes. Figure 1 depicts key players and the value flows within such cycles.

2. Conceptual framework: ‘values’ in space-based Generative Justice

We reconsider research into spatial justice with the purpose of determining whether values of a broader nature than economic, social and environmental might be an important consideration in developing norms of design for delivering Generative Justice. Our research drew on a conceptual framework using definitions accorded by philosophers like Rawls (1971) and taken further into spatial and urban understandings by social scientists like Edward Soja (2010) and David Harvey (2012). Therefore, the objective of research into ‘spatial justice’ assessments (Bissett-Scott, 2018) sought to explore how to meaningfully evaluate the impact of regeneration on a community in terms of human values of equity and fairness (Bissett-Scott, 2015a), and quality of life.

In the study context, spatial justice is defined as “the spatial expression of social justice”. With social justice acknowledged as a necessary principle of Liberalism in the real world, a schema of levels comprising ‘social justice in place’ points to translating ethical requirements from intangibles (e.g., values of society; values implicit in delivering justness in place) to tangibles (such as environment, space and place, economic activity, and governance) that would also be representative of generative justice. These descriptives are enablers for improved outcomes, in the argument proposed here. One further step refines the approach by setting out a differentiation between ‘just’, ‘justness, and ‘justice’ (Dikeç, 2009b).

The political philosopher John Rawls (1971) provides a starting point to define “justice” His sometimes-disputed notion of ‘justice as fairness’ in an ideal world² is explained by imagining what would happen if systems of justice and social institutions were to be created behind a ‘veil of ignorance’. In this world, those setting up society would not know where they would be in the social hierarchy of that world, and then the combination of ideas of fairness combined with ‘principles of justice’ would illuminate the institutions needed for the basic structure of a well-functioning society; i.e., ‘society’s main political, social, and economic institutions, and how they fit together into one unified system of social cooperation’ (Rawls, 1985, p. 225). So how would we set about theorizing for a society that would be ‘generatively just’?

To begin with, let us accept that in examining generative justice, findings of ‘whose reality’ will provide varied perspectives on ‘spatial justice’ (professionals in local Councils, the urban developer, the host community, the design team, the incoming gentrifiers, or indeed the funders), upending any view that there is a ‘normative’ approach to spatial justice, as eloquently articulated as “the necessity of having many eyes—a multiple optic—that looks at the same question, the same thing, from different viewpoints” (Mavhunga, 2017). Further, the question may be posed as to whether ‘spatial justice’ is binary: you have justice in spatial terms, or you do not. A realist

² Central to Rawl’s theory and other following works in the Rawlsian tradition, there is “an assumption of legitimate state sovereignty” (Kymlicka, 2018). But this is not the ‘place’ that is being discussed in relation to generative justice, as it immediately begs the questions on who would a particular state come to have or to assert rights over minorities. Here we are discussing the unformed state rights of those individuals or groups who become described as ‘minority’. For ‘normative theorists of minority rights’ (ibid.) this approach begs the question as to who decides that groups are ‘less than the whole’ (i.e., minority) or who are not the dominant culture of a state. Furthermore, is it so that competing interests cannot be balanced in the distributing of benefits and burdens of a political system? This debate is of interest in untangling the components of generative justice and worthy of further exploration in another paper. Enough to say here, that a political philosophy of Liberalism requires a statement of ‘place’ that addresses accessibility to place with fair outcomes envisaged, and which provides for the use of ‘space’ similarly fairly.

would answer that degrees of justice may be possible, whereas a philosopher might say that a place entails justness or it does not. Similarly, there are considerations of whether ‘generative justice’ is binary (you have this justness or you do not), or whether it sits on a continuum of degrees of generative justice.

Justice occurs in a spatial way

The dialectic of spatial impact within a city and across a wider region (city or hinterland) may perhaps seem rather quaint and backward-looking, in the age of a more intangible ‘virtual city’ through data sharing and management of space through virtual networks (Odeleye & Rajendran, 2020). However, justice still has a spatial dimension through the relative distribution of liveability and life-opportunity outcomes based on location (McNeilly, 2015).

The *spatiality* of injustice defines injustice in space within the analysis of distribution patterns whereas the *injustice* of spatiality implies exiting structures produce or reproduce injustice through space – a more process-orient analysis would be based on the components of whatever is under consideration. While ‘justness’ and ‘(social) justice’ are not interchangeable terms, both convey an epistemological view that space and place are arenas for outcomes that can be measured spatially. Social injustice would require remedying in place with the spatial interventions of regeneration to achieve situated justness. However, the converse is that the consequences of regeneration give changes over time in place but may not give improved outcomes for people socially or economically if interventions fail to address the justness implications for the originating community. The connection between the two terms is thus interpreted as a dynamic and dialectical connection between spatial justice and justness in spatiality.

When thinking from an urbanist’s approach, city form can be ‘cold devices of power, used to make some persons submit to others’ (Lynch, 1984: p.79). So where are the values of citizenship in relation to space, in the realist arena of a liberal democracy to which the UK is implicitly signed up to? It is a work in progress. The ‘cosmic’ model of the city, to which Lynch alluded three decades ago is reflective of stability and hierarchy: a ‘crystalline form’. However, the city is dynamic and transformative. Consequently, from an analytical perspective, the city could take a relational form (as Healey, 2006), or through its users and times of thereby understanding place through the ‘evening economy’ (Landry, 2006), in expressing city form in its use at different times of day and by different groups of people (Massey, 2005), and that ‘the successful development of geographic theory requires us to consider the issues raised by the separation of women’s and men’s social roles’ (Bruegel, 1973; Bissett Johnson, 1982; Bowlby *et al.*, 1982, p.19).

In the scope of this paper’s examination of space and place in generative justice, it is sufficient to note that cultural relativism - that multi-optic view - will give different outcomes, as Mavhunga (2017) notes. The measure of values of justice in place is about translations of the ‘ethics of spatiality’ (Bissett Scott, 2015a) and is developed further in this paper.

A final consideration is that there is a conceptually huge distance between ‘social justice’ (which is sometimes characterized as an imposition of centralist state

directives)³ compared with ‘spatial justice’ (which is alternatively interpretable as a self-empowering or community-empowered governance of place), along the lines of generative justice.

3. Study methodology and analyses

A starting point for the methodological approach of this study was that quantitative and qualitative techniques are essential components for developing an understanding of the ethics of spatial equity that inform the evaluative framework of ‘spatial justice’.⁴ The nesting of the evaluation of regeneration outcomes inside the management of spatial planning policy and practice emerges from theories of UK urban planning practices, such as collaborative planning (Healey, 1997).

If we were to assess ‘generative justice’ in terms of indicators similar to those proposed for successful spatial justice the measures could further illuminate if rights of those who generate social value through their economic contributions are being achieved. This knowledge would also help to hold to account those who fail to deliver norms of fair and equitable access to and use of space in urban design and urban management.

Conceptually, the aim would be to make steps in progressing toward the ‘Just City’ by using targeted objectives of spatial justness through indicators of extractive values in the processes of urban transformations. The first step is to look at an area, and examine complex (and sometimes difficult to compare) indicators that have been accumulated, and that might shed light on values of justness and how they change over time and in relation to interventions of a regeneration programme. Points at which to measure might be: Problem identification, Vision for future, during Delivery, and post-Completion. Selection of indicators, evaluative methodologies and simply availability of comparable data over time would each contribute to building an understanding of relations between outcomes and interventions, and whether they are measurably delivering ‘justness’: equity in spatial terms.

The North Kensington case study – tracking interventions over decades

The area was selected as a case study into measuring justice outcomes from spatial interventions. As a notably deprived area of west London, it had suffered a housing crisis and racketeering in its neighbourhoods over decades. The London race riots of 1958 (Høgsbjerg, 2009) were a response in that neighbourhood - - which was itself the source of expressions like ‘gentrification’ (Glass & Westergaard, 1965) and

³ See discussion on definitions of ‘spatial justice’ (Bissett Scott, 2018, p.73) about where ‘environmental research produces multi- level scalar data that produces a spatial component to social practices’. That type of exercise has the prospect of uncovering data correlation that links spatial and social information for analysis (Kitchin, 2015; Chandler, 2016). A research interview on ‘spatial justice’ resulted in opinions such as “...The ‘slum dwellers’ of the 1970s ...had solutions to the area’s problems from their perspective. ‘Slum dwellers’ in other locations and in a contemporary context would know how to solve the problems of place with empowerment and support’...” (ibid, p.179).

⁴ See discussion on definitions of ‘spatial justice’ (Bissett Scott, 2018, p.73) about where ‘environmental research produces multi- level scalar data that produces a spatial component to social practices’. That type of exercise has the prospect of uncovering data correlation that links spatial and social information for analysis (Kitchin, 2015; Chandler, 2016). A research interview on ‘spatial justice’ resulted in opinions such as “...The ‘slum dwellers’ of the 1970s ...had solutions to the area’s problems from their perspective. ‘Slum dwellers’ in other locations and in a contemporary context would know how to solve the problems of place with empowerment and support’...” (ibid, p.179).

‘Rachmanism’ (the extortion - often racist in intent - through overpriced tenements by unscrupulous landlords). Nevertheless, by the late 1960s (Fig.2) the locality was experienced by its inhabitants as rich in social capital, and capable of managing its own future (NHHS, 1967).



Figure 2. Notting Hill residents welcome Muhammad Ali to the Free School Tavistock Crescent in 1966 (Source: The Tabernacle community centre North Kensington archives)

Untold millions of public monies were then invested in its redevelopment from the 1970s. While some conditions in the regenerated neighbourhood undoubtedly improved, much of the housing stock is now some of the wealthiest in London. Alongside these super-priced properties is situated the tragic Grenfell Tower. Built in 1974 in the white heat of area clearance, refurbished with ‘cost-saving’ flammable cladding in 2012, the tower was lost to fire at the expense of 72 people’s lives in 2017 (MacLeod, 2018). The public enquiry underway is in part driven by an especially active community which has continued to publicize the tragedy, holding the council, Kensington and Chelsea, to account.

After its great poverty during the three decades of the Nineteen Fifties, Sixties and Seventies, North Kensington remains an area of diversity, albeit with patches of deprivation. There is measurable environmental stress, often near social housing concentrations where levels of air pollution are higher. Longevity there is sometimes 10% lower than better districts (Bissett Scott, 2018, p.133). Numbers of some ethnic groups have reduced since renewal programmes while other groups continue to rise significantly (GLA, 2020).

Misrepresentations of the vision of redevelopment documented in, for example, reports on the local housing crisis (Palmer, 1978) were followed by choices based on finance, not justice values, to the detriment of working class, black and minority communities, viz. Grenfell Tower as the most recent example. The area redevelopment planned by professionals in the 1970s appeared to have disregarded the strength of the community spirit which fed the growth of the world-renown Afro-Caribbean Notting Hill Street Carnival. Council representatives were slightly more encouraging about the tourist-attracting Portobello market. But no one had a methodology that could point to

why one type of design and planning decision would achieve more value-rich outcomes than another.

The research project focuses on an area in North Kensington (Figs.3a, 3b and 3c). Its context is to approach regeneration outcomes in terms of what a liberal democracy might want for its citizens, with the prospect that Liberalism and democracy and spatial generosity would each be achievable and desired objectives for delivering better conditions for citizens.

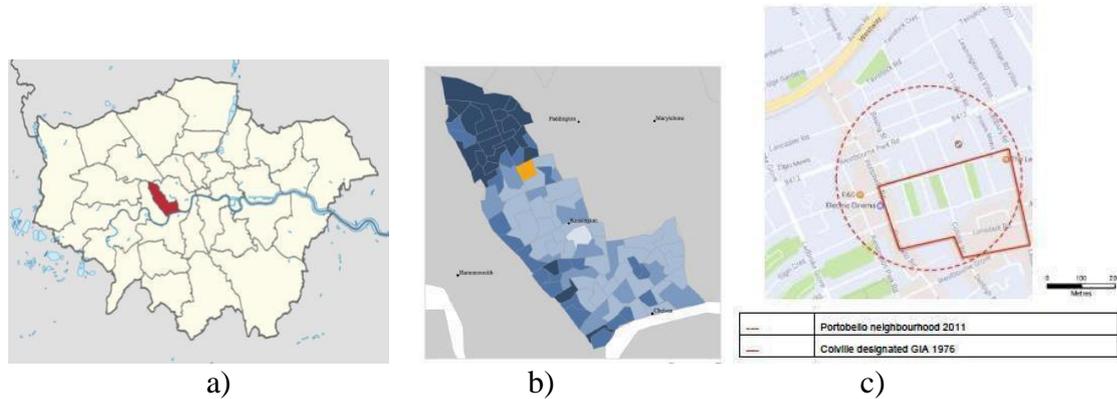


Figure 3. a) Map of London boroughs - Royal Borough of Kensington & Chelsea (RBKC) highlighted
 b) Map of deprivation 2010 - RBKC, Colville ward study area highlighted
 c) Detail of North Kensington - Colville/Tavistock study area 1976 redevelopment outlined
 [scale indicative]

The research premise uses North Kensington, where redevelopment was managed through professionals and in many instances delivered by developers, as a longitudinal case study, alongside a secondary case of Peterborough (which will not be examined here). The research analysed one specific ward in North Kensington, London, the area of interest outlined above. A close analysis of selected social, environmental and economic indicators was made at key points over three decades following a redevelopment programme initiated in the area during the 1960s (NHHS, 1967), and which started in 1972. An interim report (Palmer, 1978) indicated key players (developers, existing communities and the local authority) had very different visions. However, while finance funds secured a future for some stakeholders, disempowered communities in North Kensington in the 1970s reviled these funders (Fig.4) and often did not trust the council to deliver their vision.

Community anger was expressed sharply, as the poster and graffiti in Fig.5 illustrates. Communicative theory (from which collaborative planning later emerged in planning theory) suggests a key role of planners is to broker communicative transparency to develop trust. The lack of honest communication evident in North Kensington might have included stating principles (i.e., ethical values) which would enable benchmarks of achievements (or indeed failures) to be illuminated with measurable targets, ideally those that are meaningfully developed with the community, rather than imposed top-down. By having indicators relating to those that we can measure, the reality of ethical delivery – of projects, programmes, master-planning, city design – becomes visible. How do we achieve this cross-over from intangible ideals

(such as generative aspects of empowerment and equity) to a tangible taxonomy of spatially-based just outcomes?



Figure 4. Archived protest posters in North Kensington from the 1970s



Figure 5. Examples of community responses to development in 1976

- The methods employed within the case study methodology ranged from:
- a structured documentary analysis of the programme plans
- collection of indicator-related demographic data (such as educational attainment, environmental quality, engagement with voting, and longevity) for key milestone years and outcomes over the three-decade programmes
- In addition, a pilot survey was conducted of current residents, to ascertain the views of any original community members from that period.
- In-depth, semi-structured interviews were also conducted with key planners, regeneration professionals and community representatives that were either involved, or who represent the current community in North Kensington

It is also worth acknowledging the positionality of one of us (Bissett-Scott) within the case study area: as a young mother in the 1980s, a student and a Commonwealth immigrant puzzled by failed communications between community, professionals and key investors. The research emerged from a quest for amplifying the strengths and learning from the losses. Key themes that emerged were that the tenure of affordable housing did improve from the start of programmes, and education attainment improved. There are many area-specific reasons for some changes, but the outstanding issue, different from national benchmark indicators, is the trust of the local community in governance as expressed in the numbers of votes cast at General Elections, with a catastrophic failure at the 1996 hustings (Fig.6).

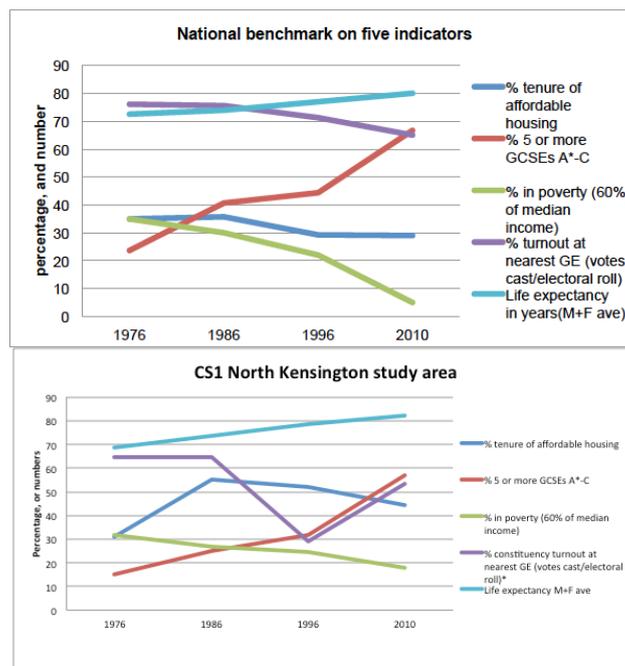


Figure 6. Benchmarked outcomes of five indicators of values of 'spatial justice' in North Kensington (Source: Bissett Scott, 2018)

4. Outcomes and analysis: the spatiality of generative justice

The analytical framework mapped theories of Liberalism and 'spatial justice' through to empirical and current evaluative practices. It moved onward to values and criteria for success that were translated into test indicators. Empirical data was used to link them back to the theoretical base. In terms of this research, an approach to evaluation aimed to bridge any gap between planned spatial interventions (programme objectives and policy delivery), methods of measuring outcomes (evaluative practice) and the empiricism of communities and other stakeholders (reality). This approach raised the question of whether current evaluative practice has or uses its capacity to assess spatial justice consequences in any or all of these terms.

In the Portobello neighbourhood, research interviews with past and current residents in 2016 noted that community resources in the ward were different from the intended outcomes of regeneration, with the council (RBKC) supporting the area as a tourist destination rather than a neighbourhood. In the Seventies there had been a sense

of community in the face of difficulties. Images show historic views and recent record of the local neighbourhood (see Fig.7) imbued with a feeling that things had not changed for the better; indeed some people were forced out in that change. The sense of community and empowerment was viewed by some participants as having diminished, from a more communal orientation in 1976 to one that is less so from 2012 and onwards.



Figure 7. Changing retail in Portobello, North Kensington (1976 and 2012)

Understanding the values of spatiality in an emerging digital society are a pressing requirement (Bissett Scott *et al.*, 2015b; Bourdin, 2015). Some of the limitations of earlier quantitative approaches which produced spatially-based policy were predicted to be overcome with continuing developments in data acquisition methods and spatial representations (Blyth *et al.*, 2015). However, there are new limitations of intentionality (expressed as algorithms) in data analysis practice that need to be addressed (Teevan & Zhou, 2015). For opportunities in design promoting generative justice, the inclusion of reconciling urban planning perspectives with extant areas of generative analyses, would need to address issues articulated by Eglash (2016) such as: **agro-ecology, commons-based peer production or in-platform cooperatives**. Economics still needs philosophy (Nussbaum, 2016). So Vision, (spatial) Justice, Courage and Reason, the Stoic approach as philosophized by Marcus Aurelius - who governed Rome in the 2nd century BC during the Antoine plague years - can be adapted and applied in our 21st century (post)COVID 19 scenarios (Rosen & Wolff, 1999; Bissett Scott, 2020).

5. Addressing Generative Justice for the future

Recent post-Covid optimism is promoting attempts to engage financial institutions through initiatives such as the Green Finance Institute (GFI, 2020) to make the leap into responding to a changing climate by putting in place a Green Finance Taskforce.⁵ The stated aims of the GFI are to help deliver the investment needed to meet the UK’s Industrial Strategy and Clean Growth Strategy; further consolidate the UK’s leadership in financing international clean investment; and maximize the opportunities to be had for UK businesses in this rapidly growing area.

Our challenge therefore in incorporating spatiality within Generative Justice will be identifying, selecting and implementing fairer options for communities in a changing climate and in the emerging post-Covid scenario. Particularly during the build-back from lifestyle changes brought on by the 2020 pandemic, bench-marked guidance will make a significant impact in pressing ahead with ways of living that incorporate economic, environmental and social innovations in urban design (Fig.8).



Figure 8. Imagining innovations for a post-Covid build-back (Bissett Scott, 2020)

With the prospect of social distancing remaining desirable, design norms can increase the realities of public health requirements: walkways revised, space for visibility between people and increased walkability in urban and public places. Economic activities could take into account outdoor venues and pop-up scenarios, and better space standards incorporating an emphasis on working from home. Innovations for vacationing and short-term visitor accommodation might present options that require a spatially inclusive and more equitable approach to generative outcomes. The opportunity of ‘build-back better’, the stated policy of the UK Government, is to include value in green urban spaces that recognize a diverse economically-active community. Therefore, there are options for benefiting from space that is ‘generatively just’ - supporting and encouraging each dimension of the range of humanity.

Is this cornucopia of values possible, and is this approach acceptable for seeking ‘generative justice’? Binary notions of person are becoming nuanced as 21st Century

⁵ In September 2017 the British government mandated the Green Finance Initiative, launched in 2016 by the City of London Corporation and the UK Government. As “an alliance of individuals and organizations [it is] tasked with providing recommendations for delivery of the public and private investment for the UK to meet carbon budgets and related environmental and resilience goals, and maximize the UK’s share of the global green finance market” (GFI, 2020)

understandings expand. Identity politics have gained eminence. Liberal democracy itself is interrogated in a populist's world. In the UK, we have seen the tragedy of the 2016 Grenfell Tower fire exposing contradictory management decision-taking in North Kensington - choices and control in tower-block refurbishment seemingly based on finance, not its occupants' well-being. In Europe there has been a revival in previously liberal-minded states of either Libertarian or authoritarian approaches to governance and economics. The global public health crisis of COVID-19 has often cut across expectations of a socially liberal nature with lockdown rationing health and social care, and raising questions of whose life, whose job, whose community, whose space, whose privacy, whose control is paramount in times of a pandemic. Assessing each of those points is important in the recovery of a new urban future in the build-back. Our training as planners, architects and urban designers reminds us that city form is shaped by more than the sum of individual needs in its spatial construction, it requires unalienated values in its social, environmental and economic forms.

It is worth noting that the criticisms of the prevailing deficiency or needs-based approach to regeneration and renewal have spawned an alternative, the Asset-based Community Development (ABCD) movement predicated on local assets, strengths and agency (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993; Mathie & Cunningham, 2003). From this alternative, varying consultation methods have percolated (or been appropriated) into the mainstream – arguably without fundamentally transforming their outcomes. There remains much potential in promoting Community Land Trusts (CLTs) in the UK and other mechanisms for communities to implement asset-based regeneration as it was intended. The concept of generative justice (once contextualized for urban planners) could provide a useful theoretical basis for efforts to mainstream these approaches. In the UK, community-led regeneration examples such as the Coin Street Community builders on London's South Bank (Tuckett, 1988; Gaeton, 2001; Mayo, 2010) and the Eldonian Village in Liverpool (McBane, 2008) had from the 1980s, begun to challenge developer-led proposals for their areas, with their own alternative development plans, and organizational approaches for implementation.

Generative justice delivering value that is sound ecologically, socially and economically has to address Soja's (2010) separation of the tangible and the intangible as in 'spatial justice'. On one side, tangible measures of economic activity, people as entities, space and place, environmental quality, and participation for example exercising the right to vote. On the other side, the intangibles of the state of the economy, perceptions of well-being, institutions of governance, community cohesion, and the values of society - fairness, truth and natural justice, for example. The task is to translate the ephemeral in order to deliver the concrete.

6. Conclusion

Concluding recommendations from the London case study suggest a schemata of these *intangible* values of worth set out as *tangible* measures of spatial outcomes. This paper argues that if a similar set of indicators prioritizing the justness of unalienated extractive value were to be considered, these data would offer a mechanism for highlighting where generative justice (or its lack) is being achieved in urban place.

Thus with this methodology for analysis of generative justice, professionals, developers, communities and other stakeholders in regeneration programmes have a shared understanding. A framework of values interpreted spatially would contribute to

enabling place-based generative justice. A reasonable conclusion is that a spatial assessment of the three categories for designing-in generative justice (ecological, labour, and social governance) would benefit from an evaluative sequence of indicators along the lines examined in the case study of London's North Kensington neighbourhood.

Some pertinent charges have been laid (MacLeod & Emejulu, 2014) that the asset-based community approach carries risks of minimizing public responsibility for discrimination, inequalities and poverty, thereby legitimising neo-liberal state withdrawals from public service provision. They also point out that the approach can downplay unequal power relations, discouraging communities from holding politicians to account, while masking top-down manipulations from state/developer-hired professionals. There is also the concern that it can overstate the extent of shared norms as well as community capacity (McGrath *et al.*, 1999; DeFilipis, 2001). Nonetheless, cultivating the capacities of communities to exercise their agency (through individuals, networks of associations, cultures, local livelihoods, physical assets and institutions) to generate sustain, and expand, unalienated social value in places, could be at the heart of urban planners seeking further alternative, bottom-up mechanisms for facilitating generative 'spatial' justice.

The broader philosophical considerations of 'injustice' and 'spatiality' in terms of values would support the analysis and improved delivery of generative justice in place. Post Covid-19 urban futures that consider designing-in norms of justice will take account of:

- **spatial outcomes of Public Health protections** like distancing physically
- **managed socially**, with real-time thinking that can **deliver the reality** of acting virtually while keeping our social proximity, and
- **politically supporting living collectively** in an urban reality that maintains a rural or regional spatial connection, and with international co-operations supported by **caring through technological connectivity**.

Each approach builds an improved foundation for generative justice: we can strengthen the universal right to generate unalienated value and directly participate in its benefits; the rights of value generators to create their own conditions of production; and the rights of communities of value generation to nurture self-sustaining paths for its circulation.

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