Social Movement Studies

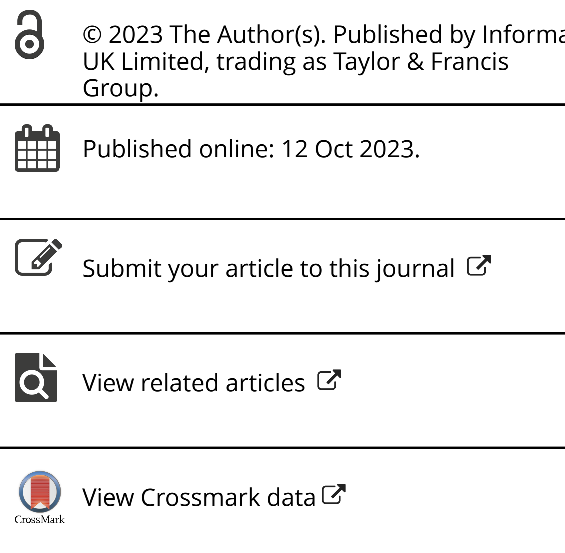
ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/csms20

Gramscian considerations on the contentious politics of austere neoliberalism: critical junctures after the global economic crisis

Jonathan S. Davies

To cite this article: Jonathan S. Davies (12 Oct 2023): Gramscian considerations on the contentious politics of austere neoliberalism: critical junctures after the global economic crisis, Social Movement Studies, DOI: 10.1080/14742837.2023.2268016

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2023.2268016



© 2023 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group.

Published online: 12 Oct 2023.

Submit your article to this journal

View related articles

View Crossmark data

Full Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at https://www.tandfonline.com/action/journalInformation?journalCode=csms20

SOCIAL MOVEMENT STUDIES
https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2023.2268016

Gramscian considerations on the contentious politics of austere neoliberalism: critical junctures after the global economic crisis

Jonathan S. Davies

Centre for Urban Research on Austerity, De Montfort University, Leicester, UK

ABSTRACT
In dialogue with Della Porta's work on protests as critical junctures and drawing on the comparative analysis of four case studies in Europe (Barcelona and Dublin) and North America (Baltimore and Montréal), the paper develops a neo-Gramscian perspective on the impact and legacies of urban resistance to austere neoliberalism after the Global Economic Crisis (GEC) of 2008–9. Framed by the postulated 'interregnum' in the hegemony of neoliberalism, it argues that the conjunctural politics of the period are defined by a continuing conflict between passive revolutionary subsumption and generative anti-systemic politics, which plays out in acute form in the international urban arena. The paper accordingly contributes to the journal's work on the relationship between protests and social structures, situating urban movements in multi-scalar socio-economic, political and cultural contexts and developing reflections on the conjunctural significance of anti-systemic struggles.

ARTICLE HISTORY
Received 12 January 2023
Accepted 20 July 2023

KEYWORDS
Conjuncture; urban; austerity; resistance; critical-juncture; hegemony; passive revolution; interregnum

Introduction

The post-Seattle cycle of contention, sub-cycles from the alter-globalisation and anti-war movements, the occupied squares and Indignados, and more recently the global wave of struggles inaugurated by the Gilets Jaunes and Black Lives Matter have all contributed to destabilising austere neoliberalism (Barker et al., 2013; Gillan, 2020, p. 522). At the same time, internal contradictions of neoliberalism have become increasingly apparent since the Global Economic Crisis of 2008–9 (GEC): insipid growth rates, crises of governability, its partial abeyance through the pandemic, its declining legitimacy in the realm of ideas and escalating geo-political conflict. Meanwhile, spectres of authoritarian (state) capitalism, fascism, ecocide and war loom ever larger as anti-systemic struggles ebb and flow. This turbulent context demands consideration of the strengths and limitations of recent waves of struggle against austerity, here undertaken through a conjunctural comparative study of urban governance and resistance in Europe and North America.

To explore these issues, the paper draws from the field of concepts developed in Gramsci's *Quaderno*, bringing recent re-readings into dialogue with debates on counter-

CONTACT Jonathan S. Davies jsdavies@dmu.ac.uk Centre for Urban Research on Austerity, De Montfort University, Leicester LE1 9BH, UK

© 2023 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group.
This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited. The terms on which this article has been published allow the posting of the Accepted Manuscript in a repository by the author(s) or with their consent.

power (Hesketh, 2017; Kioupkiolos, 2018; Thomas, 2021). Employing Gramsci's spectrum of concepts; hegemony, passive revolution, crisis, interregnum and conjuncture; the paper develops an analytical framework adapting Della Porta's (2020) work on critical junctures. Utilising the concept of passive revolution, it adds the category of 'dislocating' to her processes of cracking, vibrating and sedimenting. This adaptation, it is argued, contextualises urban resistance with state strategies to thwart it and contributes to assessing the balance of forces at nodal points in the struggle against austere neoliberalism. Employing an international urban comparison, it builds on Della Porta to present a wider conjunctural perspective on the continuing battle between hegemonic, passive-revolutionary and counter-hegemonic forces in the crisis of neoliberalism.

The paper explores four case studies undertaken in the pre-COVID period (2015–18) in Baltimore, Barcelona, Dublin and Montréal. The central argument is that reading anti-austerity struggles through an adapted conjunctural perspective casts light not only on the strengths and weaknesses of social movements but also their positioning in the wider fields of neoliberal power and resistance. It discloses three prominent features of the period: first, the weakening of neoliberal hegemony through struggle and the political spaces this creates; second, the generative and generalising expressions of politicisation that emerge from struggle; and third the conjunctural impasse characterised by the neoliberal retreat from hegemony to passive-revolutionary dominance in the face of reverberating struggles and escalating systemic crises.

The paper first revisits debates on hegemony, read alongside inter-related Gramscian concepts. It proceeds to discuss affinities between Della Porta's critical junctures and conjunctural urban analysis. It then explains the research methodology and applies the adapted critical juncture framework in a discussion of the four case studies. The paper concludes with reflections on the conjuncture.

Hegemony, critical junctures and conjunctural urban analysis

The Gramscian concept of hegemony attracts considerable controversy in anti-capitalist social theory and social movement studies, upon which Kioupkiolos (2018) and Thomas (2021) critically reflect. Kioupkiolos (2018, p. 99) discusses how thinkers critical of modernist 'hierarchical organization, representation, unification, the state and ideology' view Gramscian hegemony as anchored in sovereigntist logics, and hence either as outdated or politically implicated in state domination (e.g. Day, 2005). However, the notion of Gramsci as a modernist or sovereigntist thinker has, in turn, drawn criticism from those who argue that such claims are built upon 'conjuncturally over-determined' secondary sources (Thomas, 2021) that pay scant attention to Gramsci's thought in the *Quaderno*. Kioupkiolis alludes to this lacuna in recognising that Gramsci himself anticipated themes developed under the rubric of 'post-hegemony', for example, in demonstrating a deep concern with habit and affect (*senso comune*) while also valorising 'plurality within the counter-hegemonic bloc', and aiming at 'a collective will which would be shaped through an equal interaction and a mutual transformation of all involved parties rather than through the imposition of one subject upon the others'.

One possible response to dissatisfaction with hegemony, then, is to revisit the root concept and its theoretical cognates. The essence of Thomas's (2021) re-reading is that the critique levelled against hegemony, as either surpassed historically (Lash, 2007) or

flawed in its conceptual foundations (Moreiras, 2001), is based on a false premise. 'Post-hegemony' is not the critique of hegemony as such, but of the passive revolutionary character of the modern bourgeois state. For Thomas, passive revolution is serially neglected by critics of hegemony, who tend to conflate these dialectically related concepts.

For Gramsci, the moment of bourgeois hegemony, understood as the integration of subalterns into the project of a leading social group, or groups, was a rare or fleeting phase in the early development of capitalism. Taking the Jacobin revolution as its source, hegemony in this inclusive sense did not survive the growing conservatism of national bourgeoisies faced with the spectre of a rising proletariat. Bourgeois revolutionary ardour faded, and with it the prospects for hegemony heralded by the French Revolution. The concept of passive revolution describes this post-revolutionary phase, defined as an ideology that reduces 'the dialectic to a process of reformist "revolution-restoration" evolution, in which only the second term has any validity' (Gramsci, 1995: 377, Q10 §41xvi). As Hesketh (2017, p. 401) put it, the defining characteristic of passive revolution is 'statisation'.

The term *trasformismo* captures a significant aspect of the passive-revolutionary mechanism of 'revolution-restoration'. Notable instances included the Italian Risorgimento and the ascent of the Mussolini regime, which neutralised antagonists by absorbing individual leaders and fractions of subaltern groups (Gramsci, 1971, p. 58; Q19, §24). The co-option of Syriza to the Greek-EU austerity regime in 2015 represents a clear-cut instance of *trasformismo* in post-GEC Europe (Kouvelakis, 2018). These diverse examples show how, following Gramsci's own intuitions, the concept has been stretched well beyond its initial focus on the weakly hegemonic and sovereigntist character of later transitions to capitalism, to encompass ruptural moments within it. Passive revolution has also been interpreted in broader processual terms as 'a generalised means of statecraft in the expansion of capitalism' (Hesketh, 2017, p. 401). The risk with concept stretching to this extent is that passive revolution comes to denote everything the capitalist state does to sustain its power rather than analysing major conjunctural transformations. To avoid this pitfall, it is here used to query the significance of reconfigurations in the local state in the crisis of austere neoliberalism, and the wider conjunctural changes that they might augur.

By way of contrast, a Gramscian hegemonic apparatus is antithetical to the passive-revolutionary claim on sovereignty, resting instead on the cultivation of mechanisms serving struggles for democracy and equality, where subaltern classes and allied social forces 'assume the tasks of self-direction'. The powers accruing to subaltern alliances, movements or coalitions thus depend on 'the elaboration of an alternative hegemonic project and its concretisation in a hegemonic apparatus adequate to it' (Thomas, 2009, p. 227). If so, hegemonic politics are better read not as a system of domination, but as modern sovereignty's 'real critique' (Thomas, 2021, p. 16), and the antidote to passive-revolution (Hesketh, 2017).

The distinction between bourgeois hegemony and the passive revolutionary epoch marks out one facet of periodisation. Gramscian conceptions of crisis reinforce the distinction in distinguishing relatively superficial disruptions from profound periods of disequilibrium, constituting an 'interregnum', or the organic crisis of a state or supra-state regime. Stahl's (2019) reading of the interregnum in the hegemony of

neoliberalism pits as yet-underdeveloped counter-hegemonic forces against those seeking to preserve the old order and conservative passive-revolutionaries seeking a rupture with the latter, the better to preserve the capitalist state system against the former.

The analysis of such episodes is framed by temporalities of capitalist continuity and change, a debate recently engaged in social movement studies. Gillan (2020, p. 523), for example, observes how the Battle in Seattle 'is often described in terms of the coalescence of multiple critiques: the point at which different grievances were identified as flowing from the same set of tightly knit processes of neoliberal globalisation', co-constituting the shift from structured normalcy to conjunctural turbulence (Della Porta, 2020). For those who view the Battle in Seattle as sign-posting a shift in the modalities and epistemological tone of resistance at the end of the 20th century, the conjuncture is defined by the arraignment of a new synthesis against neoliberalism coalescing around the universalising slogan purportedly coined by Subcomandante Marcos: 'another world is possible' (George, 2004, p. 250).

Influenced by Gramscian theory, urban research on neoliberalisation and its crises is framed by similar periodisations. Peck's (2017) concept of 'late entrepreneurialism' reveals that the developmental repertoires of the entrepreneurial city are subject to diminishing returns, pointing to rising contradictions and incipient exhaustion in the neoliberal paradigm. Enwright and Rossi's (2017) conceptualisation of 'late neoliberalism' foregrounds the new wave of political struggles, highlighting the conjunctural centrality of the city in weakening the hegemony of neoliberalism (Enwright & Rossi, 2017). Their conjunctural reading depicts struggle as revealing alternative futures replete with ambiguities, dangers and potentialities. Research focusing on how cities function as nodal points in a multi-scalar crisis-conjuncture (Davies, 2021) is therefore timely and significant for social movement studies.

Drawing on this conceptual grammar of hegemony, crises, passive revolutions and interregna, the paper builds on Della Porta's (2020) work on critical junctures. To make sense of the 'portentous waves of contentious politics' (2020: 557), she identifies a 'a sequence of processes of cracking, as the production of sudden ruptures; vibrating, as contingently reproducing or cascading those ruptures; and sedimenting, as the stabilization of the legacy of the rupture' (2020: 559). Informed by the dialectical framing of hegemony and passive revolution, a fourth step is added to Della Porta's framework: *dislocating*, which sits in parallel with and potentially in complex juxtapositions with sedimenting. If sedimenting captures the gains in a critical juncture, dislocating marks processes of reappropriation, co-optation, coercion and repression, containment, dissipation and closure: both through the strategic and potentially transformative (passive-revolutionary) actions of pro-systemic forces and the contradictions and antagonisms that disrupt anti-systemic forces from within. This adaptive approach to critical junctures provides an expanded prism for exploring concrete urban struggles against austere neoliberalism, their situated efficacy, legacies and limitations and contextualises them with adaptations within the state apparatus. It also contributes to the temporal turn in social movement studies (Gillan, 2020) by casting light on 'the uneven coexistence of old and new, and the complex play of

emergence and continuity' (Johnson, 2007, p. 96), situating urban anti-austerity struggles within a mid-range conjunctural perspective.

Methodology

The paper draws from comparative case study research into collaborative governance under austerity conducted over three years (2015–18) in five European cities (Athens, Barcelona, Dublin, Leicester and Nantes), two North American cities (Baltimore and Montréal) and one Australian city (Greater Dandenong, Melbourne) (Davies et al., 2022). The central research question concerned the durability of state-civil society governance mechanisms established in the 'rollout' phase of neoliberalism, including their vulnerability to co-option, retrenchment and resistance, as austerity gripped. The cities were chosen as diverse instances of places subjected to waves of austerity and neoliberal restructuring. The discussion here focuses on the European and North American cities of Baltimore, Barcelona, Dublin and Montréal, where pronounced struggles erupted and conjunctural relationships between struggle and countermeasures by the state can be discerned.

Empirical work was undertaken between 2015 and 2018. This was de-centred and localised, and conducted in four different languages. Local research teams applied a common topic guide, with adaptations for locality. This provided a coding framework employed across the cities. Teams initially studied austerity governance from the perspective of the local state, snowballing outwards into civil society and anti-austerity movements. The qualitative study began with a desk-based scoping exercise to establish the political-economic characteristics of each city, and municipal fiscal challenges. A pilot phase with a small number of interviews elicited priorities for a second substantive phase. In total, each team undertook some 40 semi-structured interviews alongside observations, stakeholder focus groups and feedback events. Respondents included elected politicians, local government and public service officials, business leaders, voluntary and community organisations, faith groups, service users, anti-austerity activists and organisations, and trade unionists.

Comparative analysis derives from secondary data: transversal analysis of case-focused papers published in issue 42(1) of the Journal of Urban Affairs, and 26 unpublished working papers reporting case-by-case findings across three phases of study, in English. The PI coded these resources into a meta-analytical NVIVO project, eliciting factors that contributed to stabilising and de-stabilising austere neoliberalism. The adapted critical juncture framework employed in reporting the research reinforces insights gleaned from this process.

Contextualising the cities

Table 1 provides a rough indication of the impact of the GEC, and the squeeze on municipal budgets in the post-2008 period. Figures are derived from OECD.Stat and adapted from Davies (2021). All four cities faced fiscal challenges of varying severity. All were governed by left-of-centre coalitions, with a spectrum of responses to austere neoliberalism. Austerity in Ireland and Spain was mandated and exacerbated by

Table 1. Economic and political characteristics of four cities (adapted from Davies, 2021: 48–9).

	% National peak-to-trough GDP in/after GEC	% Metropolitan Peak-to-trough GDP in/after GEC	% Municipal Budget real terms growth/fall 2008–18	Municipal Political Leadership (2015–18)
Spain/ Barcelona	−10.3 (2008–13)	−9.0 (2008–13)	+0.25	Barcelona en Comú confluence. Mayor Ada Colau.
Ireland/ Dublin	−13.6 (2008–13)	−7.2 (2007–9)	−20–25 (estimate)	Centre-left coalition. Weak local political leadership.
Baltimore/ USA	−5.1 (2008–9)	+7.3 (2007–10)	−2.2	Democrat. Mayors: Stephanie Rawlings Blake (to 2016) Catherine Pugh (2016-).
Canada/ Montréal	−4.6 (2008–9)	−1.23 (2007–8)	+20.5 (2019)	Centre-left platform. Équipe Denis Coderre pour Montréal. Green growth, Projet Montréal (2017-). Mayor Valérie Plante.

Eurozone discipline, both countries signing memoranda committing them to multi-scalar austerity measures in return for a banking bailout.

Barcelona is a renowned seat of contentious politics (Feenstra & Tormey, 2023). The GEC recession in Barcelona amounted to a 9.0% GDP decline peak-to-trough, with a slow recovery. Barcelona has been especially prominent in social movement literature following the landmark mobilisations of 15 May 2011 (15-M), while this movement itself emerged from longer-term struggles (Blanco et al., 2020). In 2015, anti-evictions activist Ada Colau was elected Mayor through the Barcelona en Comú confluence. Holding only 11 out of 41 seats, Barcelona en Comú opted to collaborate with the Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya (PSC), which had governed the city unchallenged until 2011, and for which support collapsed on account of its collusion with austerity. The research focused on the political struggles of the Colau administration from 2015.

Following a period of exceptional growth, Ireland's 'Celtic tiger' economy imploded in the GEC. The economy of metropolitan Dublin shrank by 7.2%, that of Ireland as a whole considerably more. With government undermining the ability to collect accurate data, respondents estimated that real-terms cuts to municipal budgets after the GEC amounted to over 20% (Gaynor, 2020). From 2014, the city was governed by a coalition, with Sinn Fein, the largest party and new anti-austerity platforms winning 10% of the vote. A major anti-austerity rebellion began in 2014, ignited by the introduction of water charges, inaugurating a newly rebellious phase in the history of city and nation.

The economic situation in the two North American cities was quite different. While Canada experienced a GDP decline of over 4% in the crisis, the Québec City-region of Montréal fared better with a fall of 1.23%, followed by a rapid rebound. Nevertheless, Montréal was exposed to austere neoliberalism, justified by the Premier of Québec in the euphemistic language of *rigueur* denoting strictness or hard-headed realism. The city was governed by boosterish centre-left mayors: first Denis Coderre and then Valérie Plante from 2017, who accentuated green growth policies. Montréal was unusual in the North American context for the continued prominence of its trade unions and for the degree of organisation and politicisation across its third sector. These characteristics evolved through the so-called 'Québec Model', a social-democratic partnership that emerged from the Francophone 'Quiet Revolution' in the 1950s and 60s. A new phase of struggle

began in 2012, when Québec became a site of major anti-austerity protests (Hamel & Keil, 2020).

The GEC led to a sharp economic contraction of 5.1% across the USA. In stark contrast, figures for metropolitan Baltimore suggest growth of 7.3% in the same period, highlighting the unevenness of the recessionary experience. Despite this economic good fortune, Baltimore was subjected to severe financial retrenchment. The city's Democrat mayors were deeply implicated with the fiscal orthodoxy. The protests that erupted in 2015, known as *The Uprising* after the police killing of Freddie Gray, were not directly connected with austerity but triggered by violent police racism and the politicising impact of other anti-racist protests across the USA. They were also connected with the spectrum of economic and political dispossessions, including long-term state and market disinvestment from deprivileged black neighbourhoods following neoliberal fiscal orthodoxies, with which structural racism in Baltimore was deeply entwined (Pill, 2020).

Cracks and vibrations

Each city was thus positioned differently in relation to the problematic of austere neoliberalism, and cracks are read relationally and temporally. In some cities, cracking was a cascading process that overlapped or co-constituted vibrating, in others a singular rupture interrupting previous political trajectories and inaugurating a new period. Some cracks and vibrations were contained within urban space, while others reverberated across national and international arenas, or were triggered by reverberations from elsewhere.

The cracking in Baltimore was closely tied to an inaugurating event, what became known as *The Uprising* in response to the police murder of Freddie Gray in April 2015. *The Uprising* was part of the urban explosion in response to the deaths of Trayvon Martin in 2012 and Michael Brown in 2014, launching the first wave of #BlackLivesMatter. However, it had distinctive local characteristics, intersecting the racialised geographies of dispossession and violence that had locked the black majority into peripheralized neighbourhoods for over a century. These neighbourhoods were subjected to decades of retrenchment, disinvestment and repression, harshly juxtaposed with the relentlessly boosterish focus on waterside development and corporate subsidy, producing a brutally racist and iniquitous geography. One NGO related *The Uprising* to the 'ton of unhappiness and dissatisfaction in the black community with the black leadership and the extent to which the black establishment has really been acting in the interest of black neighbourhoods' (Pill, 2020, p. 156). This critique highlights how an explosive struggle can create vibrations throughout an extended urban arena with both place-specific origins and looser network connections to a national (later global) #BlackLivesMatter movement making intersecting claims on racial, economic and political justice.

In the Celtic Tiger years before, and immediately after the GEC, Ireland was viewed as politically quiescent (Hearne et al., 2020). The outbreak of the 'water wars' in 2014 marked a seismic shift: a mass movement emerged, rooted in neighbourhoods, against metered water charges mandated by the bailout agreement. Like Baltimore's *Uprising*, the movement created a new and widening crack in the political-economic traditions of Ireland. It burst onto the stage with a demonstration of 120,000 in Dublin, some 2.5% of the Irish population, organised by the Right2Water campaign. It was fuelled by myriad

resentments, fomenting in the neighbourhoods and linked to the sense that austerity had gone 'too far'. The water charges were perceived as 'the straw that broke the camel's back' (Gaynor, 2020, p. 85). The movement employed mass demonstrations and mass non-payment alongside household and community resistance to the installation of meters. According to a councillor: 'Very quickly, and this was the strength of the movement, huge numbers of ordinary people who'd never been involved in politics came forward ... came right to the sort of centre of organising stuff ... So that was a new development' (Gaynor, 2020, p. 86). The Irish government suspended the charge in 2016, a notable victory. The water wars from 2014 to 16 inaugurated an expansive critique of neoliberalism, vibrating through later campaigns against spiralling rents as Ireland's speculative boom reignited.

The major post-GEC crack in the politics of Montréal opened with the 'Maple Spring' of 2012, when a Québec-wide student campaign against tuition fee rises set out demands for 'direct democracy, feminism and ecology' and the 'radical renewal of and extension of Québec's social democratic exceptionalism' (Pineault, 2012, p. 52). The strikes became a reference point for mobilisations involving not only unions but also the voluntary and community sectors. The vibrations inaugurated by the Maple Spring peaked in late 2015. A two-day general strike was held by 1,300 community organisations, eliciting concessions from the Québec government. In December 2015, the trade unions of Québec held a general strike. These struggles converged under the umbrella of the Coalition Main Rouge, first established in 2009 to oppose fees, charges and privatisations. The significance of the Coalition was that it unified diverse, but congruent demands. The Maple Spring thus signified a substantial crack, with vibrations throughout Québec.

Barcelona, finally, was the centre of sustained mobilisations against neoliberalisation long before the GEC, building on organising traditions in the city that became prominent in 'no-global' mobilisations from the late 1990s onwards. The city experienced repeated crackings and vibrations, with reverberations on the international stage. With 15-M constituting a new and widening crack, it became a source of global inspiration for the new municipalist cause, particularly after the transition of movements into City Hall, and the election of Barcelona en Comú in 2015 with Ada Colau as Mayor. The relationship between movements and local state institutions was difficult, as recent studies of Ahora Madrid (Consejero & Janoschka, 2022) and Barcelona attest (Blanco et al., 2020; Feenstra and Tormey, 2023). However, it is as an internationalist entity addressing planetary issues that Barcelona arguably contributed most substantively to amplifying vibrations from Occupy! and 15-M. In Colau's words:

> Either we address a human tragedy from the ability to love that makes us human, or we will all end up dehumanized. And there will be more dead people, many more. This is not a battle to protect us from 'the others,' this is a war against life. Governments need to stop threatening with the 'beacon effect.' What Europe needs, very urgently, is an 'appeal to affection,' an appeal to empathy. (translated from Colau's Facebook post of 28th August 2015)

Barcelona's enormous pro-refugee mobilisation in 2017 captured these sentiments, condensed in the overtly anti-neoliberal slogan, 'tourists go home, refugees welcome'. Here, generative affinities between confluence, Mayor and movement were revealed. The

resonance of this approach meant that in the 2019 re-election campaign, Colau received huge international support. A letter urging her re-election was signed by over 200 prominent figures on the global left. The diversity of the signatories emphasised the centrality of Barcelona in the political imaginaries of those seeking to channel the municipalist spirit into alter-globalist movements, like the #FearlessCities conferences held in Barcelona in 2017 (Russell, 2019) and 2021.

In summary, cracks in the four cities were conjuncturally significant, either as newly inaugurated periods of struggle (Baltimore, Dublin, Montréal) or as the amplification of prior struggles with novel international reverberations (Barcelona). Each proximate struggle gave rise to spatially and/or temporally extended vibrations. Struggles in each city were influenced by the moving spirits of the post-Seattle cycle of contention, but in the cases of Barcelona and Montréal also enmeshed with older radical traditions associated with the Barcelona and Québec models. The novel element, with respect to vibrations, was the elevation of Barcelona to the status of new municipalist emblem and the way it sought to capitalise with displays of principled internationalism, addressing planetary issues and nurturing global networks.

Each of these crackings and vibrations highlights the centrality of urban politics in fomenting a 'punctual moment', through which the conjunctural problematic of 'late neoliberalism' became manifest in struggle, creating apertures through which generalised system critique proliferated, and alternative political economies were envisioned and enacted (discussed further below). They tacitly posed the question of hegemony, defined earlier as the ascent to power of self-directing subaltern groups. From the perspective of passive revolution, they also drew attention to the counter-tactics and strategies of statisation.

Dislocating

As Gramsci put it (1971: 54–5; Q25, §2), short of achieving hegemony, subalterns 'are always subject to the activity of ruling groups, even when they rebel and rise up'. Influenced by the processual interpretation of passive revolution as 'generalised means of statecraft in the expansion of capitalism', the term 'dislocating' captures the multitude of state tactics and strategies to counter anti-austerity movements, spanning violence and repression, ideological and bio-political enrolment, economic compulsion and centralisation or revanchism. It also captures internal drivers of decline characteristically seen in social movement cycles (Tarrow, 1998). Two inter-related forms of dislocation are discussed. There was considerable evidence firstly of effective counteractions by 'ruling groups' through political and administrative centralisation. It is argued that centralisation signalled the fading of neoliberalism as an 'inclusive' hegemony project and the compensatory acceleration of authoritarianism through realignments in the multi-scalar state. The research secondly revealed barriers to escalating conjunctural struggles internal to the forces opposing austere neoliberalism themselves.

Political and administrative centralisation

Clear patterns emerged as to how established governing regimes curtailed and muted the efficacy of anti-austerity struggles. Alongside routine police harassment of protest, the

most notable were centralisation measures undertaken to ensure that municipalities could not deviate from the fiscal priorities of regional, national and international elites, in tandem with offloading welfare and social protection responsibilities. The impact of these pre-emptive manoeuvres was most vivid in Barcelona, on account of the stark contrast they presented with its political radicalism. Laws were introduced to limit municipal deficits and debts and ringfence surpluses to debt repayment, while the City Council was also prohibited from insourcing and rehiring contract workers, creating perverse incentives to resist re-municipalisation. Moreover, the city was mired in legal struggles over re-municipalisation, with European competitiveness laws cited to reinforce the status quo. Said one activist, 'there is a harassment and constant takedown to any measure taken by the City Hall, an unprecedented policy of harassment and demolition…' (Blanco et al., 2020, p. 31). More recently, the city was banned from holding consultative referenda on policies, including re-municipalisation, on the grounds that only the Spanish government could authorise them (Blanco et al., 2022). This sovereigntist edict sabotaged a flagship municipalist policy.

In Baltimore, the longstanding urban regime built around a small municipal elite comprising Mayor and senior managers, local philanthropies and boosterish 'ed-and-med' institutions was largely untouched by *The Uprising*. Apart from a shift in rhetoric, it continued with the same developmental agendas, triage-based (dis)investments and racist policing. Hence, as the discourse of City Hall shifted towards 'One City', a gesture to ameliorating entrenched spatial inequality, activists saw that 'the conversation may have changed but the systems aren't changing' (Pill, 2020, p. 155). The unprecedented tax breaks gifted to downtown development exemplified: 'there is a scramble for resources and space in Baltimore where essentially white folks are trying to take Baltimore and push black folks out' (community activist cited in Pill, 2017, p. 3). Referring to the Chief Executive of clothing company Under Armour, another activist summed up: 'So, what he's going to do is build this corporate park in Port Covington … it's going to become another one of those neighbourhoods in the white "L" … it gets all the funding and all the city benefits'. Despite *The Uprising*, and a few side-payments that followed, urban policy further amplified racial and economic inequalities, whilst insulating the local state regime from popular pressure.

Dublin also saw power and authority reconcentrated. A major national restructuring of local authorities was undertaken in 2014 creating fewer, larger entities. This was perceived to have undermined political, cultural and identity-based links between communities and local authorities (Murphy, 2015, p. 555), highlighting the intersection between revanchism on one hand, and the offloading of costs and responsibilities to subnational authorities, civil society organisations and citizens on the other. Whilst local government in Ireland was always very weak, centralisation severely eroded the capacity of community organisations to speak truth to power. Even before the GEC, Ireland abolished its Combat Poverty Agency and reportedly instructed NGOs not to hire social researchers. Budgets for research were further slashed after 2008.

Montréal saw the re-concentration of power and resources upscale at the Québec level. According to a trade-unionist, 'we're in front of a government which is austere but also has an authoritarian attitude'. They pointed to a new law concentrating power in the hands of the Minister of Health and Social Services, while others described the Ministry of Finance asserting its orthodoxy over other departments and undermining traditional

local accountability mechanisms (Hamel & Keil, 2018, p. 6). These measures enabled the Québec government to drive *rigueur* into the public services of Montréal.

From the standpoint of conjunctural politics, such measures can be seen as cases of statisation, insulating national or regional austerity regimes from radical and democratic demands emerging from urban struggle and pulling the rug from beneath aspirationally progressive forces. From a Gramscian perspective, the levers of state became increasingly inaccessible and hostile. These processes pushed local governance either into closer alignment with the austere priorities of national and international authorities or to the margins, a retreat towards 'dominance without hegemony' (Guha, 1998) that weakened anti-austerity movements. Curtailing the political autonomy of subnational authorities was always a prominent feature of neoliberalisation, but the widespread shift towards sovereigntist modes of governing here highlights both the retreat from the (weak) hegemony of neoliberalism and emerging contours of passive-revolutionary re-composition.

Hesketh (2017, p. 405) argues that passive revolutionary forces have two faces: the moment of 'controlled inclusion' signifies the attempt to construct hegemonies from the top-down, as witnessed in the institution-building phase of neoliberalism. The examples of 'coerced marginalisation' found in this study signify the retreat of hegemonic ambition, at once a symptom of and compensating mechanism for the conjunctural crises of neoliberalism undertaken to insulate local state apparatuses from any possibility of democratic transformation. These processes beg the question of what comes next: another multi-scalar passive-revolutionary fix or fixes (such as neo-mercantilism interwoven with nativism), or perhaps a non-sovereigntist, geographically variegated subaltern programme for hegemony?

Fragmentation and co-optation

In addition, centrifugal forces operated within anti-austerity struggles themselves. Beset by electoral weaknesses, waning mobilisations and divisions over critical questions like Catalan independence, Barcelona en Comú proved unable to extend its political reach after taking office. Colau retained the Mayoralty in 2019, but Spanish municipalism suffered a strategic setback and now grapples with the need for a reset (Bua & Davies, 2022). According to Blanco et al. (2020, pp. 31–2), Barcelona en Comú struggled to build a 'political and cultural hegemony' in a city where political allegiances were split between the spectrum of municipalist and social-democratic activism, conservative nationalism and independentists, themselves divided on a left-right axis. These internal limits suggested that Barcelona en Comú was stronger as an outward looking force capable of influencing international debate than as a governing platform within the city, where it had limited traction on big political-economic questions facing the city.

In Dublin, though the polity was transformed from the caricature of passivity, organising momentum built in the Water Wars dissipated following the victory. For Hearne et al. (2020, p. 239), '[w]hile it has undoubtedly been shaken to the core, representative politics has weathered the storm and resistance has ebbed, diffused, and dissipated'. Activists organising in the face of a new housing crisis and spiralling rents were 'finding it difficult to replicate the success of the campaign against water charges'. Moreover, the subordination of local government, political fragmentation and electoral

retreat among left-leaning parties undermined potential to build movements around new municipalist (or other emancipatory) strategies. Gaynor (2017, p. 16) observed 'although over a third of the current council is made up of radical left-wing councillors, the perceived and accepted weakness of the council means that this has not translated into any new municipalism for Dublin'.

The coordinating role of the Coalition Main Rouge became pivotal in the wave of actions seen throughout and in the aftermath of the Maple Spring. However, at the end of 2015, leading unions broke unity by striking a deal with the government of Québec in return for modest concessions. Hamel and Autin (2017, p. 181) argued that this showed them to be locked into an 'iron cage' of bureaucratic corporatism. The retreat undermined the Coalition, which although it continued to exist, lost the momentum of the Québec Spring. Similar chilling effects of late-corporatist social partnership traditions were noted in Ireland and Spain, not only weakening the unions themselves but also dividing them from movements rooted in community and social reproduction struggles (Helle, 2015).

Conclusions on the implications of dislocation for conjunctural politics are threefold: first, multi-scalar austerity regimes were able proactively to reconsolidate statal power, deliver austerity and assert control within the fractious urban arena through mechanisms that signalled a retreat from hegemonic ambition towards revanchist manoeuvres: an incipient crisis of the passive-revolutionary fix associated with rollout neoliberalism. Second, confluences like Barcelona en Comú exercised a fragile grip on office, found the levers of state difficult to wield, and struggled to extend alliances within the urban arena itself. Third, alliances constituting anti-austerity movements, such as those between unions, students and community groups tended to weaken over time as explosive struggles inaugurating cracks and vibrations waned, and sectional concerns came to the fore. For Dikeç and Swyngedouw (2017, p. 14) the challenge following cracks and vibrations is to create 'transformative strategies through which a new socio-political spatialization becomes imagined, practiced and universalized', or through which passive-revolutionary incorporation or marginalisation can be resisted (Hesketh, 2017). From the standpoint of the putative hegemonic apparatus, this challenge remains. Unity proved difficult to sustain over an extended period in the face of centrifugal pressures towards suppression, co-optation, dissipation and fragmentation. In these cities, the cyclical character of movements was unbroken by the post-GEC uprisings. Nevertheless, the perspective of sedimenting constantly brings the question of new 'socio-political spatializations' to the fore.

Sedimenting

What remains following this catalogue of cracks, vibrations and dislocations? As was discussed earlier, the new municipalism in Barcelona resonated powerfully on the international stage. In practical terms, and despite the challenges, Barcelona en Comú did make policy gains in office, through cooling the city-centre tourism and development economies, investing in commoning, and restoring vitality to participatory governance mechanisms undermined by previous administrations (Flesher-Fominaya, 2020). Blanco et al. (2020, p. 28) noted that while the municipalist agenda undoubtedly moderated in office, there was a 'gradual consolidation of a new political agenda in the city, which does not necessarily represent a radical rupture with regard to the preceding policies but does

express a major shift in the priorities of institutional action'. Thus, elements of the anti-austerity movements in Barcelona sedimented both locally and internationally, continuing to contest passive revolutionary forces.

In Dublin, one of the most significant outcomes of the Water Wars was the revitalisation of granular solidarities and far-reaching political demands in communities that resisted meter installations. According to one respondent (Gaynor, 2020, p. 87), 'I think there's something fundamentally that's changed in terms of people's psyche in terms of how they see the world. Where previously they would have accepted it . . . Now they say, "Hold on," you know. "The emperor has no clothes". And once you switch that on in people, they start to see other things'. Despite the pessimism of Hearne et al. (2020), the research suggested that a culture of resistance had become re-inscribed in the politics of Dublin. A community activist captured the sedimented effects of the Water Wars in urban political consciousness (Gaynor, 2020, p. 87): 'We did it through sheer grit, people power, civil disobedience, and being kind to each other, and listening to each other. And if we can do that for our water, we can definitely do that for education, and we can definitely do it for our health. We can do it for everything'.

In the aftermath of *The Uprising*, respondents in Baltimore talked about newly assertive community organising practices, with activists 'educated outside the non-profit formula' coming to the fore. While the development regime remained impenetrable, activists thought that these practices contributed to a more robustly contentious polity. According to a community activist, *The Uprising* created 'a parallel structure, a parallel narrative . . . [a] vision of community empowerment from the grassroots up, as opposed to seeing black folks as appendages of a neoliberal wave' (Pill, 2020, p. 157). Such sedimentations, also suggestive of a nascent counter-hegemonic discourse, reinforced the claim that movements restricted the co-optive reach of austere governing regimes, even if they could not displace them, and reinforced the confidence, presence and credibility of those advancing alternatives. Even at the height of the pandemic in spring 2020, movements made a comeback with #BlackLivesMatter reignited by the murder of George Floyd, this time on a global scale. In one startling and unexpected gesture, Baltimore police took the knee in solidarity with those protesting the murder. The spread of #Blacklivesmatter reinforced the sense that repeated waves of mobilisation were sedimenting in an increasingly interconnected and globalised culture of urban resistance.

Sedimentations arising from the Maple Spring were harder to discern, as the movements-in-unity dissipated after late 2015. On the electoral front, *Projet Montréal* achieved unexpected success under the leadership of 'progressive' Valérie Plante, who won the Mayoralty in 2017 and retained it decisively in 2021. Plante continued with boosterish policies while simultaneously championing the 'green wave' across Québec. Folco (2022) concluded that the immense Montréal climate march of September 2021, mobilising more than 500,000 people, including the mayor herself, was demonstrative of a 'particularly dynamic and mobilized civil society'. As in Dublin, the Maple Spring enmeshed with older traditions of social mobilisation to become sedimented in the vibrant political culture of the city.

These examples point to multiple sedimentations: notable policy advances together with the cultivation of international networks through the new municipalism and #Blacklivesmatter, the renewal of community solidarities (propinquity) inaugurated by

the Water Wars in Dublin, invigorated community organising and self-confidence within the dispossessed neighbourhoods of Baltimore, and a continued appetite for public mobilisation around critical local and planetary issues in Montréal. The research suggested that although social movements continue to rise and fall, they do so in a global urban milieu that provides a continuous source of energy to new uprisings. This postulated milieu ensures that place-based apertures for conjunctural politics remain wide open and highlights vectors of struggle that serve as prophylactics against passive-revolutionary subsumption, whilst continually posing anew the question of what apparatuses might be adequate to resolving urban and planetary crises.

Conclusion

The discussion suggests a partial and provisional answer to Gillan's (2020, p. 517) question: 'what do the key characteristics of movements – including conflict, organizational form, and subjective motivations – tell us about the socio-political environment'? The weakening of neoliberalism in its peak-hegemonic, globalist and latterly austere forms goes back to the early 2000s, intersecting the Northern wave of contention inaugurated in Seattle. While austerity was not halted, aspects of neoliberalisation were disrupted and displaced in all four cities. There has been a notable shift in the discourse of international organisations, which distance themselves from austerity and urge national governments not to repeat the errors of the 2010s (UN, 2020). Moreover, the co-optive powers of urban austerity regimes eroded as the movements arose, requiring them to augment coercive and administrative modes of domination; a prominent augur of crisis in the prevailing passive-revolutionary fix. The inter-related ideas of conjunctural crisis, weak hegemony, and interregnum reinforce the argument that the political challenge posed by urban struggles is confronted not by hegemony, but statisation in the form, increasingly, of 'coerced marginalisation' (Hesketh, 2017, p. 405). To what extent these re-alignments augur a qualitatively decisive passive-revolutionary thrust beyond 'late neoliberalism', towards a new late-capitalist (dis)order, remains to be seen.

Reflecting on the conjuncture, does this study suggest that the possibility of another world is more tangible than it was earlier in the post-Seattle cycle or in subsequent anti-war, social forum and anti-austerity waves? The research, summarised in Table 2, captures shifting patterns within a dangerous interregnum: escalating contradictions and authoritarianism intersecting the politically generative character of urban struggles. Moments of conjunctural politics, in Della Porta's sense, are interspersed with re-normalisation, dislocation and sometimes outright retreat. Consequently, while the tempo of eruptions could be speeding up as May (2017) surmised, a conjunctural reading of temporalities of struggle, transformation and re-normalisation points to the continuance of an interregnum: an impasse replete with dangers and tantalizing possibilities.

From the perspective of struggle, evidence of novel proto-hegemonic apparatuses remained scarce. The Coalition Main Rouge provided one glimpse of this potentiality, the planetary vision and international municipalist networks nurtured by Barcelona en Comú another, where transnational inter-urban solidarities were palpable. The globalisation of #BlackLivesMatter further reinforced the view that proximate struggles are highly contagious and geo-political borders porous. The most uplifting finding was that strikingly similar conclusions about the need for

Table 2. A conjunctural perspective on urban austerity governance.

	Baltimore	Barcelona	Dublin	Montréal
Cracking	2015 *Uprising* against the murder of Freddie Gray.	Waves of protest from late 90s culminate in 15-M 2011, translated into new electoral confluence led by Ada Colau.	2014 anti austerity mobilisations, explosion of water wars.	2012 Maple Spring.
Vibrating	Generation of 'parallel narrative' against neoliberalism. Globalisation of Black Lives Matter.	Principled internationalism. Tacit organic intellectualism.	Cascading of Water Wars into wider spheres of contentious politics, e.g. housing.	Maple Spring culminates in worker and VCS strikes of 2015, coordinating body, Coalition Main Rouge.
Dislocating	Core development regime untouched – racial, spatial and economic inequalities accelerating.	Centralisation. Inability to extend hegemony. Electoral retreat of Spanish municipalism (2019).	Centralisation. Reflation of boosterish economy. Depletion of activist energies and electoral fragmentation.	Centralisation. Fragmentation of forces constituting provisional unities – the 'iron cage of bureaucracy'.
Sedimenting	Assertive and contentious community organising beyond the non-profit formula.	Cooling boosterish economy, significant policy changes. Global Fearless Cities network.	Victory in water wars, renewed grassroots solidarity, confidence and propinquity.	Politicised civil society, exemplified by climate protests.

a generalised system critique emerged from urban struggles with very different subjective and geographical starting points: the sedimentation of universalising anti-systemic and pro-egalitarian themes of planetary as well as situational import. These instances suggest that urban resistance might fruitfully be understood as summoning a global anti-neoliberal milieu, itself a prophylactic against passive revolutionary subsumption, which provides fertile ground from which movements are continually launched anew into struggles with sovereigntist or revanchist containment, creating feedback loops into the milieu. If the cyclical character of movement politics is familiar, it is important to recognise that new struggles constantly overflow passive-revolutionary dislocation and tacitly pose once again the question of hegemony.

This conclusion, finally, brings us back to the initial problem of what emergent, transcendent and transformational self-regulating apparatuses might further connect, channel and augment these movements. It invites scholar-activists, rebels and organic intellectuals to revisit questions of strategy and the kind of multi-scalar mechanisms that can evade passive-revolutionary inscription (Hesketh, 2017), fulfil universalising claims and aspirations and have the potential to resolve a disastrous and escalating interregnum.

Acknowledgements

Immense gratitude is owed to co-investigators who researched the case studies and wrote articles and working papers upon which transversal analysis is based. They are Dr Ismael Blanco, Autonomous University of Barcelona, Dr Adrian Bua, Autonomous University of Barcelona, Dr Ioannis Chorianopoulos, University of the Aegean, Dr Mercè Cortina Oriol, Autonomous University of Barcelona, Dr Niamh Gaynor, Dublin City University, Professor Brendan Gleeson,

University of Melbourne, Professor Steven Griggs, Staffordshire University, Professor David Howarth, University of Essex, Professor Pierre Hamel, University of Montreal, Professor Roger Keil, York University Toronto, Dr Madeleine Pill, University of Sheffield and Professor Helen Sullivan, Australian National University.

The research discussed here was inspired by TRANSGOB and the outstanding leadership of its Principal Investigator, Dr Ismael Blanco.

I am grateful to two anonymous referees and the journal's editors for their guidance on strengthening the paper. Many thanks, finally, are due to Dr Graeme Hayes for reviewing an early draft of the paper and for his excellent advice on developing it for submission.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Funding

The research was generously funded by the UK Economic and Social Research Council under the title Collaborative Governance under Austerity: An Eight-case Comparative Study (ES/L012898/1). An earlier phase of research involving Barcelona was funded by the Spanish Government's Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness under its National Development Plan (Ref: CSO2012-32817) as part of a larger study of austerity governance in Spain and the UK: Transformations of Urban Governance in the Context of the Crisis (TRANSGOB).

Notes on contributor

Jonathan S. Davies is founding Director of the Centre for Urban Research on Austerity and Professor of Critical Policy Studies at De Montfort University, UK. His research interests span critical issues in governance, urban studies and public policy. Davies has recently worked extensively on crises and austerity governance. Between 2015 and 2018 he held a major ESRC grant, leading an international consortium of researchers in a comparative study of austerity governance and resistance. The major publications from this study can be found in the Journal of Urban Affairs, issue 42(1) and two project volumes published by Bristol University Press: *Between Realism and Revolt: Governing Cities in the Crisis of Neoliberal Globalism* (2021) and *New Developments in urban Governance: Rethinking Collaboration in the Age of Austerity* (2022).

ORCID

Jonathan S. Davies http://orcid.org/0000-0003-2498-6946

References

Barker, C., Cox, L., Krinsky, J., & Nilson, G. (2013). Marxism and social movements: An introduction. In C. Barker, L. Cox, J. Krinsky, & G. Nilson (Eds.), *Marxism and social movements* (pp. 1–37). Leiden: Brill.

Blanco, I., Lowndes, V., & Salazar, Y. (2022). Understanding institutional dynamics in participatory governance: How rules, practices and narratives combine to produce stability or diverge to create conditions for change. *Critical Policy Studies*, *16*(2), 204–223. https://doi.org/10.1080/19460171.2021.1984265

Blanco, I., Salazar, Y., & Bianchi, I. (2020). Urban governance and political change under a radical left government: The case of Barcelona. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, *42*(2), 18–38. https://doi.org/10.1080/07352166.2018.1559648

Bua, A., & Davies, J. S. (2022). Understanding the crisis of new municipalism in Spain: The struggle for urban regime power in a Coruña and Santiago de Compostela. *Urban Studies*, *60*(11), 2054–2072. Published online 21st October https://doi.org/10.1177/00420980221123939

Consejero, F. M., & Janoschka, M. (2022). Transforming urban democracy through social movements: The experience of Ahora Madrid. *Social Movement Studies*, Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2022.2028615

Davies, J. S. (2021). *Between realism and revolt: Governing cities in the crisis of neoliberal globalism*. Bristol University Press.

Davies, J., Blanco, S., Bua, I., Chorianopoulos, A., Cortina-Oriol, I., Feandeiro, M., Gaynor, A., Gleeson, N., Griggs, B., Hamel, S., Henderson, P., Howarth, H., Keil, D., Pill, R., Salazar, M. C. Y., & Sullivan, H. (2022). *New developments in urban governance: Rethinking collaboration in the Age of Austerity*. Bristol University Press.

Day, R. J. (2005). *Gramsci is dead: Anarchist currents in the newest social movements*. Pluto Press.

Della Porta, D. (2020). Protests as critical junctures: Some reflections towards a Momentous approach to social movements. *Social Movement Studies*, *19*(5–6), 556–575. https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2018.1555458

Dikeç, M., & Swyngedouw, E. (2017). Theorizing the politicizing city. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *41*(1), 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12388

Enwright, T., & Rossi, U. Eds. (2017). *The urban political: Ambivalent spaces of late neoliberalism*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Feenstra, R. A., & Tormey, S. (2023). From social mobilisation to institutional politics: Reflecting on the impact of municipalism in Madrid and Barcelona. *Social Movement Studies*, *23*(1), 80–98. https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2021.1993181

Flesher-Fominaya, C. (2020). *Democracy reloaded: Inside Spain's political laboratory from 15-M to Podemos*. Oxford University Press.

Folco, J. D. (2022). A green wave in Quebec municipal elections, *Minim*. Retrieved from https://minim-municipalism.org/magazine/a-green-wave-in-quebec-municipal-elections. Retrieved January 13, 2023.

Gaynor, N. (2017). *Working paper 22: Dublin final case study report*. Unpublished.

Gaynor, N. (2020). Governing austerity in Dublin: Rationalization, resilience, and resistance. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, *42*(1), 75–90. https://doi.org/10.1080/07352166.2018.1484256

George, S. (2004). *Another world is possible if . . ..*

Gillan, K. (2020). Temporality in social movement theory: Vectors and events in the neoliberal timescape. *Social Movement Studies*, *19*(5–6), 516–536. https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2018.1548965

Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the prison notebooks*. Q. Hoare & G. N. Smith, (Eds). Lawrence and Wishart.

Gramsci, A. (1995). *Further selections from the prison notebooks*. Edited and translated by Boothman Derek. Lawrence and Wishart.

Guha, R. (1998). *Domination without hegemony: History and power in Colonial India*. Oxford University Press.

Hamel, P., & Autin, G. (2017). Austerity governance and the welfare crisis in Montreal. *Alternate Routes*, *28*(1), 165–188.

Hamel, P., & Keil, R. (2018). *Working paper 25: Montreal case study final report*. Unpublished.

Hamel, P., & Keil, R. (2020). "La Coopération, c'est clé": Montreal's urban governance in Times of austerity. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, *42*(1), 109–124. https://doi.org/10.1080/07352166.2019.1676647

Hearne, R., Boyle, M., & Kobayashi, A. (2020). Taking liberties with democracy? On the origins meaning and implications of the Irish water Wars. *Geoforum*, *110*, 232–241. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2018.08.003

Helle, I. (2015). A new proletariat in the making? Reflections on the 14 November 2012 strike and the movements of 1968 and 1995. *Transfer: European Review of Labour & Research*, *21*(2), 229–242. https://doi.org/10.1177/1024258915573388
Hesketh, C. (2017). Passive revolution: A universal concept with geographical seats. *Review of International Studies*, *43*(3), 389–411. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210517000079
Johnson, R. (2007). Post-hegemony?: I don't think so. *Theory, Culture and Society*, *24*(3), 95–110. https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276407075958
Kioupkiolos, A. (2018). Movements post-hegemony: How contemporary collective action transforms hegemonic politics. *Social Movement Studies*, *17*(1), 99–112. https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2017.1377604
Kouvelakis, S. (2018). Borderland. *New Left Review*, *110*, 5–33.
Lash, S. (2007). Power after Hegemony: Cultural Studies in mutation? *Theory, Culture & Society*, *24*(3), 55–78. https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276407075956
May, T. (2017). Urban crisis: Bonfire of vanities to find opportunities in the ashes. *Urban Studies*, *54*(9), 2189–2198. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098017700296
Moreiras, A. (2001). *The exhaustion of difference: The politics of Latin American cultural Studies*. Duke UP.
Murphy, G. (2015). "Residents are fearful that their community will die around them": Some thoughts from inside the 2013 local electoral area boundary committee. *Irish Political Studies*, *30*(4), 555–574. https://doi.org/10.1080/07907184.2015.1096266
Peck, J. (2017). Transatlantic city part 1: Conjunctural urbanism. *Urban Studies*, *54*(1), 4–30. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098016679355
Pill, M. C. (2017). *Working paper 20: Baltimore final case study report*. Unpublished.
Pill, M. C. (2020). The austerity governance of Baltimore's neighborhoods: "the conversation may have changed but the systems aren't changing". *Journal of Urban Affairs*, *42*(1), 143–158. https://doi.org/10.1080/07352166.2018.1478226
Pineault, E. (2012). Québec's red Spring: An essay on ideology and social conflict at the end of neoliberalism. *Studies in Political Economy: A Socialist Review*, *90*(1), 29–56. https://doi.org/10.1080/19187033.2012.11674990
Russell, B. (2019). Beyond the local trap: New municipalism and the rise of the Fearless cities. *Antipode*, *51*(3), 989–1010. https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12520
Stahl, R. M. (2019). Ruling the interregnum: Politics and ideology in nonhegemonic times. *Politics & Society*, *47*(3), 333–360. https://doi.org/10.1177/0032329219851896
Tarrow, S. (1998). *Power in movement: Collective action, social movements and politics*. Cambridge University Press.
Thomas, P. (2009). *The Gramscian moment: Philosophy, hegemony and Marxism*. Leiden: Brill.
Thomas, P. (2021). After Post-Hegemony. *Contemporary Political Theory*, *20*(2), 318–340. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41296-020-00409-1
UN. (2020). *Policy Brief: COVID-19 in an Urban World*. Retrieved from https://www.un.org/sites/un2.un.org/files/sg_policy_brief_covid_urban_world_july_2020.pdf.