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Of (not) being neighbors: cities, citizens and climate change in an age of migrations

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ABSTRACT

Borders are back with a vengeance. From the Americas to the Mediterranean, borders cut through the increasingly integrated world in a way that exposes the inside-outside logic of contemporary capitalism. All this happens on a backdrop where cities are becoming the key sites of contestation since borders and levees do not suffice to keep them intact. Cities are also increasingly becoming the focus of international efforts to deal with climate change and migration, where nation-states are falling short. By synthesizing the possibilities of urban belonging and right-to-the-world, we argue that new urban imaginaries are at the frontline of the mobilities debate today. Consequently, we argue for a cross-pollination of mobility justice and climate justice as urban citizenship. The main thrust of our argument is that there are viable alternatives to the isolationist fortress nation model, which can bring a new dimension to debates concerning climate change and migration. Fearless cities are but one example of these emerging alternatives. By focusing on the opportunities for a radical response to climate change and migration, we suggest that cities can respond to the burning mobility challenges of our times with a just, grounded and egalitarian urban citizenship framed as mobile commons.

Introduction

Globalization, and not just that of the last few decades, is built upon the enforcement of 'violent borders' (Jones 2016). It has always been the othering of someone or somewhere that has made possible the so-called Western success across categories, including but not limited to industrialism and urbanism. Similarly, it is worth remembering that the unimpeded circulation of capital and goods distinctive of the most recent phase of neoliberalism has never implied a symmetrical free circulation of people. On the contrary, the global frontiers that provide cheap labor, energy, resources and environmental sinks (Patel and Moore 2017) on one side have precisely been the basis of the hyper-mobility of goods, capital and the global elite on the other side. Increasingly deterritorialized, these frontiers are selectively permeable–open to fluxes of materials, money and xenophobic, isolationist discourses–but closed to unfit, unwanted bodies.

Borders delineate people and spaces as much as temporalities and materialities, but they are neither natural nor eternal. They are made less to impede human mobility than to contain and control its speed and magnitude. This is nowhere more apparent than in the Anthropocene discourse itself, which is arguably more about the reification of uneven social relations than about the power relations that shape the so-called 'age of humans' (Armiero 2019). Regardless of

how much the term, Anthropocene, refers to humanity being an undifferentiated bio-geo-chemical force as a whole, the checkpoints of the Global North make it clear that such wholesale representations do not survive beyond the border. Essentially, the cover of one's passport appears to be a better signifier of what it means to be human in the Anthropocene. As such, citizenship becomes the key arena where differentiated management of mobilities in the Anthropocene (or better put, *Capitalocene*, see Moore 2016) are negotiated and contested. Nonetheless, under planetary urbanism defined by the triple crises of the urban, migration and climate (Sheller 2018a), which citizenship are we really talking about? In what follows, we suggest that assembling cities, citizens and climate change from the vantage point of mobility justice may offer transformative possibilities to sabotage borders. Here we follow Sheller's (2018b) definition of mobility justice as 'an overarching concept for thinking about how power and inequality inform the governance and control of movement, shaping the patterns of unequal mobility and immobility in the circulation of people, resources, and information' against sedentary conceptualizations of belonging and citizenship.

Rebecca Solnit (2008) brilliantly underlines that it is the fortified border that makes a garden. Any gap in the wall is a leak, which will gradually contaminate the garden. A wall will save us–this is the disturbing but simple mantra repeated time and time again by the gardeners of hate, constantly looking for means of mass distraction from the uneven impacts of our socio-ecological predicament, regardless whether it takes root in *Trumplandia* or its *doppelgängers* across the Atlantic. Shifting the blame and responsibility away from the global elite also contributes to the illusion of belonging to a global privileged gated community, whose borders and walls traverse our cities, schools, career paths and, perhaps, even our bodies. Indeed, social and environmental inequalities are dramatic on both sides of the wall, the Global North and the Global South. They are also omnipresent as 'pockets of plenty and none' within these rather arbitrary categories in a multipolar world. In this backdrop, we are constantly reminded that cities as the "spatial and infrastructural forms that can allow us to have our cake and eat it too" (Derickson 2017) can be ecological, sustainable, smart and resilient–all being provisional descriptors at best (Tyszczuk 2018).

Cities emerge as the junctions where people-on-the-move meet the abrupt and concentrated manifestations of climate change and resource constraints as well as the impacts of the global economic crisis and its xenophobic residues (Hodson and Marvin 2010). In a time of increased interdependence amidst a global wave of isolationist and exclusionary authoritarian populism, cities are also regarded as the main culprits and the victims of multidimensional challenges occurring on both sides of the proverbial North-South divide. Manifested differently across socio-economic and spatial particularities, climate change and human mobility are but two of the global challenges that cut across a multitude of socio-ecological issues. The convergence of these challenges also reveals the power and socio-economic differentials in cities depending on one's ethnicity, class, race, gender, citizenship and age among other variables. Even the similarity of concepts used to describe and address these intertwined challenges is telling: "burden sharing, vulnerability, territorial sovereignty, hotspots" (Gill 2018, 92). If, eventually, climate-just cities need to "focus both on the contemporary city's nature and the role of nature in cities in the Anthropocene" (Steele, Mata, and Fünfgeld 2015, 124), there is no way we can discuss this without devoting attention to the role, agency, and structural vulnerabilities of mobile populations.

Taking this as our point of departure, here we call on politically engaged researchers of urban climate justice and mobility justice to go beyond the traps of state-centric configurations in rethinking the diverse modalities of citizenship and solidarity, and reacting to them. We start with the role of the city in a time of convoluted stresses from climate change and human mobility, and then move on with a discussion of urban citizenship as the ground on which a radical politics of urban belonging can flourish. Accordingly, our argument unfolds in three main steps: a) climate change and human mobility are both macro phenomena that are visibly manifested at the micro level and thus require a concerted grassroots response at their zone of convergence – in other words, urban space matters; b) there is a particular emphasis on the role of cities in responding to this coupled challenge of climate change and human mobility and meanwhile the political and

economic autonomy of cities is not taken for granted – in other words, power matters; and c) contingent possibilities of a radical response to these intertwined challenges may arrive through a progressive politics of urban belonging (Bauder 2016) and the right-to-the-world (Nevins 2017). In other words, radical grassroots action grounded in solidarity (and not hospitality) can reclaim urban citizenship as a means to achieve mobility and climate justice. We now turn to cities, where this convergence happens.

Where migration and climate change meet

Migrants have always been exposed to environmental injustice, both in the workplace and in the city (Pellow and Park 2002; Armiero 2017). Positioned at the bottom of the social hierarchy, they are employed in the most dangerous jobs while inhabiting places that others often abandon. For example, as shown by Rashid, Gani, and Sarker (2013) for Bangladesh, unhealthy, disaster-prone and environmentally unsafe slums are often the destination of migrants from the countryside to the cities. This is not only a reality for low-income countries. A recent piece published in the *American Journal of Public Health* has shown that undocumented immigrant workers with no entitlement to citizenship in the U.S. have three times more risk for heat-related death – a phenomenon that will be exacerbated by rising mean surface temperatures – when compared to U.S. citizens (Taylor et al. 2018). With rising average temperatures, vulnerable migrant groups will increasingly face the burden of the climate crisis as they did in the case of the devastating 2003 heat wave in Paris, for which Keller (2015) provides a hard account of immigrants' experience.

How citizenship helps, hampers and mediates the intricate relationship between climate change and mobility is an understudied phenomenon (albeit not without exceptions, see Baldwin 2012). Defining citizenship as membership of a nation-state becomes a pointless statement – if not outright destructive, according to Isin and Nyers (2014) – in today's world where hyper-mobility is only enabled by consumption of climate-ravaging amounts of fossil fuels (Nevins 2018). The luxuries of VIP lounges, safety shelters and gated urban spaces available to an elite fraction of the world population are restricted from the needy majority on the grounds of having the 'wrong' identity cards.[1] Somewhat luckily, social struggles on multiple fronts are challenging, countering and remaking the very notion of citizenship as they help to reveal the radical potentials or "contingent possibilities" (Bauder 2017) of this concept, which is often taken for granted. Our intention here is to draw the parallels between the struggle for climate justice and mobility justice with cities as the backdrop for this convergence.

Cities are shaped by the flows of people, energy and materials, information, knowledge, money and cultural practices (Freundendal-Pedersen and Kessering 2016). As Nyers and Rygiel observe, "it is not so much that people move into a space but rather the space is created and constructed as a result of flows of people, goods, services, systems and interactions between them" (2012, 6). Following this line, cities and shared spaces are inherently products of multiple and differentiated mobilities, and flows of people as much as flows of carbon constitute the city (see also Paterson 2014). Simultaneously, cities are also the key sites of contestation over migration and climate change since borders and levees often do not suffice to keep them intact. On the one hand, cities are increasingly positioned at the focus of international efforts and financing intended to deal with climate change and migration, while nation-states are either falling short or knowingly outsourcing their responsibilities. On the other hand, Kaika (2017) argues that cities repeatedly face path dependencies on old methodologies for new problems, exclusionary techno-managerial fixes and institutional frameworks not fit to purpose. As the arenas for political struggles over the politics of climate change and human mobility, networked cities possess glocal responsibilities, motivations and institutions in the urban age (Castan-Broto 2017). Despite all the praise cities receive, they hardly succeed at being effective substitutes for nation-state responses to structural crises due to their low levels of economic and political autonomy (see, for instance, Bansard, Pattberg, and Widerberg 2017). Therefore, putting too much emphasis on the agency of cities without paying

attention to uneven power dynamics across scales of governance and political actors risks losing sight of the tricky political economy of cities' response to climate change and human mobility.

Placing the burden of responsibility on cities without strengthening their political autonomy and financial and technical capacities yields at best a patchy role for local authorities (Shi et al. 2016). A reworking of cities both as sanctuaries[2] and safe spaces for addressing the climate crisis requires a radical restructuring of their political economies towards partial or complete autonomy from nation-state as well as capitalist social relations (Purcell 2003; Young 2011). Such an intervention is therefore both a matter of scalar imagination (Isin 2007) in rethinking urban citizenship and a material right to the city (Purcell 2003) in different dimensions. Addressing the questions of 'who' and 'how' for both climate justice and mobility justice will require dealing with uneasy questions about structural determinants of injustice, including the social and material advantages that come with the notion and practice of citizenship beyond the nation-state. Our proposition here is that insurgent forms of citizenship (Holston 1998) rooted in grassroots mobilization and the prefiguration of everyday state practices are key to overcoming the multiple and intertwined challenges of the climate crisis and xenophobia.

Citizenship redefined?

The rise of the authoritarian varieties of crony neoliberalism in Turkey, the U.S., India, Brazil, Poland, Hungary and many other places poses crucial questions about the meaning of citizenship and belonging in the globalized world (Bruff and Tansel 2018). For instance, in the last few years the Italian *Lega Nord* has shifted from being a regional political movement demanding autonomy from the national state for the Northern and richer regions of the country to a far right nationalistic party campaigning with the xenophobic banner, "Italians first!" Italy is not an isolated case. Anti-immigrant sentiment is boosting extremist right-wing parties almost everywhere, from the rampant support for the Swedish Democrats to the repeated success of Orbán in Hungary. Several observers have argued that Brexit should also be understood as an expression of xenophobic nationalism, associated, as always, with the dire effects of economic crisis and austerity policies (Gough 2017). From the "Italians first!" of the Lega Nord to Trump's "Make America Great Again", we see the return of the nation-state and of the political project to protect its 'ideal citizens'. However, this far-right interpretation of the state in a connected world is strongly enmeshed into a nationalistic identity soup that reinterprets citizens' rights in exclusionary ways. In this sense, the revival of nationalism does not necessarily imply a stronger notion of citizenship under a given territorial sovereignty. Quite the contrary, it aims to create unequal legal status for people living in the same territory: first-class citizens vs. those who do not belong and are unfit to be citizens. This is much more than just rhetoric: in several Italian cities governed by Lega Nord, the local authorities have proposed to implement an "Italians first!" policy that will give priority to Italians in accessing social services, including schools and public transportation, but also social protection from hydro-climatic disasters. Being a citizen in this framework is not primarily a legal status, but a matter of identity. Denmark has gone so far as to implement a special training plan for immigrants' children living in low-income neighborhoods aiming to inoculate them with 'Danish values' (Barry and Sorensen 2018).[3]

Engin Isin (2000) reminds us that a renewed emphasis on citizenship encompasses not only rights and obligations, but also social practices of reinventing the role of citizenship towards a democratic renewal. Rethinking citizenship beyond the nation-state, in this sense, can help to advance intersectional justice claims, expand the realm of the possible, and counter segregation, privatization and fortification (Holston 1998). For instance, take the case of climate gentrification and segregation, which creeps in as climate extremes become more frequent and more intense. During the 2018 wildfires that took their toll on California, migrant farmworkers, construction workers and others in low-wage industries were practically forced to continue without protective equipment despite hazardous levels of particulate matter in the air (Herrera 2018) and left to their own devices by being unable to call for disaster relief due to

their vulnerable immigration status.[4] This coincided with the time during which Kim Kardashian and other ultra-rich residents of Malibu were reported to hire private firefighting services to safeguard their multi-million dollar properties (Madrigal 2018). As the global elites seek high ground to safeguard their investments from the climate crisis, the first to be sacrificed happen to be, somewhat unsurprisingly, migrants and the dispossessed. This is also particularly true for the mobile labor force rendered governable by being adaptable to climate change (Turhan, Zografos, and Kallis 2015). Fundamentally, mobility injustice and climate injustice are both reproduced by intersecting forms of socio-economic marginality since temporal and spatial distribution of risks are differentiated by gender, class, citizenship and other divisive criteria (Chu and Michael 2018). Therefore, when cities appear as the locus of new kinds of citizenship struggles, they can potentially destabilize and transform the boundaries of the notion in significant ways, including novel ways of belonging.

While traditional forms of citizenship assume a static relation to territorially bounded political space and political community, radical responses to climate change and human mobility demand new subjectivities and new relationships (Ataç, Rygiel, and Stierl 2016; Routledge, Cumbers, and Derickson 2018). New spaces of citizenship enable new ways of being as well as breeding a new type of politics, one that is closer to the immediate concerns of urban life in the Anthropocene (Pincetl 2017). However, as Bauder (2016, 252) rightfully asks, what then is a "radically different urban reality that is open and unfixed?" Della Porta's answer is telling, "challenge to the existing order is often developed by the excluded, who trigger the building of coalitions for an extension of rights" (2019, 299). We suggest that the intersectionality of climate change and human mobility – in other words, the convergence of these glocal concerns – is the key here. Urban coalitions of solidarity deconstruct and transform charity and hospitality into a welcoming civil disobedience and a prefiguration of climate just cities (Dawson 2017). Thus, they expose the wildest neoliberal dreams of crushing urban residents, both old and new, between the climate crisis, the financial crisis and a crisis of belonging. An emancipatory response to repressive politics of exclusion, in this sense, needs to challenge the dominant political, economic, legal and cultural order, one in which the notion of citizenship is central. If global regimes of (im)mobility in a fossil-fuel dominated world cut across the axes of race, class, gender and citizenship among others (Nevins 2017), then radical local responses to these exclusionary regimes need to recognize the contingent potentials of "municipal time-space contexts [inspiring] progressive imaginaries" (Cooper 2017) of new belongings.

Our contention is that the real struggle is between a liberal way of dealing with human mobility and climate change as manageable, temporary crises versus a revolutionary perspective that embraces them as an opportunity to break away from border-bound definitions of citizenship and create a truly just, equitable, welcoming and nurturing urban solidarity (Turhan and Armiero 2017). "The frictions and encounters of the migration process", Head et al. observe, "provide real-time experiments in alternative ways of doing things" (2018, 14). Channeling this friction into a new urban politics also requires particular attention to opening political spaces and experimenting with new forms of organizations and institutions. Thus, moving beyond the climate-migration impasse requires a bold determination to claim one's right to be neighbors, to open new political spaces and counter authoritarian populism in its most banal forms. The Italian journalist and novelist Italo Calvino depicts this determination vividly:

> The inferno of the living is not something that will be; if there is one, it is what is already here, the inferno where we live every day, that we form by being together. There are two ways to escape suffering it. The first is easy for many: accept the inferno and become such a part of it that you can no longer see it. The second is risky and demands constant vigilance and apprehension: seek and learn to recognize who and what, in the midst of inferno, are not inferno, then make them endure, give them space (1978, 165).

For those seeking the risky and difficult path of resisting climate crisis and xenophobic politics from bottom up, "agency is found not in simple assemblages of citizens into national or global movements but in insurrectional movements born out of the struggles of human beings within dominant political and economic sets, which no longer fully include them even as they appear to represent them" (Soğuk 2014,

50). This includes emancipatory alternatives such as democratic confederalism (see Cemgil 2016; Colasanti et al. 2018) as well as radical municipalist projects that seek to avoid romanticizing the local as a scale. At this junction, we see 'fearless cities' spearheaded by municipalist citizen platforms offering a radical alternative to the particular spatial imaginaries that dictate who has the right to live safe from both political and economic violence and the impacts of climate crisis (Russell 2019). The urban, in fearless cities' definition, refers much less to a geographical or administrative unit than a specific sociopolitical and institutional setting where the historical and place-specific contexts that structure citizenship materialize (Blokland et al. 2015). Thus, by claiming right to cities through cities, these municipalist movements actively build radically transformative space, in which new institutions of democratic participation, post-national citizenship, and a mobile commons can be created to oppose the enclosure of everything. Some even call this "the urbanization of green internationalism" (Dierwechter 2018).

Possibilities in and through the city

In the discussion about urban action versus state-level action on climate change and human mobility, we also detect a broader issue concerning the relationships between emancipation and constitutive power. Laura Pulido (2017) and David Pellow (2018) have both recently voiced radical critiques of state-centric definitions of environmental justice and emancipation projects that primarily rely on apparatuses of the state. Both Pellow and Pulido stress that racism and social inequalities are not aberrations, but normal functions of state-centric societies, reinforced rather than persecuted by state power. They argue for a non-state centric approach in environmental justice struggles, which overlaps neatly with our thinking about the potentialities of urban-focused radical politics on climate change and human mobilities. We are aware of the ambiguity of our use of the urban as a category and a scale, which merges local authorities (nothing other than a local articulation of state power) and local communities. Nonetheless, these apparatuses that prefigure the state can pose radical alternatives to state power. The empirical examples we have employed here are cities with radical local governments emerging from deeply rooted social movements and inspired by practices of direct democracy. However, we do not deny the ambiguity of thinking with the city against the nation-state. After all, like Pellow and Pulido, we also recognize the necessity to deal with the state, although being aware of its inherent limits. Perhaps, our attention to an urban-focused radical politics of climate change and mobility is not that of violent overthrow of state power, but rather a Scottian art of living with (almost despite) the state through daily sabotage, non-confrontational disobedience and inconspicuous autonomy (Scott 2012).

One way to get past this conundrum of state-centric responses to climate change and human mobilities is to push for a political project that seeks to enhance urban autonomy by empowering the distributed, networked and territorialized responsibilities and powers of local authorities and community organizations (Bulkeley et al. 2018). This requires a transversal form of politics, one that truly engages with the different experiences of the distinct social groups in cities (Mayer 2017). Enhancing urban autonomy to generate such transversal politics will most likely require working 'in, against and beyond' the nation state and its local apparatuses (Cumbers 2015; Cooper 2017). Eventually, if the state is not a thing but a relation, an institutional ensemble (Jessop 2016), countering the hegemony of state-centric responses to climate change and mobility response will require nothing short of countering state power and its role in limiting local autonomy. Yet, as the critiques of the much-lauded resilience literature suggest (Evans and Reid 2014; Grove 2018), there is the risk of dumping the responsibility to respond to climate change and human mobility on local authorities while retaining the political benefits of nation-state sovereignty. As the past decade has proven, sticking to weak climate targets or firm border controls is the real threat to a true socio-ecological transformation. Therefore, "transcending fragmented or coerced autonomy" of the local authorities (Bulkeley et al. 2018, 14) is essential for a transformation towards socio-ecological sustainability that is just, fair and durable all at once. The difference between fragmented autonomy and transformative politics at the local level is one that resembles the gap between

welcoming (an attitude that demands solidarity, inter-relational subjectivity and shared vulnerability) and admission (one that posits authority, superiority and calculative practices) (Gill 2018).

In rethinking possibilities of urban belonging, Harald Bauder (2015) advances the notion of the "real possible" after revisiting the utopian visions of Thomas More, Ernst Bloch and David Harvey. He eventually proposes that the real possible is associated with "politics that seek to radically transform social and spatial relations" (ibid., 254). We believe that this is the ground zero for a new definition of citizenship that encompasses both mobility justice and climate justice. Rather than fixating on the politics of migration and climate change in nation-states, it suggests that expanding our scalar imagination towards territorial belonging and rendering a solidarity based on presence in cities is not only necessary, but also inevitable. In a similar fashion, as much as citizenship can be de-nationalized (Bosniak 2000), Nevins (2017) also suggests that right-to-the-city can as well be expanded to claim a global political space, the right-to-the-world, in his words. This claim both includes a right to a homeland that is sustainable and secure in the broad sense and a right to a just share of Earth's resources (ibid., 11). In essence, both of these visions seek to challenge nation-statism in a "spatially unbounded manner by addressing both mobility and ecological justice across global space" (ibid., 3) with the city as their "strategic location for transformative activist politics" (Bauder 2015, 258).

One way to think about this local confluence of human mobilities and climate change response in and through cities is by expanding a transformative politics of adaptation (Ribot 2014). Radical adaptation, Dawson (2017) suggests, can emerge in a number of key areas: energy democracy, emergency preparedness, social hubs or meeting places, and public participation. The proposals in each of these areas contribute to cutting-edge intersectional struggles for climate justice, mobility justice and urban equality. The fight is indeed about getting past an "uneven landscape of provision of, and access to, public social infrastructure" (Mayer 2017, 4). Dawson (2017, 260) rightly stresses that a politics of radical adaptation must address issues of power, including legacies of colonialism and historical inequalities. This would come through a transformation of urban physical and social infrastructure along with other interventions, and confront questions of access, control, ownership and conflicting interests in cities (ibid.) Claiming urban citizenship, understood in the context of spatial and social transformations, is therefore a way to push for such a power shift.

An experiment with such a power shift is already underway in fearless cities like Madrid and Barcelona, where the municipalist movements in power have experimented with issuing *tarjetas de vecindad* (neighborhood [ID] cards)[5] while also making the most vulnerable the focus of their climate policies (Agustín and Jørgensen 2019; see also Finley 2017). Similarly, in open conflict with Italian Interior Minister Salvini's reactionary national policy on migration, the mayor of Naples, Italy, has recently given the opportunity to asylum seekers to be included in the city's registry office. In a focus group discussion we held at the KTH Environmental Humanities Laboratory in February 2018, a representative from *Barcelona en Comú*, the citizen platform that has governed the city since 2015, explained that ending energy poverty for all residents is a priority for the city government as much as being a welcoming city. Barcelona's welcoming approach to granting the local resident status is a cornerstone in the making of alternative citizenship practices, and it goes hand in hand with other measures such as legal advice for immigrants regarding welfare, political rights and bureaucratic matters. Similarly, in the remote town of Riace in southern Italy, mayor Mimmo Lucano has come under investigation for granting identity cards to immigrants for free, that is, without asking for the normal fee. Lucano also started to issue a local currency used by immigrants in their daily exchanges, and more generally, transformed the almost abandoned town of Riace in a model for an alternative immigrant policy (Barillà 2017). The fact that the leader of the *Lega Nord* and current Italian minister of the interior show open hostility to Mimmo Lucano, calling him an "absolute zero", may be the best proof that he is indeed building an effective alternative model of autonomous and inclusive citizenship. It is important, however, to underline that local progressive leadership does not always go uncontested. Consider the tragic case of the Polish city of

Gdansk whose progressive mayor, Pawel Adamowicz, known for his clear pro-immigrant stand, was murdered during a charity concert in January 2019.

Time to be neighbors

> Arriving at each new city, the traveler finds again a past of his that he did not know he had: the foreignness of what you no longer are or no longer possess lies in wait for you in foreign, unpossessed places (Calvino 1978, 28).

Climate activist and artist Kevin Buckland reminds us that "each crisis is also an opportunity to enact a different form of politics based on cooperation instead of competition, an opportunity that can provide a glimpse of another possible world" (2017, 84). Thus, remembering Rebecca Solnit's words from *A Paradise Built in Hell* at such critical junctions is sobering: "It's tempting to ask why if you fed your neighbors during the time of the earthquake and fire, you didn't do so before or after?" (2009, 28). Our argument here is that rethinking urban citizenship carries fruitful possibilities politically to debase resilience in favor of resistance (Evans and Reid 2013, 85) in a time of surging nationalist-populist revival and ecological destruction in the Capitalocene (see, for example the inspiring work by Stoetzer 2018). We see the value in thinking further about the radical local politics of neighborhood, solidarity and affection in a world threatened by the rise of new façades of fascism. Not by chance, the original proponent of the right-to-the-city, Henri Lefebvre, mentions the impressive diffusion of *comités de vecinos* [neighbors committees] in 1977 Spain at the onset of the country's post-Francoist phase. Indeed, while emphasizing relations between people and space, these committees were the living experiment of a possible "convergence between struggles regarding work (the workplace) and those concerning all of space, that is to say, everyday life" (Lefebvre 2009, 228). More recently, Negri and Hardt have also proposed that the urban encampments happening everywhere, from Istanbul to New York, are grassroots experiments with "commoning" (Hardt and Negri, 2017, 35), or creating common spaces to oppose neoliberal privatization. But, is it also possible to common citizenship against the grain of the spatial injustices of climate change?

We do not have clear answers here, but we believe engaged research on crafting networked urban politics that will build welcoming societies and just, fair and sustainable cities is the order of the day. Mobility justice, with its attention to power and inequality in the circulation of people, resources and information (Sheller 2018a) offers a fresh vision for welcoming cities when coupled with climate justice in urbanizing citizenship. If mobility justice is about developing "care, rights and citizenship that advantage migrant populations" (Cook and Butz 2018, 15), then urban citizenship advocated by fearless cities can expand the "mobile commons" (Sheller 2018a, 159) tightly connected to the enrichment of ethics of care, the entrenchment of rights and the solidarity of equals. Enacting urban citizenship as a mobile commons opens the possibility for multiple belongings and the right-to-the-world in and through the city by betraying exclusionary citizenship "in defense of everyday sociability of mobile people" (Papadopoulos and Tsianos 2013). Sheller suggests that mobile commons are therefore about "constructing new, mobile constellations of shared life" (2018a, 169). This is particularly important in a time when the "mobile, trans-boundary and constantly evolving nature of risks" is in direct relation with "how urban climate injustices are tied to intersecting forms of socio-economic marginality beyond the immediate borders of the city" (Chu and Michael 2018, 307). In sum, rather than 'fit-and-conform' approaches that do not threaten the status quo of citizenship as usual, we argue that grassroots urban experimentation with a radical intention to 'stretch-and-transform' citizenship is what the convergence of mobility justice and climate justice can offer (Evans, Karvonen, and Raven 2016).

We are aware that cities today are not unconditionally hospitable, and that cities "as independent from the other and from the state as possible, but, nevertheless, allied to each other according to forms of solidarity are yet to be invented" (Derrida 2001, as cited in Kelly 2004). This is why we need to fight for cities that nourish permanent structures of solidarity and neighborhood rather than temporary politics of hospitality by confronting the planet-wrecking politics of authoritarian populism need to be fought for. This, we argue, can be achieved by

making political choices that oppose establishing relationships of dependency in the name of hospitality and by expanding the spatial and material possibilities of urban citizenship. Framing urban citizenship beyond an act of scalar politics of sovereignty towards enacting mobile commons would also require a radical shift in knowledge and epistemologies mobilized (Roy 2019). Raising our situated knowledges and engaged militant research at the intersection of mobility justice and climate justice to the occasion is therefore but one way to contribute to this radical shift. After all, if we do not demand our right to be neighbors today, in a time of shattering geopolitical fault lines with mass human mobility and ravaging climatic extremes across the planet, then when will we do so?

Notes

1. Andriotis, AnnaMaria. 2018. "The Airport Lounge, Once a Refuge, Is a Total Zoo." *Wall Street Journal*, April 30. https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-airport-lounge-once-a-refuge-is-a-total-zoo-1525106268.
2. Sanctuary cities are cities that have decided to protect undocumented immigrants against the tightening of immigration laws. In a more critical fashion, Roy (2019, 6) interprets them as "jurisdictions of underenforcement of immigration law".
3. We thank Salvatore Paolo De Rosa for bringing this point to our attention.
4. Paquette, Danielle. 2018. "During California wildfires farmworkers felt pressured to keep working or lose their jobs." *Washington Post*, November 20. https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/economy/during-california-wildfires-farm-workers-felt-pressured-to-keep-working-or-lose-their-jobs/2018/11/20/757f92a0-ec06-11e8-baac-2a674e91502b_story.html?utm_term=.01894e9ab94d.
5. La tarjeta de vecindad se dará a inmigrantes que lleven seis meses en Madrid." *La Vanguardia*, June 19 2018. https://www.lavanguardia.com/vida/20180619/45272443551/la-tarjeta-de-vecindad-se-dara-a-inmigrantes-que-lleven-seis-meses-en-madrid.html.

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