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Savoldi, F.

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ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the conflictual relationships between citizens and ports. It critically engages with logistics, challenging positivist views of the port growth as 'business as usual'. I argue that logistical trends such as naval gigantism and the concentration of power in the shipping industry are increasingly influencing ports' decisions, creating the conditions for frictions between ports and cities.
I interrogate the relationships between the inexorable growth of ports and the multidimension character of arising frictions, highlighting their potential as deterritorialising forces. I argue that the combination of increasing frictions and expanding perceptions of the climate crisis is triggering social mobilization against imposed port expansion. Such mobilizations are more than counter-logistic actions – they also generate proposals for new forms of coexistence between port and city, based on the direct experience of socio-environmental vulnerability.
Utilising the content of the online platform ContestedPorts, I frame arguments that support social mobilization, detecting priorities and values that define new perspectives on social metabolisms and emergent forms of eco-territoriality.

Ports, Citizens and Frictions: Emergent Eco-territorialities on ContestedPorts

Francesca SAVOLDI[1]
[1] Ph.D. in Human Geography, Postdoctoral Researcher. Faculty of Architecture and Built Environment, Delft University of Technology. Delft, The Netherlands.

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Port-cities; Frictions; Social mobilization; Counter-logistics; Eco-territoriality

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Introduction

Port cities, as well as being distinctive political economic nodes for international networks, are paradigmatic examples of the co-existence between people and multiscalar infrastructure. Inhabitants of port cities live alongside infrastructure serving a global system, which determines the modes of production and types of extraction from local territories. Here, the discrepancy between the localised concentration of costs to inhabitants and the spillover benefits gained by the oligopoly that controls the globalised maritime trade and related infrastructure becomes starkly visible. Such multi-scalar encounters provide fertile ground for theoretical debate and practical inquiry.

In effect, ports – intended here as central cogs in the complex and global machinery of logistics – are not neutral or passive infrastructure that merely facilitate the circulation of material goods. They are also active agents that foster specific modes of power, enabling systems of production that determine specific socio-metabolisms – defined as the manner in which human societies organise their growing exchange of energy and material with the environment (Fisher-Kowalski and Haberl 2007). The port is frequently represented by views ordinarily based on "common sense," which normalises them as engines of growth. Nonetheless, common sense often works to protect the status quo through the optics of business-as-usual, with infinite growth seen as natural and logical (Kallis, et. Al., 2020).

The many emergent social mobilizations contesting port expansion in cities and regions around the world are questioning this common-sense mentality that justifies the infinite growth of such infrastructure, and its environmental costs and benefits. They imagine other territorial models for reformulating co-existence with ports. This is turning the port city into relevant ground for renovated epistemological debates on transitions towards healthier and more sustainable territories.

The increasing social mobilization taking place in port cities can be associated to the recent transformation of logistics, combined with an acceleration of the climate crisis and mainstream perceptions of it. The acceleration in the logistics economy that took place thanks to intense deregulation over the last 30 years gave rise to two main trends: the shipping oligopoly and naval gigantism. While terminals have been privatised, the shipping industry has followed a dynamics of concentration that has gone much further than simply reaching economies of scale. Merging mechanisms have generated an oligopoly, with three alliances of companies – which decide on 80% of the total geography of trade – accelerating the exponential evolution of naval gigantism. The oligopoly-related 'monopsony' in the shipping industry produces power imbalances in ports, as shipping corporations can pressure them to carry out expensive infrastructural updates using public funds, and threaten to go to a different port if they do not obtain what they want (Merk, 2018). Such trends of a concentration of power and naval gigantism emerge from the combination between two features that characterise the nature and history of maritime logistics: the vocation for frictionless and infinite growth in the name of global competitiveness, and the historical privileges assigned to this industry during times of western imperialism. I position these arguments here through a Marxist perspective – the impetus for continuous growth and the violence of modernization discourses imposed on local and indigenous communities through the rhetoric of the "free market" are the essence of capitalism, a system in which the uninterrupted expansion of capital does not rely only on its making, but also its circulation.

Frictions undoubtedly accompany the inexorable growth of global ports. The expansion of port-related infrastructure requires more material resources including space, water and air, potentially producing deterritorialising dynamics[1]. Going beyond the scalar conception of "global logistics versus local territories", such frictions can be understood as forces that emerge from the motion of different metabolisms and systems of values. In this article, as well as exploring the dimensions of such frictions, I will dig into the pluriverse of social mobilization, leaning ContestedPorts[2]– an online platform co-produced by myself and scholars, active citizens and NGOs on contestation in port cities. I attempt to identify some commonalities between these movements, unfolding grassroots ideas of socio-economic reorientation from which emergent territorial paradigms and values are readdressing port-city co-existence.

Multidimensional Frictions between Port and City

"Friction" is taken here as an analytical device for examining some of the conflictual relationalities that emerge in port cities – those between the port and inhabitants. Following Anna Tsing, it is defined as a theoretical and methodological device for understanding the diverse and conflicting interactions that make up our contemporary world. Tsing's ethnographic work in the forests of the Meratus mountain, Indonesia, observes fragments of the impacts of global corporations on the environment and indigenous communities, globalisation and ecological movements. She reveals the "messy engagements" of global capitalism and the awkward, unequal, unstable and creative qualities of interaction across difference. With her work, she has shown that global power does not operate as a well-oiled machine, but is rather populated by frictions (Tsing, 2004).

In my research, I see frictions as forces of potential rupture produced by new imbalances that characterise the port-city relationship. This is based on the assumption that port and city are two interconnected systems that can aspire to different development paradigms, being driven by alternative systems of power with diverse interests and values. However, I am aware that the analysis of frictions can only be a fragmented one, given that port cities are such complex systems, composed of many elements that interact with each other according to varied interests that produce dependencies and competitions. I therefore frame frictions multidimensionally, attempting to expand the ways in which we perceive the conflict between port and city, global infrastructure and local territories, whole avoiding the simplification of the problematic emerging from this specific global-local encounter.

Spatial frictions can take place through land conversion, especially when territorial sites important to communities are taken by the port. This is the case in Mersin, Turkey, where the ongoing enlargement of the port is occupying a part of the main city park located on the promenade in the city centre; in Genoa, where the construction of an extra-large container terminal has been built on a public beach, demolishing hotels and fishing posts; and in Durban, South Africa where communities have been expelled from their own houses for making space for a new terminal. It is obvious from these cases that such frictions produce deterritorialization, decoupling inhabitants from their spaces, and fragmenting their relationships with the territory – both land and sea.

Frictions can have a temporal nature too. In Piraeus, Greece, the corporation that controls the privatised Port Authority has included the transformation of some historical buildings of the city in its masterplan of port expansion. Some of these buildings will be turned into hotels, while others remain with an undefined function, which generates urban arrhythmias; the uncertain functionality of these buildings create temporal discrepancies with the temporalities decided by the city-plan.

[1] This obviously is not a universalising logic – some ports are more virtuous than other, improving their governance and relationship with citizens, also distributing benefits to surrounding territories that do translate into improving quality of life.

[2] www.contestedports.com/.

Together with the spatial and the temporal dimensions of frictions, a dimension of power can also be identified. In Genoa for example, where MSC has been consolidating its presence and business leadership over the last 15 years, political frictions have been appearing since 2017, when the former president of the Port Authority between 2008 and 2015 became the manager of the MSC group just after completing his institutional role. His newfound position was cautiously dismissed by the company in 2018, after a legal investigation was opened for violating Italian law on conflicts of public and private interest. The Anticorruption National Authority has reported the company for pantouflage (aka "revolving doors") – underlining a possible conflict of interests.

Identifying frictions like these is a method for analysing the "messy engagements" between ports as cogs of maritime global logistics and territories. They provide a transversal perspective that sheds light on the environmental sacrifice and the social reality that characterise the port-city relationship. Such sacrifices are often obfuscated by dominant narratives promoted by the transport industry and most government agencies, depicting growth and extraction as inevitable for the social wellbeing of the city. Highlighting such frictions can make space for new paradigms of co-existence that overcome the logic of industrial development that has taken hold over the past century: a logic based on the modernistic assumption of dominating the natural order without responsibility to it, in the pursuit of maximum economic production. This paradigm has produced a path-dependecy of socio-environmental degradation through the exploration of raw materials and community dispossession on an unprecedented global scale. Examples of new paradigms, however, are emerging from social mobilizations against port expansion, where citizens are establishing new sets of values and priorities, based on direct experiences of increasing territorial vulnerabilities.

Contestation in Port Cities: Blockades and a Reorientation of Values

This section focuses on the social mobilizations that are taking place in port cities, triggered by frictions emerging between ports and cities, through the content of the platform ContestedPorts.com, generated between January and August 2022. There are 13 cases at the time of writing – Piraeus, Greece; Genoa and Venice, Italy; Colombo, Sri Lanka; Kirkenes, Norway; Makassar, Indonesia; Durban, South Africa; Tarragona, Barcelona and Valencia, Spain; Free Port, USA; Cozumel, Mexico and Mersin, Turkey.

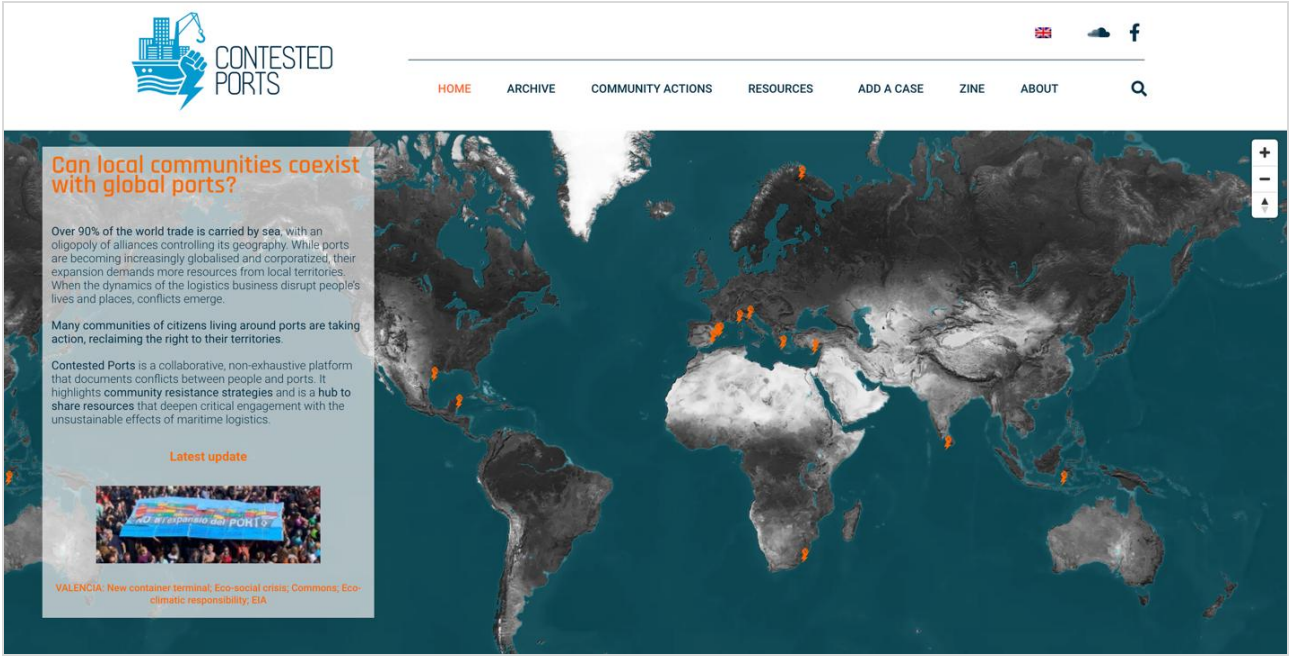

Figure 1. Homepage of the online platform ContestedPorts, on September 3rd, 2022.

The platform contains descriptions of cases of social mobilization against ports, written directly by active citizens, scholars (including myself) and members of NGOs who are engaged in contesting the port or studying the phenomenon on the ground. Cases of contestation on the platform are presented through written descriptions, interviews and recorded conversations available in audio format. Descriptions of cases include the reasons for contesting the port, the process of social mobilization and visions of territoriality. This chapter aims at finding commonalities and connections among the cases, avoiding rigid categorisation that can lead to reductive interpretations of realities. Instead, I trace points of convergence in dynamics of contestation, attempting to detect theoretical fragments that help the reader frame emerging ideas of territoriality for port-city coexistence composed "from below".

Counter-Logistics by the Sea

The most obvious commonality between these movements of contestation is that they take place at the same point of the supply chain: the port. This demands a critical engagement with logistics. Over the last decade, critical perspectives have interrogated the social and political effects of logistics, highlighting how the supply chain is not only a neutral apparatus of circulation, but a system that drives the transformation of time, space and territory (Chua et al. 2018), enacts systems of power and new forms of jurisdiction (Cowen, 2014), and stimulates both global standardisation and growing gaps between rich and poor (Tsing, 2009). Chua (2021) situates the growth of megaships and ports in a broader context of the rise of logistics, arguing that the material system of global supply should be understood as "endurable monstrosities" imprinting colonial violence and global circulation onto the spaces of vulnerable populations. The growth of the shipping sector, as Campling and Colás (2021) note, is not a response to a growing demand in international trade, but rather the opposite – it decreases transport prices, which prompts new, non-market-driven strategies of profit-making. This reminds us that the expansion of ports is not necessarily connected to the demand of a territory for increasing maritime trade, but rather is determined by the deregulated market of the supply chain. This is important when interrogating the relationship between port infrastructure, logistics and territories; a relationship that as Ziadah (2018) has shown in her study of the making of Dubai often subordinate democratic principles and the welfare of populations to the needs of the supply chain.

In that sense, social contestation against the inexorable expansion of ports recalls counter-logistics movements – collective actions aimed at disrupting circulation. Bernes (2013) sees counter-logistics actions carried out by dockers in ports as a means of building networks of solidarity, making visible the role of proletarian force in the process of circulation and the global supply chains. Social mobilizations carried out by citizens against port expansion can also be considered as counter-logistics expressions, given that the implementation of different tactics of blockade interrupt the port's logistical vocation for infinite expansion. However, such social mobilizations do not always target circulation *per se*, but rather its materialization on the territory.

The constellation of blockades displayed on ContestedPorts, reminds us of "blockadia" – a series of small direct actions aiming at defending local communities against the encroachment of extractive activities, in particular fossil fuel extraction. Naomi Klein, who popularised the term in her book *This Changes Everything* (2014), describes "blockadia" as a "roving transnational conflict zone", a transnational web of pockets of resistance, where regular people are bridging local and global environmental concerns, driven by a desire for a participatory form of democracy. Blockadian struggles do not only look at local impacts of such projects, but also against their impact on the climate.

Davis (2021) defines blockades as productive reorientations – they occur because people perceive that a particular infrastructure of circulation is violating something they value. However, counter-logistics movements do not only interrupt circulation, but actively attempt to reorient material

circulation and social relations deploying different forms of governance. Similarly to "blockadia", the struggles on ContestedPorts transcend the NIMBY phenomenon, given that citizens engaged in contestations are frequently and actively engaged in reformulating paradigms of sustainability that go beyond the specificity of their locality. Social mobilizations contesting ports share concerns on environmental justice, perceiving the local effects of logistics within a larger framing of climate crisis, with their territories accumulating vulnerabilities before inland cities do.

In effect, inhabitants of port cities are more frequently confronted with minor or major climate change-related events. Port cities are more exposed to coastal flooding, high winds and other risks related to sea-level rises, sea-acidification and climate turbulence in general. Besides that, citizens of coastal port cities tend to have larger socio-material dependencies on the sea and a stronger awareness of sea-land ecological dependencies. This is often manifested in civic revindications of social mobilization against the port. This is the case in Colombo, Sri Lanka and Makassar, Indonesia, where fisherfolk have exposed the risks that port expansion has posed to their livelihoods; in Venice, where citizens are demanding to protect the lagoon from naval gigantism; and in Cozumel, Mexico, where residents contesting the construction of a port terminal are reclaiming the right to protect marine ecosystems. In several port cities, most famously Venice, blockades have been taking place on the sea, with activists conducting their actions of protest on small boats – a sign of a distinctive terraqueous living. Hence, inhabitants of port cities have a particular awareness of climate change and possibly share more challenges with other port cities of the maritime region beyond national borders than with cities in the interior of the same state.

Social mobilizations offer the opportunity for a renovated problematization of port coexistence, but their effects are different and varied in scope. In the case of Genoa, citizens managed to open a channel of communication with institutions and mitigating the impacts of the port, framed as a form of reparation for the community. In Venice, the production of critical knowledge has triggered a transnational critique towards the circulation of cruise ships and the model of urban development and ecological damages it produces. In Piraeus, it has triggered a renewed environmental consciousness among the local communities surrounding the port, who have created a grassroots model for monitoring environmental impacts of the port on the sea and land. In Valencia, a new 'common sense' is emerging from collective thinking triggered by the contestation of port expansion, which is reformulating a less capitalistic model of conceiving socio-economic life in the city.

Framing Contestations and Alternative Visions of Territoriality

In this section I identify some of the theoretical frameworks from economic and geographical perspectives that can help interpret contestations at the port and points of convergence in its territorial reformulations. My reading of these ongoing cases does not intend to be exhaustive, but is rather an attempt to find connections between discursive fragments in order to reach a broader understanding of the values and epistemologies that transpire from contestations at the port.

Most of the inhabitants' concerns expressed on ContestedPorts can be framed by an environmental justice approach, which in its classic definition considers the inseparability of the environment from everyday life. It defines the right for access to a safe and healthy environment free from pollution and for access the environmental resources needed for survival, wellbeing and social reproduction (Temper, 2020). Environmental justice is in these cases frequently expressed by the need of preserving the territory. This need has generated what Svampa has called "languages of valorisation" (Svampa, 2012) based on a variety of discourses such as quality of life, commons and human rights, which articulate different critiques to the growth imperative of ports.

In some cases, discourses on limiting the expansion of port infrastructure have been articulated through an ecological critique of growth. This critique argues that infinite growth is not possible

on a finite planet. In particular, this view is based on the idea that growth measured in GDP excludes what has been called "environmental externalities", disregarding diminishing stocks of finite resources (Schmeltzer, 2022). This perspective interprets the acceleration of GDP as an acceleration of environmental impacts, with technological progress or a mere shifting of resources unable to maintain sustainable growth in the mid-to near-term future. According to this framing, the expansion of the port is problematised through the idea that the promised economic returns of the port with which the expansion is justified does not consider environmental costs (such as water, air, etc) because they are not defined monetarily.

One of the cases that approaches the ecological critique of growth is Valencia, where more than a hundred social collectives have joined the civic initiative *Commissió Ciutat-Port* in contesting the expansion of the port. Its manifesto explains how the planned expansion of the port (which counts on a new container terminal and a new cruise terminal) and its supposed contribution to economic growth is not compatible with respect for the environment. Inhabitants are demanding the right to decide on their territory; they are readdressing the needs of the city, and developing a language that valorises the 'common good'. The manifesto proposes a reshaping of local economy, centring people and the environment; local agriculture, better public health and a diversification of production. These are identified as spheres to develop, proposing a decrease of 7.6% of CO2 emissions, accompanied by the promotion of production-consumption models of proximity.

In other cases, the rejection of port expansion can be framed through a social-economic growth critique. This argues that ecosystems that sustain our economies are collapsing under the impacts of rising consumption; that economic growth is not a measure of progress; and that prosperity and well-being are not delivered by economic growth in equal ways (Jackson, 2003). Quality of life depends on other factors such as democracy, equality and care work (Jackson, 2016). This line of thought frames reasons for contestations along the lines that profit generated through the port is not a measure of progress for a port city – this is also because such profits would not be distributed throughout the affected territory, but accumulated elsewhere, increasing inequalities while depleting democracy.

The socio-economic critique of growth can be detected in the discourses of the *People's Movement Against Port City*, in Colombo. The coalition of fishers and their communities that form the movement have shown how port expansion and the related creation of a financial district are not bringing progress to their communities, but is rather putting at risk their livelihoods and local culture, fostering crime, repression and authoritarianism. Their idea of prosperity prioritises the protection of coastal communities and their small-scale fishery models, defending the marine ecosystem, and fostering democratic practices that consider transparency and community consultation as crucial.

Other cases of contestation can be interpreted through the lens of the South-North critique of growth. This is based on questioning the relations of domination, extraction and exploitation between the capitalist centre and periphery, and the power hierarchies produced by what is seen as "modern" and what is seen as "the rest" (Schmeltzer, 2022). This incorporates the issue of colonial practices and their impacts on the natural and social environments of population of the global south, including indigenous people. This perspective can be detected in struggles against the construction of expansion of ports in the global south, carried out through hegemonic methods, with corporations exploiting colonial legacies and reproducing systems of dispossession.

This standpoint can be found in the cases of Makassar, where fishing communities have been contesting port expansion, called the Dutch dredger Boskalis 'neocolonialist'. The company has been dredging and sand mining for the new terminal, destroying local community's livelihood, avoiding responsibility through subcontracting strategies. The South-North critique of growth can

be found in Europe too, in Kirkenes; the positioning of Sami indigenous groups against the construction of a mega-port in Kirkenes and related infrastructure has highlighted how the planned infrastructure apparatus is reproducing colonial dynamics of domination through exclusion and forms of exploitation associated to capitalistic development and global growth. Sami perspectives on living on the territory strongly differs from standard western views – for Sami people all questions are environmental questions, and their language of valorisation are articulated around their idea of animated nature, which characterises their values, customs, social structures and relationships.

The emphasis on the commons is a transversal argument to all cases on the ContestedPorts platform. "Commons" is taken here in its classic definition of living systems through which groups of people manage and share resources (Kallis, et. Al., 2020). Many groups of citizens are expressing the need to defend the Commons, which in port cities are terrestrial, aquatic, and terraqueous. The urban coast, including beaches – often the largest public spaces of coastal towns – are often recognised by inhabitants as commons. Maritime elements such as water and marine ecosystems have been included in citizens' revindications, as well as lagoons and biotas between land and water. Nonetheless, the concept of commons isn't limit to spatial features, but describes a variety of phenomena, including social and juridical systems for a just and sustainable administration. This implies establishing values and traditions and to provide an identity to communities, allowing them to find a way of governing the commons themselves (Bollier and Helfrich, 2012). In contested port cities, the work of active citizens builds and rebuilds communities through creating awareness on how port expansion is threatening the commons. Mobilized communities then demand a greater control over commons, expressing the ambition for the right to decide.

In some contestations to port expansion, the right to defend the commons has been expanded through the human rights framework. This alludes to the human rights of the second and third generations, the collective rights of communities to sustainable development, peace, and a healthy environment in the future. The right to protect the commons and access a healthy environment is accompanied by the idea of preserving human dignity through social, economic and cultural rights, defining a 'common good'. This is the case of Cozumel, where members of the civic campaign *No al cuarto muelle* are contesting the construction of a new cruise terminal, and demanding the protection of human rights to the city, a clean environment, water and health – necessary to guarantee the dignity of local communities.

The rearticulation of values on behalf of civic movements, which harbour deeper ecological considerations at a time of climate change, produce a new "common sense" which reshapes ideas on the social metabolism of port cities. Ports, which in port cities play the role of "metabolic vehicles," to use a concept by Virilio (2006), are active agents that enable modes of production – as complex assemblages of space, flow and actors, ports allow for the acceleration of global flows of commodified energy and material (Nogu-Alguer, 2020). Readdressing metabolisms in port cities is a way to actively reorient circulation via the proposal of socio-economic restructuring, which defines new models of living the territory.

Inspired by Svampa's "ecoterritorial turn" referred to the convergence of languages of territoriality and environmental discourses, including those with a communitarian and indigenous matrix in Latin America (Svampa, 2012), I see ContestedPorts as fostering laboratories of eco-territoriality. The platform contains a pluriverse of experiences and thoughts that do not identify a universal alternative for an ideal port-city relationship. Rather, it gives indications to other ways of understanding and imagining the coexistence between ports and inhabitants. Such experiences have not been consistently listened to or addressed by academia or acknowledged by policy makers. Producing new values for readdressing the port-city relationship without engaging with citizen movements will not produce a reconciliation of a common vision – on the contrary, it will

keep creating the conditions for frictions, slowing down the needed and urgent transition towards more sustainable and equitable forms of social metabolisms and forms of eco-territoriality.

Multiscalar Implications of Civic Mobilization in Port Cities

What are the implications of acknowledging alternative views of territoriality from citizens' multiscalar perspectives? Discourses on the right to decide on port territories broaden when port construction or expansion is presented by central governments as strategic infrastructure at a national level. This issue brings up other questions such as: what is the "national interest" through which this infrastructure is justified? And who has the competence over the territory affected by such infrastructure?

Governability and multiscalarity in port cities are difficult topics to approach in a generalised way, due to the differing degrees of port autonomy and regulatory frameworks that define national and regional planning. Varied and complex webs of stakeholders typically characterise port-city relationships, weaving the global into the local. However, as Svampa (2008) argues, in the multiscalar dynamics that characterises socio-environmental struggles, the "global" and the "local" are presented as a crystallisation of alliances between transnational corporations and the State, which promote a determined mode of development. Meanwhile, local communities do not agree on such models and the lifestyles and living conditions this imposes. Some civic movements, such as in the case of Valencia, frame the contestation to port expansion through the maxim "think globally and act locally" – one of the most memorable slogans of the environmental movements in the 1970s. This summarises the tensions between neoliberal forms of the State and forms of democracies proposed by socio-environmental struggles that emerge from a direct experience of territorial exhaustion. Such tensions indicate that discussions of the port-city relationship can easily invoke the territorial forms of the state, especially if competences are particularly centralized. For example in Barcelona, new municipalism is one attempt to democratize governance according to the commons, where the local becomes the dimension from which to reformulate decades of neoliberal policies.

On the one hand, scaling up discourses and languages of valorisation conceived by local struggles in port cities can foster larger discussions on the national economic model and its relations with the idea of infinite growth. On the other hand, contextualising local struggles at national level has the potential to highlight criticisms towards a centralised territorial planning, challenging its hierarchical mechanisms of territorial competences. This in turn can catalyse discussions on how to renovate forms of governance at a national level, triggering different forms of autonomy, subsidiarity and territorial alliances that can and does make more sense at a time of climate change. This opens up avenues for future research on port city governance and their role in redefining sustainable forms of territoriality.

Conclusion

In this article I argue that the increasing social mobilizations that are taking place against port expansion are triggered by logistics trends produced by deregulation in the shipping sector, combined with perceptions of climate crisis acceleration. Logistics trends such as naval gigantism and the concentration of power expressed by an oligopoly of shipping companies are increasingly influencing port decision-making, producing the conditions for frictions between port and the city. Such frictions have a multidimensional character, generating spatial, temporal and political expressions of rupture.

Frictions, which accompany the inexorable growth of ports, create the condition for social mobilization. Civic movements against port expansion can be approached as counter-logistics movements, as they take place at the same point of the supply chain: the port. The port is here

considered as a metabolic vehicle that enables modes of production, rather than a passive infrastructure of circulation. Such civic mobilizations, are not limit to merely blocking logistic expansionism, but are actively reformulating proposals about the material circulation, social relations and forms of governance between the port and the city.

Examining the content of ContestedPorts, I traced points of convergence in discourses of contestation, interpreting civic proposals of territoriality according to geographic and economic critical frameworks. I highlighted how the 13 cases (at time of writing) of contestation at the port fit under the environmental justice umbrella. These civic movements have emphasised the need to preserve their territory, developing "languages of valorization" based on the Commons, quality of life, and human rights, as well as articulating different critical approaches to growth. Theoretical frameworks such as the ecological socio-economic and South-North critiques of growth, together with the Commons, can rationalise how contestations to the port have been articulated discursively by civic movements.

I contend that the activities of these civic movements conform laboratories of eco-territoriality, where alternative ideas of socio-metabolism are shaped, and port-city relationship sat a time of climate change are readdressed. Such a pluriverse of experiences does not identify one ideal port-city relationship, but rather it gives indications on alternative ways of understanding and imagining the coexistence between ports and inhabitants. The article also prompts a discussion about the multiscalar implications of social mobilization against port expansion, and about the catalystic potential for opening up new discussions on national economic models based on growth and territorial forms of the state. While this work has centered citizens' reactions to port expansion, further research can put this knowledge in relation with the response of ports and authorities to social mobilization, in order to assess new planning approaches through integrating different discourses.

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