Saskia Sassen

Slides shown by Saskia Sassen within her Keynote “Security Challenges for Future Cities”

Grenzenlose Sicherheit?
Gesellschaftliche Dimensionen der Sicherheitsforschung

Konferenz des Fachdialogs Sicherheitsforschung
Berlin, 7./8. Mai 2015
BEFORE METHOD

The fuzzy edges of paradigmatic knowledges

Analytic Tactics
Analytic Tactics

- Destabilizing stable meanings
- In the shadows of powerful explanations
- When territory exits conventional framings: it becomes institutionally mobile, nomadic and can alter the meaning
- EXPULSIONS
- The making of it all
we make...
Exhibit 2.4.a. Internally Displaced People, 2003-2012

Exhibit 5.11. Extent of Surface Melt over Greenland’s Ice Sheet, 2012

WHAT IS THE STEAM ENGINE OF OUR EPOCH?

THAT WHICH CAN MAKE A NEW ORDERING.

WHAT IS IN AND WHAT IS OUT?
Rising risk

The credit default swap market nearly doubled each year from 2001 through 2007.

Value of credit default swaps outstanding

$919 billion

$8.4

$17.1

$34.4

$54.6

$62.2 trillion

SOURCE: ISDA
FIGURE 3.5 Number of Dark Pools in the United States and Europe, 2005–2011

Source: Economist 2011b, referencing data from TABB Group.

Note: a. Through August
When modest neighborhoods become part of global finance

- The making of instruments that enable the use of modest elements/assets to build a powerful financial instrument useful to top level investors: sub-prime mortgage for low- and modest-income households.

- The key is that the source of profits for investors is NOT payment on the mortgage. All that is needed is a signed contract.

- The source of profits is the bundling of a large number of these mortgages with high-value debt to sell them on to investors, including banks and foreign investors. It worked because they were mixed up with high quality debts of all sorts.
Expulsions: New foreclosures *per year* (2006-14)

- 2006: 1.2 million foreclosures, up 42% from 2005. This is: One in every 92 U.S. households
- 2007: 2.2 million foreclosures, up 75% from 06
- 2008: 3.1 million, up 81% from 07
- 2009: 3.9 million (or 1 in 45 US hholds)
- (From 2007 to 2009: 120% increase in foreclosures)
- 2010: 2.9 million foreclosures. (2006-2010: over 13 mil)

• **2011:** 2,698,967 (3.4 percent decrease from 2010)
• **2012:** 2,304,941 (3 percent decrease from 2011)
• **2013:** foreclosures filed on 1,361,795 properties
• **First half of 2014:** foreclosure filed on 613,874 properties

Source: RealtyTrac
U.S. Properties with Foreclosure Filings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Filings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>717,522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>1,285,873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>2,330,483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>2,824,674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>2,871,891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>1,887,777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>1,836,634</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>1,361,795</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig 2. European Countries with Either Highest or Lowest Number of Foreclosures, 2007–2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highest foreclosures:</th>
<th>Number of foreclosures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>225,663</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>91,788</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>25,943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>27,869</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lowest foreclosures:</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>886</td>
<td>1,570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>825</td>
<td>1,036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>1,015</td>
<td>1,942</td>
<td>2,860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>1,811</td>
<td>1,961</td>
<td>2,256</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

THE OUTCOME:
EMPTY URBAN LAND
YET ANOTHER MUTATION OF URBAN LAND
TOTAL (NATIONAL AND FOREIGN) INVESTMENT VOLUMES
(EXCEPT DEV. SITES, Q3 2013 – Q2 2014)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>METRO</th>
<th>VOLUMES (US$)</th>
<th>GROWTH*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 New York Metro, United States</td>
<td>55,438,566,041</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 London Metro, United Kingdom</td>
<td>47,253,731,038</td>
<td>40.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Tokyo, Japan</td>
<td>35,466,760,763</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Los Angeles Metro, United States</td>
<td>33,058,667,672</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 San Francisco Metro, United States</td>
<td>23,788,360,196</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Paris, France</td>
<td>22,668,417,844</td>
<td>37.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Chicago, United States</td>
<td>14,379,076,128</td>
<td>31.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Washington D.C. Metro, United States</td>
<td>14,353,183,299</td>
<td>-29.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Dallas, United States</td>
<td>14,076,849,569</td>
<td>32.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Hong Kong, China</td>
<td>13,725,693,505</td>
<td>-28.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TOP 25 CITIES FOR TOTAL PROPERTY INVESTMENT (EXCEPT DEV. SITES, Q3 2013 – Q2 2014)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>METRO</th>
<th>VOLUMES (US$)</th>
<th>GROWTH*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1  London Metro, United Kingdom</td>
<td>29,370,466,865</td>
<td>37.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2  New York Metro, United States</td>
<td>11,364,607,926</td>
<td>68.53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3  Paris, France</td>
<td>11,057,422,477</td>
<td>47.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4  Shanghai, China</td>
<td>10,039,035,493</td>
<td>150.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5  Sydney, Australia</td>
<td>6,660,953,814</td>
<td>75.81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6  Los Angeles Metro, United States</td>
<td>5,994,728,581</td>
<td>65.09%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7  Shenzhen, China</td>
<td>4,968,623,569</td>
<td>426.35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8  Tokyo, Japan</td>
<td>4,632,840,984</td>
<td>66.19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9  Amsterdam/Randstad, Holland</td>
<td>3,991,616,088</td>
<td>248.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Melbourne, Australia</td>
<td>3,603,892,879</td>
<td>80.01%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NEW SYSTEMICS?
GDP per capita 2007-2013, select European countries (2008=100)

Average house price to income ratio, 2000-2015 (base year 2000; forecasts for 2015 and 2016)

Source: Fitch calculations based on multiple country data sets
Exhibit 2.1.a: Corporate Profits after Tax in the US, 1940s-2010s (in billions)

Source: FRED Economic Data, St. Louis Federal Reserve Bank. Published 2012 on http://research.stlouisfed.org/fred2/graph/?s[1][id]=CP#
Exhibit 2.1.b: Corporate Assets in the US, 1940s-2010s (in billions)


**Exhibit 2.1.c: Central Government Debt (% of GDP) in Fourteen Countries, 1980-2010**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>46.6</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>36.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>1(^{(a)})</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>33.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>97.6(^{(b)})</td>
<td>108.9</td>
<td>147.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>52.7</td>
<td>92.8</td>
<td>103.6</td>
<td>109.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>106.1</td>
<td>183.5(^{(d)})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>88.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>36.5</td>
<td>49.9</td>
<td>51.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>56.9</td>
<td>33.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>61.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: OECD Stat Extracts and World Economic Outlook Database of the International Monetary Fund, accessed on January 3\(^{rd}\), 2013.

Notes:  
(a) Data for 1984.  
(b) Data for 1993.  
(c) Data for 1991.  
(d) Data for 2009.
Income Share of top 10% earners, USA 1917-2005

*Income is defined as market income but excludes capital gains
% Growth in After-Tax Income, USA 1979-2007

Percent Change in After-Tax Income Since 1979

- Top 1 percent: +281%
- Highest fifth: +95%
- Middle fifth: +25%
- Bottom fifth: +16%

[Graph showing the percent change in after-tax income for different income quintiles from 1979 to 2007.]
Exhibit 2.2.e: Ratio of 1% Wealth to Median Wealth, 1962-2010

FIGURE 1.20 Out-migration from Spain by Continent of Origin, 2002–2011

Data source: Eurostat 2012c.
IN THE SHADOWS OF URBANIZATION
One instance of what we measure as development but is actually a massive expulsion

- From 2006 to 2010: 220 million hectares of land in Afri, LatAm, Cambodia, Ukraine etc bought/leased by rich governments, firms, financial firms

- The land is now more valued than the people or activities on it
- The active making of surplus populations
- Novel assemblage of Territory/Authority/Rights
MORE LAND GRABBING BECAUSE MUCH LAND IS BEING KILLED
Northern hemisphere: Land Area with Hot, Very Hot, and Extremely Hot Temperatures, 1960-2010

Source: World Bank (2013) *The Heat Turn Down: Why a 4C Warmer World Must Be Avoided*. Figure 18: Northern Hemisphere land area covered by hot (>0.43σ), very hot (>2σ) and extremely hot (>3σ) summer temperatures, accessed on June 26th 2013.
Exhibit 5.8. Water Already Limiting Agricultural Productivity, 2009

UNSTABLE MEANINGS

• Given all these negatives.....
• more and more expulsions from increasingly scarce livable space?
• GROWING inequality
  Rapidly growing population of refugees and internally displaced –about 60 million +

• ALL OUR LIBERAL DEMOCRACIES HAVE INSTITUTED PARTIAL SECURITY EMERGENCIES WHICH ALLOW THEM TO VIOLATE THEIR OWN LAWS REGARDING CITIZENS

..........WHO ARE WE THE CITIZENS?
Map of government and private surveillance agencies in the US

In Washington and the surrounding area, 33 building complexes for top-secret intelligence work are under construction or have been built since September 2001.

– Together they occupy about 17 million square feet
  – the equivalent of almost three Pentagons or 22 US Capitol buildings.
US Surveillance and Intelligence Agencies
The Black Budget

• US funding for the National Intelligence Program’s agencies totaled $52.6 billion 2014

• The top 5 spending agencies are
  1. Central intelligence Agency
  2. National Security Agency
  3. National Reconnaissance Agency
  4. National Geospatial-Intelligence Program
  5. General Defense Intelligence Program

Spending mostly goes towards

1. Data collection
2. Data analysis
3. Management
4. Facilities and support
5. Data processing and exploitation

And targets 5 objectives
• Warning U.S. leaders about critical events ($20.1 billion)
• Combating terrorism ($17.2)
• Stopping spread of illicit weapons ($6.7)
• Conducting cyber operations ($4.3)
• Defending against foreign espionage ($3.8)
Who is dangerous

Department of Homeland Security issued warnings against:

• Veterans: right-wing extremists might recruit and radicalize "disgruntled military veterans."

• Environmentalists: "mainstream organizations with known or possible links to eco-terrorism."

• Nation of Islam: sent a report titled “Uncertain Leadership Succession Poses Risks”

FBI

• Improperly spied on American activists involved in First Amendment-protected activities

• Listed the Green Party as potential future target of eco-terrorism investigation.
What *We Know* the NSA Can Do
....So Far
thank you: Jody Avirgan;
E.Snowden's Docs
• It can track the numbers of both parties on a phone call, + location, time and duration. (More)
• It can hack Chinese phones and text messages. (More)
• It can set up fake internet cafes. (More)
• It can spy on foreign leaders' cell phones. (More)
• It can tap underwater fiber-optic cables. (Clarification: Shane Harris explains that there were reports the NSA was trying to tap directly into cables using submarines, but is now more likely trying to intercept information once it has reached land.) (More)
• It can track communication within media organizations like Al Jazeera. (More)
• It can hack into the UN video conferencing system. (More)
• It can track bank transactions. (More)
• It can monitor text messages. (More)
• It can access your email, chat, and web browsing history. (More)
• It can map your social networks. (More)
• It can access your smart-phone app data. (More)
• It is trying to get into secret networks like Tor, diverting users to less secure channels. (More)
• It can go undercover within embassies to have closer access to foreign networks. (More)
• It can set up listening posts on the roofs of buildings to monitor communications in a city. (More)
• It can set up a fake LinkedIn. (More)
• It can track the reservations at upscale hotels. (More)
• It can intercept the talking points for Ban Ki-moon’s meeting with Obama. (More)
• It can crack cellphone encryption codes. (More)
• It can hack computers that aren’t connected to the internet using radio waves. (Update: Clarification -- the NSA can access offline computers through radio waves on which it has already installed hidden devices.) (More)
• It can intercept phone calls by setting up fake base stations. (More)
• It can remotely access a computer by setting up a fake wireless connection. (More)
• It can fake a USB thumb drive that's actually a monitoring device. (More)
• It can crack all types of sophisticated computer encryption. (Update: It is trying to build this capability.) (More)
• It can go into online games and monitor communication. (More)
• It can intercept communications between aircraft and airports. (More)
• It can physically intercept deliveries, open packages, and make changes to devices. (More) (h/t)
• It can tap into the links between Google and Yahoo data centers to collect email and other data. (More) (h/t)
  It can monitor, in real-time, Youtube views and Facebook "Likes." (More)
• It can monitor online behavior through free Wi-Fi at Canadian airports. (More)
• It can shut down chat rooms used by Anonymous and identify Anonymous members. (More)
• It can use real-time data to help identify and locate targets for US drone strikes. (More)
• It can collect the IP addresses of visitors to the Wikileaks website. (More)
• It can spy on US law firms representing foreign countries in trade negotiations. (More)
• It can post false information on the Internet in order to hurt the reputation of targets. (More)
• It can intercept and store webcam images. (More)
• It can record phone calls and replay them up to a month later. (More)
• It can harvest images from emails, texts, videoconferencing and more and feed it into facial recognition software. (More)
just now

- A new European commission counter-terror plan will require the blanket collection and storage for up to five years of personal data records of all passengers flying in and out of Europe.

- breaches a recent European court of justice ruling that blanket collection of personal data without detailed safeguards is a severe incursion on personal privacy.
– who are we, the citizens?
– the need for transversal solidarities
– the city as a space that can unsettle surveillance

City: - complex but incomplete system
- spaces where the powerless also can make --a history, a culture, a future
- indeterminacy –the street, the global street

Camps: should they be allowed to become cities?