## CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Federico Venturini, Emet Değirmenci, and Inés Morales	
About this Book	1
Getting Started: Understanding Ecological Disasters	1
and Inequality	
Changing the World	3
The Role of the Activist-Researcher	5
Contributions to this Volume	6
Acknowledgements	9
Part 1: Discovering Social Ecology	12
The Legacy of Murray Bookchin	12
Brian Morris	
Introduction	12
The Modern Crisis	13
Social Ecology	16
Dialectical Naturalism and Ethics	21
The Politics of Libertarian Socialism	24
Social Ecology: A Philosophy for the Future	32
Dan Chodorkoff	
Theory and Practice	32
The Role of Education	33
Utopian Thinking	34
The Principles of Social Ecology	36
Opposition	40
Reconstruction	40
Politics	42
A Critique of The Limits to Growth from a Social Ecology	46
Perspective	
Emet Değirmenci	
A Green Growth Economy	47
The Right to the City and Space-Making	48
Commons for a "Steady-State Economy"	51
What Sorts of Growth do We Want?	53

Part 2: Engaging with the Right to the City	58
Is the Right to the City a Right or a Revolution? Magali Fricandet	58
The Paradigm of the Urban Miracle, or How Global Capitalism Has Reached Massive Consent	58
Lefebvre and the Philosophy of Urban Revolution	60
The Emergence of the Right to the City as a Global Claim for Socio-Spatial Justice	62
Municipalities: At the Forefront of the Right to the City?	64
What if Urban Revolution Meant Permanent Insur- rection?	67
Moving beyond the Right to the City: Urban Commoning in Greece	71
Theodoros Karyotis	
The Right to the City	71
The Urban Commons	74 76
Urban Struggles in Greece The Subject of Social Mobilisation	76 80
Reconceptualising Rights and Spatial Justice through Social Ecology	86
Federico Venturini	
Introduction: Critically Exploring the Right to the City	86
Critically Exploring Spatial Justice	88
A Convergence of Concepts	89
Reconceptualising Citizenship, Justice, and Freedom	91
Reconceptualising the Right to the City and Spatial Justice	93
Conclusion	96
Part 3: The Kurdish Answer: Democratic Confederalism	101
The Evolution of the Kurdish Paradigm Havin Guneser with Eleanor Finley	101
The Early Years (1970–1989)	101
Soul-Searching within the PKK (1990-2010)	103

Ocalan's Abduction and Captivity (1999–)	105
The Present: Where Do the Answers Lie?	107
The Democratization of Cities in North Kurdistan <i>Ercan Ayboga and Egit Pale</i>	110
The History of Cities in North Kurdistan	110
Cities Under the Governance of the Kurdish Free-	112
dom Movement	
Challenges	115
Urban Warfare and the New Wave of Gentrification	116
Part 4: Transforming Social Theory	118
Do We Need a New Theory of the State?	118
Metin Guven The Current Transition of World Leadership	118
The Heritage of Domination	120
The Axial Age and Later Developments	122
China in the Twenty-First Century	124
The Strength of the Chinese State Model	125
A New State Theory for the Struggles to Come	126
Direct Democracy, Social Ecology, and Public Time Alexandros Schismenos	128
Aspects of the Global Crisis of Significations	129
The Problems of the Internet Age	132
The Emergence of New Significations	134
The Political Significance of Public Time	136
The Present is Pregnant with a New Future <i>Olli Tammilehto</i>	141
Gradual versus Abrupt Change in Western Thought	141
Abrupt Social Changes in the Past and Present	142
Shadow Society and Abrupt Change	143
Regime Shift Theory in Biology and its Relevance to Society	145
Societal Phase Shift and Social Movements	147

Part 5: Walking with the Right to the City	155
Squatting as Claiming the Right to the City	155
Diana Bogado, Noel Manzano and Marta Solanas	
Introduction	155
Methodological Frame	156
Financial Urban Management and the Right to the	158
City in Brazil and Spain	
Squats and Occupations	160
The Struggle for Housing in Spain	162
The Social Housing Movements in Brazil	163
A Transnational Comparison between Brazilian and	164
Spanish Practices of Occupation and Squatting	
Conclusion: Towards an Internationalization of Ur-	165
ban Social Movements	
Rights Begin in the Small Places Closest to Home: A Story	171
from Constitution Street	
Jemma Neville	
Notes on the Contributors	178