Chile's *estallido social* impugned the extreme social inequalities and social abjection - from the ballooning cost of public transit to the impunity of abusive police - that characterize the urban condition for the majority of citizens in South America's richest nation. The uprising was not simply a refusal to accept another round of austerity: it was also a demand for a different society, one grounded in bottom-up, intersectional, autonomist and Indigenous imaginaries. While the uprising often featured bloody confrontations between young masked protesters known as the *encapuchadxs* and the police, it also generated forms of mutual aid like *ollas comunes* (community kitchens) and self-organizing territorial assemblies and committees in Santiago's *poblaciones,* neighborhoods on the periphery of the city formed by squatters in the decades before military rule. Such forms of self-organization were essential in the context of a pandemic lockdown that left many wageless and on the edge of starvation. In addition, feminist organizations and demands played a key role in the mobilizations of the *estallido social.* For example, "Un Violador en tu Camino" ("A Rapist in your Path"), a song performed by the Valparaiso-based feminist group Las Tesis, was quickly taken up in marches across the country.[2] The song's lyrics indict Chile's dominant patriarchal order, one cemented in place during the reign of Pinochet: "The rapist is you / It's the cops / the judges / the state / the president." The uprising saw the demands of feminist movements such as the Coordinadora 8M, which organized Chile's first women's strike in 2018, embraced in demands for a new constitutional order based on gender parity. Finally, the *estallido social* also saw protesters marching behind the flag of Chile's largest Indigenous nation, the Mapuche. Many of these protesters are likely to have been Mapuche (40 percent of whom live in Chilean cities), but the embrace of the Mapuche flag by non-Indigenous protesters also had to do with a stance against the exploitation and brutality of the state, which has heavily repressed the Mapuche for decades under Pinochet-era anti-terrorism statutes.[3] Longstanding Mapuche demands - including greater autonomy, land redistribution, reserved seats in parliament, bilingual provision, and a cessation of abusive extraction projects on Mapuche territory – suddenly achieved a broader airing in the context of the crisis of legitimacy provoked by the *estallido social.* Moreover, Mapuche challenges to the state resonated strongly in the context of a nation-wide movement grounded in a demand for a new constitutional order. Protesters recognized that the nation's neoliberal orientation, under which a handful of families controls the lion's share of national wealth, was cemented in place by the Pinochet-era constitution, a document that has doomed repeated waves of protest and

corresponding reform efforts to defeat by right-wing politicians empowered by the Pinochet constitution.[4]

Write about broader wave of uprisings around the globe that pandemic cannot shut down, drawing on my & Yates's Hot City intro + Endnotes catalogue. Argue that these might be conceptualized as rebellions against capitalist catastrophism. (Draw on Kai Heron's argument about climate catastrophism. And also draw on Andreas Malm's piece on Tahrir Square and the rebelloin of the goat. And Abeles. The urban as the realm of those shorn of the resources of independent subsistence (accmulation by dispossession).

Make points about how urban insurrection sparks broader uprising, drawing on Garcia article. But then go on by arguing that The Climate Emergency and Planetary Ecocide form the political unconscious that is a constitutive feature of all contemporary public events. Cite Marc Abeles on survival as the horizon of all politics today.

According to the United Nations, cities are responsible for up to 75 percent of contemporary carbon emissions and 60 percent of resource use, with transport and buildings being among the largest contributors to greenhouse gases.[5] Yet cities and the urban scale have been remarkably invisible in discussions of the climate emergency. Carbon emissions, for example, are most often reported on through national statistics, or in terms of per capita individual emissions that are themselves tabulated based on a nation-state framework. But since most of the world's cities are in low-lying coastal areas, urban populations are at the forefront of the climate emergency as seas rise and anthropogenic environmental disasters strike.

Contemporary political strife also has an unmistakably urban dimension. Fear is a key emotion in current politics: most of the success of contemporary extreme right wing parties is connected to fear.[6] In the post-9/11 age, it has been easy to poison public discourse with fear and, of course, with its corollaries, that is, with a growing apparatus of control, surveillance, and meticulous

classification. Xenophobia, homo- and transphobia, and blatant racism are probably the most dramatic effects of this political investment in fear. Walls at the borders and closed ports are the emblems of this phobic politics, transmitting in stark visual form the oppressive sense of terror which is permeating individual and collective lives in this new millennium. On a microscale, these infrastructures of fear appear to be embedded in the fabric of contemporary urban life with video surveillance, gated communities, armed guards, and de-facto off-limits zones. The enduring resonance of this fear-mongering was evident when Donald Trump labeled cities such as Seattle and New York "anarchist jurisdictions" following the nonviolent Black Lives Matter protests of summer and autumn 2020.[7]

While manufacturing anxieties against any form of diversity, authoritarian populists have deployed an opposite strategy for everything concerning the environment. Politicians such as From Donald Trump in the US to Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil and Matteo Salvini in Italy, contemporary Right-wing leaders have refused to acknowledge the gravity - or even the existence - of the climate emergency. Right-wing politicians have often ridiculed scientists' and environmentalists' warnings about the climate crisis, blaming them for spreading unnecessary anxieties among people. Fear of migrants or non-binary sexual identities but trust in pipelines, dams, and nuclear power plants--this is the odd reality of regimes which want people both scared and oblivious. After all, this is less contradictory than one might think: the (re)production of fears against those who "do not belong" is meant to channel frustrations and anger away from progressive forms of social struggles. Within the Far Right netherworld, the politics of fear is metastasizing into an overt ecofascism, a toxic ideology that marries a Malthusian acknowledgement of environmental limits with violent white supremacist efforts to purify the nation.[8]

Given the prominence of this politics of fear, and its successful capture of political power in many contemporary nations, it is not surprising that a global network of progressive cities has decided to coalesce under the banner of Fearless Cities.[9] In the context of authoritarian populism and xenophobia, fearless cities stand for welcoming policies and solidarity towards migrants, However, their project is wider than that of advocacy on behalf of migrants. In the face of crisis and despair, fearless cities imagine themselves as spaces for nurturing "human rights, democracy

and the common good" (from the Fearless Cities website). Hope over fear is the main message of the project, one that overlaps with the new municipalist agenda being articulated by social movements in cities around the globe. Although rooted in the European context, fearless cities are appearing everywhere. Perhaps, the most visible example is that of the sanctuary cities in the United States, that is, those municipalities - but also counties and states -- which are resisting Trump's anti-immigrant policies.[10] Tellingly, the map of the sanctuary cities overaps, at least partially, with that of the cities which have declared their commitment to the Paris Agreement, beyond what the Trump administration has decided on that matter.

While this new municipalist project has been studied from many points of view, its environmental agenda remains quite unresearched.[11] This gap is even more relevant when one considers the growing interest in multilevel governance in climate change policies and, specifically, in the role of cities in the elaboration of mitigation and adaptation strategies. The smart city is perhaps the most popular version of this urban discourse on climate change. For philanthropic foundations with an urban focus such as C40,[12] a blend of technological innovations and entrepreneurship, combined with the scientification of political decision-making, seems to be the best solution to foster "greener or more efficient cities that are simultaneously engines for economic growth" (Gabrys 2914, 30-1). Other aspects of the urban efforts to tackle climate change are less explored, including how radical cities and social movements located therein are addressing climate change.

In this special issue we aim to fill that gap by exploring the articulation of radical climate change politics at the city level. Our notion of urban climate insurgency refers to the ensemble of grassroots initiatives which aim to tackle climate change from a radical point of view. In our vocabulary, insurgent does not imply violence but rather refers to the radical rejection of the current socio-ecological system. Urban climate insurgency does not play following the rules of the game; it does not legitimize the current climate regime through the paraphernalia of participatory tools which are designed to anesthetize anger and social mobilization. It is insurgent because it clashes with mainstream climate policies, acknowledging that the climate crisis is not a mistake of the system but the evidence that the system is deeply rotten and must be changed.

In addition, we employ the city in a double-edged way, considering it as both an institutional and a spatial scale of analysis. In other words, we research municipal governments and their climate policies as well as grassroots initiatives practiced at the urban scale. As the majority of humanity has moved to cities over the last half century, questions of the urban environment and of urban governance have become increasingly central to social and political conflicts across the Global North and South. In addition, with Right-wing populist governments in control of many national governments, struggles for economic equality, political inclusion, and climate justice have taken on increasing prominence on the urban scale.

To understand the importance of cities in the fight for climate justice - and social justice more broadly - we need to recall the growth and importance of urban struggle over the last decade or so. From Tahrir Square and the Arab Spring, to the Puerta del Sol and Spain's Indignados, Ferguson and Black Lives Matter, the Gezi Park protests in Istanbul, Mong Kok and Hong Kong's Umbrella Revolution, and Zuccotti Park and Occupy Wall Street, the occupation of public spaces in cities has been a pivotal strategy for disparate movements over the last decade or so. Of course it could be said that the tactic of occupation is not that new. In the history of social movements and labor unions, the act of occupying has been both a defensive and a prefigurative strategy. Workers have occupied factories to resist their closure as well as to experiment with forms of self-management.[13] Peasants have occupied lands against big landowners, resisting enclosures and expropriation and sometimes trying to build alternative communities on such re-appropriated land.[14] The occupation of buildings to fight eviction and secure affordable houses has also been part of a long-standing repertoire of social mobilization, sometimes producing new forms of living in common.[15] Sometimes the occupation of specific spaces and infrastructures has brought a halt to activities which were considered harmful to the environment and communities.[16] In Italy, for instance, the word and practice of "occupazione" is strongly connected to the tradition of Autonomia and the radical non-mainstream Left.[17] Over the last decade, this long lasting and quite rich tradition of social movements squatting/taking control of buildings, factories, lands, and public spaces has often been reduced to the very specific experience of the #Occupy Movement, with its iconic camp in Wall Street. While offering a potentially rich venue for public dialogue and new forms of direct democracy, the #Occupy

experiments were also entrenched in a series of limitations which seemed to have reproduced racial, class, and gender inequalities. With all the best intentions, the very two slogans of the movement, “occupy” and “we are the 99%”, revealed the weak engagement of the movement with the issues of coloniality and intersectional diversities, which, indeed, were not represented in most of those experiences.[18] As Joanne Barker noted, indigenous dispossession was the historical precondition for Wall Street itself—a street with a wall built by the Dutch, in part, to keep the Lenape people out of their homeland in what became lower Manhattan.[19]

Evidently, most of these occupation experiments, especially those in public spaces, are fragile almost by definition and destined to be swept away by police repression. But if instead we consider the broader range of social movements which have arisen in the last decades, including Indigenous movements, Black Lives Matter, Fridays for Future, and Ni una menos, we can have a better sense of the contribution given by grassroots mobilization to the dismantling of neoliberal orthodoxies, hegemonic for the previous three decades. Although not all directly engaged with climate change issues, those movements have developed forms of social networking which have proven to be a key element in mutual aid in the context of the climate emergency. Indeed, in 2012 the activists who were engaged in the Occupy Wall Street movement decided to react to the destruction brought to New York City by Hurricane Sandy, relocating from the financial district to Brooklyn and Queens and in the process giving birth to the "Occupy Sandy" movement.[20] In this special issue Marco Armiero illustrates how in Naples (Italy) Marxist autonomous radical activists mobilized first around toxicity and environmental justice and then around climate change in a positive osmotic relationship between their political allegiances and new practices and concepts.

Often, those movements have recognized that “no is not enough” and that the evacuation of the space of institutionalized politics simply allows the Right wing to cement its power. This has led to the growth of what we referred to above as the new municipalism: in cities such as Barcelona, Madrid, Berlin, Naples, and Jackson, Mississippi, social movements that began their lives fighting existing political institutions around issues such as the global housing crisis have now fought their way to political power. But this transition has not necessarily dulled their insurgent edge. In a case such as Barcelona en Comú, the social movement is attempting to transform the

institutions of urban governance while holding onto its base in popular mobilization for participatory democracy.

The experiments initiated by the new municipalism, including cutting-edge plans for climate action, are reshaping people's sense of what is politically possible. The Fearless Cities network has helped to translate the sense of the possible sparked by this new municipalism beyond the traditional upscaling to the national level through the establishment of transnational connections between radical cities. One of the most prominent characteristics of this new municipalism is what might be called an *intersectional climate politics*: the recognition, that is, that struggles for adequate housing, for the right to mobility in the city, for food justice, and even the defense of migrants are all related to the fight around the climate emergency. Cities built for the rich will never be just or sustainable. The demands articulated by the Movement for Black Lives are characteristic of this intersectional politics: for BLM, demands for reparations include recognition of the systematic harm done to Black communities by environmental racism, food apartheid, housing discrimination, and racial capitalism more broadly.[21] The Movement for Black Lives insists on divestment from "exploitative forces, including prisons, fossil fuels, police, surveillance, and exploitative corporations," and, instead of such oppression and extraction, "investments in Black communities, determined by Black communities."

The frictions arising from the interactions between social inequalities and climate change politics have manifested themselves quite dramatically in a couple of iconic episodes of the most recent urban insurgencies. In Paris the so-called Yellow Vests Movement has mobilized against the introduction of a measure which was supposed to reduce CO2 emissions by increasing the cost of fuels for cars. Some have argued that this was a demonstration of the lack of popular consensus on climate change policies. Instead, from a urban climate insurgency point of view, it was only the demonstration that there cannot be any climate consensus on policies securing class, race, and gender privileges under the umbrella of the climate emergency. Who is going to pay the bill for the ecological transition is not a secondary problem.[22] In London, the radical environmentalist movement Extinction Rebellion clashed with commuters while disrupting the public transportation services of the subway; the image of a White male activist hitting a Black commuter was a clear manifestation of some underlying issues regarding race, class, and gender

present in a movement like Extinction Rebellion.[23] The Brixton flowers incident was then a further demonstration of the blindness of the movement towards class and race inequalities.[24]

As these examples make evident, the urban climate insurgency is different from mainstream or even traditionally progressive climate politics because it politicizes climate change while enhancing a radical, we might dare to say, a revolutionary agenda which combines intersectionality, anti-capitalist and decolonial principles.

These various examples of urban climate insurgency make clear that climate policy is no longer the exclusive province of national governments, international agreements, and panels of experts. On top of this, "alternative ideas of climate urbanism emerg[ing] from insurgent attempts at reclaiming urban commons and public space ideas [...] do not always match institutional efforts to shape urban environments," as Castán Broto and Robin (2020) argued recently. Despite the fact that the city has traditionally been represented as the antithesis of "nature," we argue in this special issue that it is currently a key terrain for environmental struggle.

We do not mean, however, to suggest that all contemporary climate justice struggles have a predominantly urban dimension. The founding of the Sacred Stone camp by Ladonna Bravebull Allard at the Standing Rock Reservation to resist the Dakota Access Pipeline catalyzed awareness and solidarity actions around the world in support of global Indigenous struggles against a new wave of extreme extraction. Movements of the world's peasants and smallholding farmers for food sovereignty and against capitalist agriculture are also key to addressing the climate emergency. The resistance of communities of fisherfolk against the corporate enclosure of the oceanic commons is another example of non-urban struggles with a strong environmental dimension. And, finally, the Red Nation's Red Deal articulates demands for anti-capitalism and decolonization that straddle urban and rural spaces.[25] We could enumerate other instances of such non-urban environmental conflicts, nonetheless, many contemporary social movements – even when they are not founded on explicit demands of a right to the city – have a primarily urban dimension. The growth of the Fearless Cities movement and initiatives such as the Transnational Institute's Transformative Cities project, not to mention more mainstream efforts

such as C40 Cities Climate Leadership Initiative, all highlight the prominence of the urban scale in contemporary struggles for climate justice and just transition.

This special issue will address some of the following themes:

- How do the understandings and experiments of grassroots urban movements struggling for climate justice differ from those of movements unfolding at other scales? In what ways does the urban scale help catalyze more radical struggles? What are the obstacles that such movements encounter on the terrain of the Global City? If, as Henri Lefebvre argued, urbanization is the key form of contemporary capitalism, to what extent do the peculiar characteristics of contemporary extreme cities help generate struggles both for survival in slum ecologies and for more just and sustainable cities to come?
- To what extent do municipal initiatives differ from those that unfold on other scales? If there are specific strengths to be found in the politics of climate justice on an urban scale, what are some of the weaknesses of this scale? Is it possible, for example, to knit municipalist movements in various regions and countries together into a transnational movement for sustainable cities, as initiatives such as the Fearless Cities movement and Transformative Cities project aim to do? What are the obstacles and challenges posed by local urban contexts to the creation of such transnational civic insurgency?
- How can Urban Climate Insurgency generate alternative narratives about climate change? One obvious example is the fact that most scientific indices of climate change ignore the urban scale, measuring environmental change instead on national or even global scales. Yet urban populations are the ones most vulnerable to climate-related disasters (both fast-moving and slow-onset) like heat waves and hurricanes. How does attention to the urban scale help identify new narratives linked both to the impacts of climate change, and to demands for compensation for loss and damage generated by the climate emergency?
- Finally, we do not intend to assume that an urban politics for climate emergency is always a radical, egalitarian one. While contemporary Right-wing populism and neofascist movements have certainly achieved decisive victories at national scales in places like the US, Hungary, Brazil, and the Philippines, just to take a few examples, these movements also have gained purchase on urban terrain in various places. In Brazil,

> for example, the recent rise of the Right began with public protests in cities like Rio de Janiero and Sao Paulo against failures and inefficiencies in public services like urban transit systems. Very quickly, however, these popular protests were hijacked by the Right into protests against political "corruption" that came to target the Workers' Party, leading to a constitutional coup against President Dilma Rousseff. What makes urban terrain fertile for such Right-wing movements? As the climate emergency intensifies, leading to greater numbers of climate refugees (both within and across national borders, how can we predict and head off the unfolding of xenophobic movements within particular cities? What role can a progressive municipalist politics and Antifa mobilization play in challenging the growth of such movements?

Following this introduction, the special issue opens with the contribution of AbdouMaliq Simone and Solomon Benjamin on the 'majority urban politics' in times of climate emergencies with empirical attention to pro-poor politics in Northern Jakarta and land occupations by low-income residents Bangalore. In exploring the multi-layered complexities in these two cases, Simone and Benjamin advance ideas on how to reformulate an urban life worth living beyond the human in times of climate crisis. In doing so, they also extend the critique of "an imposition of fixity, measurability and transparency […]" of urban communities and challenges "[…] involving a variety of institutional actors, from consulting firms, consulting firms, NGOs, university-based institutes and think tanks, and even activists".

The second contribution to this issue is the work of Ashley Dawson and Macarena Gómez-Barris on the grassroots, post-extractivist responses to energy colonialism, uneven burdens and democratic control of energy. By focusing on the cases of UPROSE, Brooklyn's oldest Latinx community-based organization in the U.S. and YASunidos in Ecuador, Dawson and Gómez-Barris propose the idea of energy states which hinges on a "radical interdependency that could be legislated by a substantially altered state apparatus during the implementation of a new energy paradigm". Positioning the focus succinctly on the contemporary Green New Deal discussions, this contribution calls for a post-extractivist future in which land rights, social and multispecies justice, and anti-racist social movements will be at center stage.

The third contribution comes from Marco Armiero, who takes us to the trash-filled streets of Naples, Italy at the height of an urban garbage crisis. Focusing on how the embodied experience of contamination led to a political renewal, a novel force creating resisting communities and activist knowledge, Armiero's contribution shows the parallels and continuity between urban waste and urban climate justice activism in a time when the radical grassroots movements are increasingly waging intersectional struggles. Following the story of StopBiocide in different platforms, this piece traces the emergence of "a dialectic relationship" which gave rise to "a new hybrid, plural, and non-sectarian movement."

In the fourth contribution of the special issue, Lise Sedrez and Roberta Biasillo shift focus to the multispecies alliance for ecological justice in one of the most troubled favelas of Rio de Janerio. Through their focus on the landslides and other climate related-disasters in Morro da Babilônia, Sedrez and Biasillo problematize the socio-political and symbolic marginalization of favela dwellers and demonstrate how community-based groups in the favela rose to prominence as social and ecological protagonists. Using oral history, memories and narratives, this piece argues that community-led reforestation initiatives contribute to "environmentalization of social struggles," in which the communities with high awareness of what is at stake take the lead in, against and beyond the state and other non-state actors.

The fifth contribution of the special issue by Sinan Erensü, Barış İne and Yaşar Adnan Adanalı critically analyzes the 'urban greenery frenzy' of Erdoğan's authoritarian regime in İstanbul, Turkey. Situating the everyday politics of urban-environmental aesthetics in a broader political-economic and symbolic transformation, Erensü and colleagues trace how authoritarian populism creates its narratives and counter-narratives over urban green spaces and how movements with radical claims for the right to the city such as those demonstrated in the Gezi Park uprising fight back. The paper concludes by calling for further attention on "opening up municipal practices to Gezi style radical experimentation and financial and political priorities".

The last contribution to this special issue, authored by Salvatore Paolo de Rosa, takes a situated urban political ecology approach in exploring the climate justice direct action coalition Fossilgasfälla in Sweden. Focusing on the debates on socio-ecological metabolism and urbanization, de Rosa offers "metabolic activism" understood as "grassroots eco-political engagements that aim to disrupt, block, occupy and ultimately transform capitalist-driven

metabolic relations". This notion is elaborated further through a case study of Fossilgasfällan, an organization that generated the first-ever blockade of fossil fuel infrastructure through direct-action in Gothenburg, Sweden.

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[14] Extremely inspirational is the experience of the Sem Terra movement in Brazil; see Hoffmann and Fox (2017) and Lundström (2017).
[15] García-Lamarca (2017) has explicitly connected the occupation of public spaces in the city with the occupations of buildings to foster affordable housing. On the prefigurative politics coming from squatted houses see Karaliotas and Kapsali (2020).
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[24] In October 2019 an Extinction Rebellion activist sent flowers and a thank you card to the Brixton police precinct where he had been detained for their professionalism and courtesy. Precisely at Brixton three Black men had died in custody. The social media discussion following this accident showed even more dramatically XR activists' inability to acknowledge White privilege. See Blowe (2019).

[25] Estes (2019).